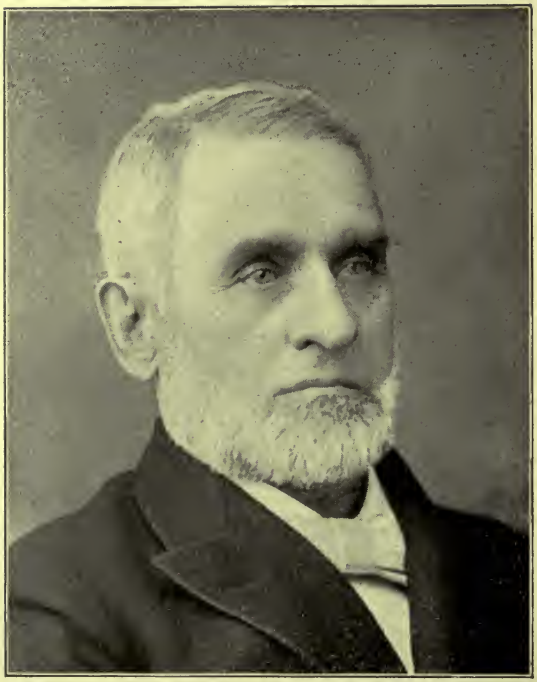

Cyrus G. Luce,

President 1897-1901.

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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

COLLECTIONS AND RESEARCHES

MADE BY THE

MICHIGAN PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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VOL. XXXI

1902
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PREFACE.

Crises are not uncommon in the history and experience of all organizations. The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society has had its period of adversity. Now its officers look forward to an era of prosperity. Systematic and energetic work in its behalf has commenced. In 1897, when legislative support for two years failed through the veto of its appropriation bill by Governor Pingree, the question of continuing or discontinuing its work was seriously discussed; but so much interest was felt in the work that the officers of the society decided to hold the annual meetings at the State Capital for the two moneyless years, and by thus complying with its organic act they kept it alive for further usefulness. Present interest and progress show that it was a wise decision.

The committee of historians, who have general supervision of its publications, take pleasure in calling attention to the work that was done under discouraging conditions; and, furthermore, take pride in saying that a revival of interest in the work assigned by the State to the society, as now organized, is one of the cheerful facts of the present and a hopeful assurance for the future.

In each one of the thirty volumes prepared and published by the society, since its organization in 1874 with twenty-two members, there is much valuable historical matter and many interesting pioneer recollections; but in general appearance and careful editing the later volumes are among the very best. One of the charms of this historical collection, aside from its value as a permanent record of events, is the fact that it presents a large and varied amount of information concerning the daily lives and customs of the early settlers of the State, in papers based upon personal experience and observation. Since the general distribution of its volumes among the public libraries of the State has taken place, pursuant to a recent act of the legislature, the excellent work of the society in collecting historical data of the pioneer days of Michigan, is more widely recognized and commended than ever before.

Special attention is called to a few of the leading papers in this volume. From the facile pen of Hon. Thomas W. Palmer, of Detroit, we have an

interesting paper entitled "Detroit Sixty Years Ago;" President C. M. Burton, besides "Anthony Wayne and the Battle of Fallen Timbers," which was read at the annual meeting in June, 1901, contributes a series of papers compiled from old records; E. W. Barber, of Jackson, relates his "Recollections of Pioneer Boyhood," which commenced at Vermontville in 1839; E. E. Hymers has supplemented the paper of Judge Baldwin by a biography of the author.

Among the more elaborate memorial papers are sketches of the life and public services of the late Charles T. Gorham, of Marshall; of George Willard and John F. Hinman, of Battle Creek; also of Lewis Fiske, for so many years president of Albion College. Mr. Gorham was long identified with public affairs, serving as United States minister to the Netherlands and as Assistant Secretary of the Interior at the national capital; Mr. Willard rendered able editorial, educational and political service, and for four years was a representative in congress; while Mr. Hinman was for many years the society's vice president in Calhoun county, and was a faithful worker in its behalf.

Commending the earnest and efficient labors of the officers of the society in procuring material for this volume and the good judgment evidenced in its arrangement for publication, the committee of historians look forward to future volumes with revived hope and confidence.

L. D. WATKINS, Manchester, Chairman,
E. W. BARBER, Jackson,
EDWARD CAHILL, Lansing,
MARY C. SPENCER, Lansing,
A. H. OWENS, Lennon.

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MICHIGAN

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ANNUAL MEETING, JUNE 5 AND 6, 1901

The twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society was held in the Senate Chamber at Lansing commencing June 5, 1901, at 2 o'clock, Wednesday afternoon.

The meeting was called to order by the president, ex-Gov. Cyrus G. Luce, and opened with prayer by Dr. Haze, of Lansing, followed by singing "America."

After a few remarks in place of his usual address, the president introduced Senator Loomis, who gracefully extended the use and freedom of the Senate Chamber to the society, for its annual meeting. The president acknowledged the courtesy, and accepted in the name of the society.

Then followed the reports of the officers of the society as follows:

Report of recording secretary.

Report of treasurer.

Report of corresponding secretary.

Report of committee of historians.

Report of memorial committee by counties.

These were followed by a vocal solo by Mrs. Helen Crandall, "Oft in the Stilly Night."

Mrs. Judson read a paper by Harlan I. Smith, entitled "The Preservation of Prehistoric Mounds in Parks." Five minute speeches followed by several enthusiastic members, and after a song "Annie Laurie" by the ladies' quartette, the meeting adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, 7:30 P. M.

The exercises were opened by music, "The Old Sexton," by Mr. J. W. Wagenvoord, followed by a paper, "Bench and Bar of Oakland County," prepared by Hon. A. C. Baldwin, of Pontiac, and read by Judge Cahill, of Lansing. At the close of this paper a vote of thanks was extended to Judge Baldwin for his excellent paper and a resolution was adopted, that a member of the Oakland County Bar be requested to prepare a sketch of Judge Baldwin, to be added to this paper and published in the proceedings.

Owing to a misunderstanding on the part of Prof. C. F. Wheeler, of the Agricultural College, his paper on the "Early Flora and Fauna of Michigan" was not presented. Mr. Wheeler, however, promised to present the paper to the society for publication.

Music, "It was Within a Mile of Edinboro Town," by Miss McKinley White.

Mr. E. W. Barber read a most excellent paper, which was greatly enjoyed by members of the society, on "Recollections and Lessons of Pioneer Boyhood."

The question of age limit for admission to the society was discussed by Messrs. Crawford, Bush, Burton and others.

Five minute speeches mostly reminiscent and anecodotal in their character.

President Luce then announced the following committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year: Messrs. Thayer, of Kent; Kedzie, of Lansing; Barber, of Jackson; Walker, of St. Clair; Kelsey, of Lansing. Mr. Thayer, the chairman of the committee, then called a meeting to be held at 9 o'clock Thursday morning, in the Senate Chamber.

Music, "The Old Oaken Bucket," mixed quartette.

Adjourned to meet Thursday morning at 9:30.

THURSDAY MORNING.

Prayer, by Rev. Mr. Crawford.

Music, "Bonnie Doon," Miss Lena Bailey.

Mr. E. O. Grosvenor, of Jonesville, presented an instructive paper on "The New State Capitol." He traced the work from the beginning to the completion, and his paper was heartily cheered by the audience. Gov. Luce made a few remarks expressing pride and satisfaction in

the erection of the building. Mr. Chandler offered a resolution of thanks to Mr. Grosvenor for his plain, truthful and concise statement regarding the State Capitol. This resolution was seconded by Mr. Smith and unanimously adopted. Mr. Grosvenor expressed his thanks for this recognition.

Mr. Loomis, of Grand Rapids, endorsed Gov. Luce's remarks and spoke in complimentary terms of Hon. G. W. Thayer for his services in building the Grand Rapids city hall. Remarks were made by Judge Walker on the same subject.

"Early History of Michigan's Railroads," by the late John Gilbert, was read by Mrs. M. C. Spencer.

Anecdotal remarks were made by Mr. Crawford.

Music, "Robin Adair," by Madam Von Rosenberg-Lipinski.

Paper, "Genesis of New France," Silas Farmer. This related to the French control in the New World. Mr. Farmer's paper was of great interest, and attentively listened to by the audience. Remarks were made by Messrs. Smith and Crawford. At the request of Mr. Owen, Mr. Farmer gave a short account of John Law's financial scheme.

Music, "Kathleen Mavourneen," ladies sextette.

A bouquet of flowers was presented by Mr. F. M. Cowles, of Lansing, to the oldest man present at the meeting. Mr. Robert Chandler, of Coldwater, was the recipient, he having passed his 87th birthday. Mr. Chandler returned his thanks to the donor of the flowers.

Music.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON 2 O'CLOCK.

Music, "Sweet Afton," Madam Von Rosenberg-Lipinski.

A paper, "Detroit Sixty-one Years Ago," by Hon. T. W. Palmer, was read by Mrs. Spencer. Mr. Palmer's paper was reminiscent, and of great interest, especially to the members of the audience who are or have been residents of Detroit.

Music, "I Cannot Sing the Old Songs," Mr. H. A. Burton.

The concluding paper, "Gen. Anthony Wayne and the Battle of Fallen Timbers," was read by C. M. Burton.

The committee to nominate officers reported:

President—C. M. Burton, Detroit.

Secretary—Mrs. Ellen B. Judson, Lansing.

Treasurer—Benjamin F. Davis, Lansing.

Executive Committee—Prof. Robert C. Kedzie, Lansing; H. B. Smith, Marengo, Calhoun county; John W. Champlin, Grand Rapids.

Committee of Historians—L. D. Watkins, Manchester; A. H. Owens, Vernon; E. W. Barber, Jackson; Mary C. Spencer, Lansing; Judge Edward Cahill, Lansing.

The names were indorsed by the society and the new officers declared unanimously elected.

The following resolution regarding vice-presidents was prepared by Mr. George W. Thayer and offered by Mr. Barber:

WHEREAS, It appearing that the duties devolving upon the various vice-presidents of this society are in many instances neglected, in some cases no reports having been received for several years, and that there are now some vacancies in such positions; therefore,

Resolved, That the secretary be instructed to communicate by circular letter with all who have failed to report to this society, notifying them of their dereliction and ask each if they desire to discharge the duties of their office; if not, to send in their resignations that their places may be filled.

Resolved further, That all vacancies in the office of vice-president for the coming year be filled by the president.

At the close of the election of officers Mr. Barber presented the following resolution prepared by Mr. George W. Thayer:

The Pioneer and Historical Society of Michigan, assembled in its twenty-seventh session, in the Senate Chamber of the State Capitol at Lansing, having learned with deep regret that our honored president, ex-Gov. Cyrus G. Luce, has been impelled by a sense of duty, growing partly out of the inexorable demands of his business relations and partly by conditions of a personal character beyond his control, has made a specific request that he be relieved from the burdens imposed upon him in his position as president of this society;

Therefore, We reluctantly bow to his decision and in so doing, desire to convey to him our earnest and heartfelt assurances of our high appreciation of his valuable services to the State of Michigan, and especially to this society to whom he has long been a most able and efficient friend. With the regret expressed for the loss of Gov. Luce as our official head comes to us a gleam of sunshine in the satisfaction we have in his assurances that as long as he can, and so far as possible, he will be with this body, in person and in influence, in the furtherance of its continued existence and welfare.

Adjourned.

REPORT OF THE RECORDING SECRETARY.

Lansing, June 5, 1901.

To the Officers and Members of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society:

The report of the recording secretary for the fiscal year ending with the above date is herewith submitted:

The twenty-sixth annual meeting of this society convened in the house of representatives of the capitol, June 5, 1900, and the program, as printed, was closely followed. The records of that meeting, together with the papers then delivered, and several others of rich historical value will be found in the present volume.

Since last report twelve names of new members have been added to the record book of this society, as follows: Lewis B. Agard; Albert J. Lovejoy; Stephen S. Fairbank; L. A. Howard; Emanuel Bodner; Horace N. Turrill; Edward Barker, Litchfield; Charles B. Henika, Petoskey; James M. Linton, Homer; George Wm. Perry, Lansing; Henry Hall and Charles L. Blood, Three Rivers.

Several copies of the French journal, "La Canadien," and a copy of the Michigan Manual for 1899 have been received at this office and placed on file.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY C. SPENCER,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Lansing, June 5, 1901.

To the Officers and Members of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society:

I hereby submit my report for the year ending with the above date:

The year has been an active one. Many letters have been written and several personal visits made in the interest of the society. Every vice-president was notified of the coming meeting and urged to make report. Notwithstanding the urgent appeals many counties were not heard from.

Death entered our ranks last year and garnered rich sheaves for the Master's storehouse. Several of our wisest and most honored members have been dropped from the roll here as they passed on to the "Great Beyond."

The list so far as I have been able to gather it is as follows:

No.	Name.	Residence.	Born.	Died.	Age.	Came to Michigan.
694	D. L. Crossman	Williamstown	Nov. 4, 1836	1901	65	1844
754	D. B. Cook	Niles	Jan. 1, 1815	May 29, 1901	86	1836
257	Chas. T. Gorham	Marshall	May 29, 1812	1901	89	1836
382	C. B. Stebbins	Lansing	Feb. 17 1812	1901	89	1837
539	Edwin F. Uhl	Grand Rapids	Aug. 14, 1842	1901	59	1844
609	A. F. Morehouse	Ionia	Jan. 13, 1818.	May 19, 1901	83	1843
768	Chas. W. Barber	Howell	Oct. 25, 1830	May 7, 1901	71	1835
771	Ralph Watson	Riley	1826	1901	75	1854

It will be seen that nearly every one were men prominent in the affairs of State and nation.

Hon. D. L. Crossman was clerk of our house of representatives many years, and always actively indentified with the history-making element in his home and county.

Edwin F. Uhl, one of the foremost men of Grand Rapids, and representative of the nation to Germany, under President Cleveland's administration.

Charles T. Gorham, for many years identified with prominent State affairs, and during President's Grant's administration he served five times as minister to the Netherlands.

C. B. Stebbins, Albert F. Morehouse, Charles W. Barber and Ralph Watson served this society faithfully many years as vice-presidents of their respective counties.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY C. SPENCER,

Corresponding Secretary.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

Lansing, June 5, 1901.

To the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society:

I herewith submit my annual report as follows:

Balance on hand June 5, 1900		$53 37
Amount received from membership fees		14 00
		$67 37
Amount on hand June 7, 1900, in the State treasury of the appropriation made by Act No. 226 of the Public Acts of 1899		$1,500 00

Disbursed as follows:

Expenses of executive committee	$3 90	
Postage	10 00	
Printing	20 50	
Expense getting material for volume twenty-nine	9 50	
Proof-reading, indexing, etc	274 00	
Printing volume twenty-nine (on account)	221 46	
Plates for volume twenty-nine	54 50	
Stationery	3 28	
		$597 14
Balance on hand June 1, 1901		$970 23

BENJ. F. DAVIS,
Treasurer.

MEETINGS OF COMMITTEES.

SEPTEMBER 25, 1901.

Meeting called to order by the president, all the living members except E. W. Barber, of Jackson, being present.

The vacancy caused by the death of Hon. John W. Champlin, of Grand Rapids, was filled by the nomination of Hon. Daniel McCoy, of Grand Rapids.

Resolutions in regard to the death of Judge Champlin, and brief biography, were read by Judge Cahill, which upon motion, were accepted and directed to be published as part of these proceedings, and

the secretary was directed to communicate with John E. More, of Grand Rapids, requesting him to prepare a biography for the annual meeting.

WHEREAS, Since the last annual meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Judge John Wayne Champlin, a member of the executive committee, and one of the most valuable and esteemed members of this society has passed away, therefore

Resolved, That we desire to place on record our sense of the great loss that has fallen upon us personally and upon the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society in the death of Judge Champlin, and we desire also to express to his family our sincerest sympathy for the still greater loss and sorrow that has come to them.

John Wayne Champlin was born in Kingston, Ulster county, New York, on the 17th day of February, 1831. He was the son of Geoffrey and Ellen Champlin, a descendant of Geoffrey Champlin who came from England to Rhode Island in 1768. His father was a farmer and he lived at home until he was twenty-one years old. He received an academic education and took a course of civil engineering at Delaware Institute. For about two years he engaged in the practical work of civil engineering in New York state. In 1854 he decided that the profession of the law would be more congenial, and that year came to Michigan and took up the study of law in the office of his elder brother Stephen, who had settled at Grand Rapids as a practicing lawyer the previous year. In 1855 he was admitted to the bar and without delay began practicing at Grand Rapids which was continuous until the time of his death, interrupted only by judicial service. In 1883 he was elected Justice of Supreme Court and for eight years he was one of the hardest working, painstaking and clear-headed judges of that court. Upon his retirement from the bench he resumed his practice at Grand Rapids and speedily gained a large clientage. His learning in the law was profound; his judgment clear; and his character beyond reproach. He was married in 1856 to Miss Ellen More of Polo, Illinois, by whom he had three children. He died at Grand Rapids on the 24th day of July, 1901.

This is not the occasion for setting forth at length any biography or estimate of the character of Judge Champlin, but we recommend that the committee of historians cause to be prepared for presentation at the next annual meeting of this society a suitable biographical sketch of Judge Champlin.

Letters from the secretaries of Wisconsin Historical Society, Minne-

sota Historical Society and Chicago Historical Society in reference to historical papers and meetings were read by the president. Upon motion he was directed to attend any meeting called or decided upon by the secretaries of the different state societies of the west.

Mrs. Spencer stated that the index for volumes one to twenty-nine inclusive will be published by the State and she was vested with full authority to attend to this work.

Moved and carried that the president be requested to look over the manuscripts submitted by Charles Moore, of Washington, for publication.

A letter from the chairman of the Louisiana Purchase Company was read, and Judge Cahill was instructed to write him and see just what their society wishes us to do in the matter of a State display at the coming exposition.

Upon motion, Judge Cahill was requested to send a telegram to ex-President Luce, who is very ill, expressing the sympathy of the committees.

The executive committee offered the following resolution, signed by the two members present, in regard to the duties and rsponsibilities of the secretary, which, upon motion, was indorsed by the committee of historians:

The Executive Committee of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society enact that the Secretary shall have entire control of the duties of the office; shall employ such assistants as she requires in such duties, at a salary not to exceed $50 per month; and it shall be her duty to assist the Committee of Historians in any matter in which they require such aid.

(Signed) R. C. KEDZIE,
H. B. SMITH.

Lansing, September 25, 1901.

Meeting adjourned.

October 4 the secretary received a letter from Dr. R. C. Kedzie, chairman of executive committee, stating that the nomination of Mr. McCoy had been confirmed by letters from Dr. O. Palmer, vice-president for Crawford county, and Geo. H. Cannon, vice-president for Macomb county, which, with the vote of Mr. A. H. Owens, of Shiawassee, fully completes the requirements of the constitution.

NOVEMBER 14, 1901.

A special meeting of the committee of historians was called by the chairman for November 14, 1901, at which the president, C. M. Burton; Dr. Kedzie, of the executive committee; Mrs. Spencer and Mr. Owens, of the committee of historians; Mrs. Ellen B. Judson, secretary, and Mr. B. F. Davis, treasurer, were present.

The matter for publication for the forthcoming book was decided upon. A report of the work performed for the last six weeks was read and approved; also a short sketch of the society, prepared in answer to the requests of several papers for such an article for insertion in their respective papers. These were ordered combined, and 5,000 printed and distributed throughout the State. Mr. McCoy agreed to arrange for several hundred and the president assumed charge of 500.

Attorney General Oren, and Prof. Fall, Superintendent of Public Instruction, were admitted to membership. The latter promised the hearty coöperation of his department. The secretary was also directed to confer with the State Grange.

A State rally at the College, in connection with the June meeting, was proposed, and arrangements begun as to its management and to secure reduced rates for three or four day's limit, good on all roads.

Notice was given of an amendment to the first sentence of Article 7 of the Constitution, doing away with the age limit, and throwing wide open the doors to all worthy Michigan citizens:

Notice is hereby given that the first sentence of Article 7 of the Constitution shall be amended so as to read as follows: "Any resident of the State of Michigan may become a member of this society, on subscribing to the articles of association, and on payment of one dollar."

(Signed) R. C. KEDZIE,
C. M. BURTON.

Lansing, November 14, 1901.

The following vice-presidents have been appointed for their respective counties:

Alcona—John Wood, Harrisville.
Alger—
Allegan—James W. Humphrey, Wayland.
Alpena—

Antrim—
Arenac—Miss Julia A. Inglis, Sterling.
Baraga—
Barry—Mrs. S. E. Striker, Hastings.
Bay—Melvin A. Root, West Bay City.
Benzie—William A. Betts, Benzonia.
Berrien—Thomas Mars, Berrien Center.
Branch—George A. Turner, Coldwater.
Calhoun—John C. Paterson, Marshall.
Cass—L. H. Glover, Cassopolis.
Charlevoix—E. H. Green, Charlevoix.
Cheboygan—
Chippewa—Charles Chapman, Sault Ste. Marie.
Clare—
Clinton—J. C. Bronson, Victor.
Crawford—Dr. Oscar Palmer, Grayling.
Delta—O. B. Fuller, Ford River.
Dickinson—
Eaton—Esek Pray, Diamondale.
Emmet—Isaac D. Toll, Petoskey.
Genesee—Mrs. H. C. Fairbank, Flint.
Gladwin—Eugene Foster, Gladwin.
Gogebic—Norman W. Haire, Ironwood.
G'd Traverse—
Gratiot—Wm. S. Turck, Alma.
Hillsdale—Calvin H. Starr, Litchfield.
Houghton—Orrin W. Robinson, Chassell.
Huron—
Ingham—John N. Bush, Lansing.
Ionia—P. H. Taylor, Ionia.
Iosco—John M. Waterbury, Tawas City.
Iron—
Isabella—John E. Day, Mt. Pleasant.
Jackson—Josiah Frost, Jackson.
Kalamazoo—Henry Bishop, Kalamazoo.
Kalkaska—Helen L. Carlisle, Kalkaska.
Kent—Wm. N. Cook, Grand Rapids.
Keweenaw—
Lake—
Lapeer—John Wright, Lapeer.

Leelanau—E. Jaye Dickerman, Solon.
Lenawee—John I. Knapp, Adrian.
Livingston—
Luce—
Mackinac—Dr. J. W. Bailey, Mackinac Island.
Macomb—Geo. H. Cannon, Washington.
Manistee—T. J. Ramsdell, Manistee.
Marquette—Peter White, Marquette.
Mason—Mrs. Geo. N. Stray, Ludington.
Mecosta—
Menominee—
Midland—
Missaukee—M. D. Richardson, Pioneer.
Monroe—John W. Davis, Monroe.
Montcalm—Mary Sherwood Hinds, Stanton.
Montmorency—
Muskegon—
Newaygo—Daniel E. Soper, Newaygo.
Oakland—E. W. Jewell, Oakland.
Oceana—T. S. Gurney, Hart.
Ogemaw—
Ontonagon—
Osceola—James H. Thompson, Evart.
Oscoda—
Otsego—Chas. F. Davis, Elmira.
Ottawa—Gerrit T. Diekema, Holland.
Presque Isle—Barnard Fitch, Millersburg.
Roscommon—
Saginaw—Mrs. Annie W. Palmer, Saginaw.
Sanilac—
Schoolcraft—
Shiawassee—A. H. Owens, Vernon.
St. Clair—Mrs. Caroline F. Ballentine, Port Huron.
St. Joseph—Thos. G. Greene, Centerville.
Tuscola—N. E. York, Millington.
Van Buren—
Washtenaw—
Wayne—Fred Carlisle, Detroit.
Wexford—

MEMORIAL REPORT.

BARRY COUNTY.

BY MRS. SARAH E. STRIKER.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death	Age.	Remarks.
Carter, Mrs. Louisa C.....	Hastings.....	March 1, 1901.	69	Came to Michigan in 1855.
Coleman, Hiram.....	Johnstown	April 27, 1901.	69	An old resident of the town.
Craig, Boyd.....	Hastings.....	Nov. 8, 1900...	84	Came to Michigan in 1850. and located in Hastings.
Hopkins, Mrs. Julia.....	Hastings	April 13, 1901.	83	
Parsons, Mrs. Calvin B.....	Carlton Center.....	June 25, 1900..	79	Came to Michigan in 1866.
Rogers, Mrs. Catherine.....	Prairieville	March 28, 1901	78	Came to Michigan in 1841.
Stamm, John.....	"Podunk".....	April 27, 1901.	77	
Weissert, Mrs. Fredericka.....	Hastings.....	March 6, 1901.	76	Lived in Hastings 40 years.
Warner, Albert.....	Prairieville	Nov. 20, 1900..	80	Settled on the farm in 1845.
Williams, Mrs. Warren J.....	Hastings.....	April 30, 1901.	74	A long time resident of the county.
Wolcott, Mrs. Daniel.	Hastings.....	June 24, 1900..	67	She located in Hastings in 1849.
Wood, Anson.....	Hastings.....	June 12, 1900..	74	Came to Michigan in early manhood.

FREEMAN.—Mrs. Julia Freeman, a well remembered resident of Irving, died in Quincy, Ill., June 7, 1900.

Mrs. Freeman (Julia Wheelock) was formerly a teacher in the '50's in Irving, going there from her home in Pennsylvania to visit a sister, Mrs. John McClintock, then a resident of the town, but who subsequently moved to Ionia county.

At the breaking out of the war, Miss Wheelock, enthusiastic and patriotic, could scarcely control her desire to go forward with the troops, and on hearing of the sickness of her brother, left for Washington, where she entered the hospital to nurse her brother back to life and health. But the life of the noble young man went out in the good cause of liberty and humanity. Turning back from the house of mourning, she offered her services in the capacity of a nurse, and faithfully performed the arduous and unpleasant task until the war closed. Her mission ended with the war, and she was offered and accepted a place in the treasury department, where for several years she worked, counting mutilated currency.

Returning to Michigan with broken health, she devoted some time to recuperating and in publishing her memoirs in a book entitled "The

Boys in White," and then married P. C. Freeman. To them were born two sons while in Middleville. In 1883 she went west for health and located in Missouri.

GOODYEAR.—Henry A. Goodyear closed a life of activity May 5, 1901, after a long and honorable career as a citizen, merchant, banker and legislator, at the age of eighty-three years.

Mr. Goodyear was born in York, York county, Pennsylvania, June 30, 1818. He remained at home until sixteen years of age, meantime securing an academic education, and then went to Philadelphia, where he entered the employ of a druggist and learned that business. After remaining there two years he went to Detroit in 1838, where he was employed at his profession until 1840, at which time he removed to Battle Creek. The following November he removed to Hastings taking a stock of drugs and general merchandise and established the first store in Barry county on the corner of what is now Main and Creek streets and on the site of the premises now occupied by the Roger's block.

Mr. Goodyear's active mercantile career covered a period of forty-two years, from 1840 to 1882. He continued his initial venture alone for several years and then took his brother, W. S., into business with him. The firm thus continued until about 1854 when H. A. Goodyear sold out his interest to Nathan Barlow. Within the space of a year Mr. Goodyear was again in the general mercantile trade, having associated himself with Wm. Barlow, and this firm continued until Mr. Goodyear disposed of his interest to his brother, J. S., in 1860. During the last named year he embarked in the hardware business, and this, together with a private banking institution, which he established somewhat later, and still later relinquished, continued to receive his chief attention until 1882 when he resigned the active management of affairs into the hands of his sons.

In 1846 Mr. Goodyear was elected a member of the State legislature, the sessions of that body being then held in Detroit. In 1874 he was chosen to represent his district in the State senate and again in 1854 he was elected a member of the house of legislature. In 1852 he was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention that nominated Franklin Pierce for president. He was also the first president of the village and the first mayor of the city of Hastings. For some time he was the treasurer of the Grand River Valley Railroad (now the Grand Rapids branch of the Michigan Central) and thus actively assisted in supplanting the slow going stage with the railroad and all the public

benefits that have followed its advent and development. In the early days it sometimes required two weeks to team his merchandise through from Toledo and he lived to see the time when a single day with the assistance of steam would accomplish the same purpose. But two pioneers who antedate him in point of residence in the county are known to be living, Mrs. Ann M. Hayes and Mrs. Esther Bennett.

Mr. Goodyear married twice. His first wife was Miss Mary Barlow, whom he married in 1843 and to whom three children were born, viz. William H., George E., and Nathan Barlow. In 1848 Mrs. Goodyear died and in 1850 Mr. Goodyear married the sister of his first wife, Miss Ermina Barlow, and to them four children were born, viz., Rosella, Ann (now Mrs. Haff), David and John. All the children of both unions, with the exception of George E., together with the widow, are still living and all with the exception of Mrs. Haff, reside in Hastings.

Russell.—Julius Russell died at his home in Hastings, February 11, 1901, aged sixty-five years.

Julius Russell was born at Byron, near Rockford, Ill., March 18, 1836. In 1855 his father, Dr. Jeremiah Russell removed to Hastings and went into partnership with his brother-in-law, the late John W. Stebbins, in the dry goods business. Julius, then a young man of twenty, came soon afterwards, entering his father's store and devoting himself to the mercantile business which he followed constantly ever afterwards, until failing health compelled him two years ago to retire from active life. Indeed, during all the years of his manhood his health had been delicate, asthma having constantly afflicted him.

After a time he became a partner of his father and later Mr. John N. Nevins was associated with him in the business. From 1870 until 1899 Mr. Russell conducted the business alone, selling out in 1899 to Phin. Smith.

In 1862 Mr. Russell married Miss Charlotte L. Barlow. One child came to bless this union, Harry, who was born in 1866 and died in 1886, just as he was entering upon a promising manhood.

Sackett.—Mrs. Rachel Sackett died August 24, 1900, at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Dr. Sheffield, in Dowling, aged eighty years.

Rachel Hetsler was born of German parents and came with them to Michigan when a young girl and located in Macomb county where she married George S. Sackett in 1842. Ten children resulted from this union, five of whom are dead.

Two of the dead children were sons, Robert and Jacob, who gave their lives to their country while in service during the rebellion, and one was a daughter, Anna, who also gave her life for humanity's good, as she died a missionary to the colored people in North Carolina, in 1879.

Mr. and Mrs. Sackett were among the earliest settlers of Clinton township, locating there in 1829, while Michigan was yet a territory, and taking up lands from the government. Noahdiah Sackett, father of George S., built the first gristmill and sawmill in all that section, and the ruins may still be located at Frederick. He was also one of the first teachers to open a school "winters" in the wilderness of Clinton. George S. Sackett, husband of the subject of this sketch, died June 16, 1891, at the age of eighty years.

Mrs. Sackett is survived by one brother, Jacob Hetsler, of Salem, and her five children, Hiram T., of Detroit; Cornelia S. Perry, Lansing; Fanny R. Sheffield, Dowling; Flora B. Emerson, Peoria, Ill., and L. J. Ackley, Battle Creek.

Young.—Dr. William H. Young, of Nashville, died March 23, 1901, aged sixty years. Not only is his home village, where he has lived for over thirty years, but the whole county of Barry, and indeed of Eaton also, deeply affected by Dr. Young's death, for he was well and favorably known in both counties and occupied a leading position in his profession.

Dr. Young was born in the year 1840, in the county of Peel, Ontario. As a young man he taught school several years and graduated from the normal school at Toronto. Afterwards he engaged in the mercantile business in Middlesex county. During this period he married Miss Elizabeth Anderson, who, as well as two children, died within three years. Mr. Young then abandoned the mercantile life and prepared himself for the profession of medicine, graduating from the Toronto School of Medicine and supplementing his course with a course of lectures in the Detroit Medical College from which institution he took his degree in 1870. He at once located at Nashville where he soon built up a large and lucrative practice.

In 1874 he married Miss Eva M. Nichols. Two children were born of this marriage, Greta Belle, now a teacher of Latin and German in the schools of Hastings and Glenn Howie, now a young business man of Nashville.

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF D. B. COOK, WITH PERSONAL REMINISCENCES—COMPILED BY T. J. T.

"I am weary. I will now go to sleep. Good night." Thus spoke that grand old man, D. B. Cook, on the evening of May 23, 1901, ere he lapsed into unconsciousness, with the sure hope of awakening in a brighter land.

Mr. Cook was truly a pioneer in Michigan journalism, having established the Niles Republican in 1842, and tells thus, his own story:

"Among the property destroyed in Litchfield, Conn., by the late fire was the old Litchfield Enquirer printing office, an office which must have existed nearly a century. It reminds us that in the year 1828, a young man enlisted in that office as printer's devil. Henry Adams was editor and proprietor. It was the business of the youngest apprentice to do all the dirty work of the office, all the chores at the home, all the errands necessary to be done. He put the ink on the type with two huge balls made of buckskin, stuffed with wool, with a handle on each. The ink was distributed by bringing them together and the form was beaten with them. About 1830 a roller was received from New Haven, made of glue and molasses, and this was a wonderful improvement. The old balls were thrown aside and there was great rejoicing. The old town pump was about eighteen rods from the office and every drop of water used in washing forms, hands, etc., this boy brought from that pump for four years, when another boy came and was duly installed printer's devil, thus relieving him, and he ascended a step higher and felt extremely happy over this exaltation.

"Five years was the term to be served in a printing office before he could be honorably discharged, and this was done. This boy grew up to manhood and since then has seen something of the world. He has worked in printing offices in many cities—in Hartford, in New Haven, in the New York Herald, by Bennett; New York Express, by Brooks; in the Courier and Enquirer, by J. Watson Webb; Journal of Commerce, by Hale & Hallock, besides various catalogue and job offices in that city. Next in Philadelphia on the Saturday Evening Post; in Baltimore, on the Baltimore Sun; in Richmond, on Richmond Enquirer, with old Richie; in Washington, on the National Intelligencer, by Gales & Seaton, during the extra session of congress called by Martin Van Buren. Here was his best schooling. There sat in the senate then, Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Sam Houston, Silas Wright, Tom Benton, Jas. Buchanan and others, whose giant intellects commanded the admiration

of the civilized world. The countenances and appearances of all those men are as deeply impressed upon the writer today as when he saw them day after day from the gallery of the senate and heard them speak. The tall and stately form of Henry Clay, the brilliant orator, the pride of Kentucky, as he addressed the senate is indelibly impressed upon the mind. Calhoun, the giant of the south, tall and with a towering forehead, sullen, aristocratic, proud, never known to smile, spoke with wonderful rapidity yet distinctly, and with his soul all on fire. Webster, dark, stocky, with a piercing, dark eye, was slow, deliberate and spoke from earnest convictions.

"Leaving Washington, fortune led the young printer westward where he had been before, and by the Erie canal before a railroad was built farther. Buffalo was but a small city, but it was full of printers. Here, in the Mansion House, he spent a fearful night fighting rats that were as numerous as bed bugs. The steamer Robert Fulton, after a week through terrible storm, in November, 1836, landed him in Detroit with but a few shillings in his pocket. Printers here, too, were numerous, and through mud and mire he went to Pontiac and worked for two dollars a week and board on the Pontiac Courier, by Sparahawk; in 1837 and 1838 on the Kalamazoo Gazette, by Gilbert, the fierce winter of 1839 and 1840 among the Ottawa and Pottawattomie tribe of Indians, and among wolves and deer in Allegan county; in the spring of 1840 on the Detroit Advertiser, by Dawson and Bates. The destruction by fire in the winter of 1841 and 1842 of the Advertiser and Free Press turned 50 or more printers out of employment, and westward he turned his face and purchased a printing outfit at Kalamazoo of N. Balch and started with it for Chicago, which place, unfortunately, he never reached. This, in brief, is the destiny of one of the printers who left the now destroyed Enquirer office. The old editor, Adams, was drowned in the winter through a hole in the ice. His brother, Charles, took charge of the paper. The thousands of incidents in the life of a printer and editor cannot be enumerated."

When en route to Chicago, Mr. Cook stopped off at Niles, and becoming very favorably impressed with the then small village, decided to locate here. He purchased the Republican, a whig paper published by Miller & Bassett, in April 1842 (long before the republican party was born), and converted it into a democratic paper and continued to publish it in the third story of the brick building erected by Dr. Lewis, on the corner of Main and Second streets, for twenty years, or until the war of the rebellion broke out, when he sold it to A. J. Shakespeare with a view of going into the 12th regiment which the paper had started, and

which was to be composed entirely of democrats, and the late Wm. Graves, of this city, was to be the colonel. The colonel, however, who was appointed was not acceptable to many and among others, Mr. Cook withdrew.

Mr. Shakespeare changed the name of the paper to Democrat. The late Major Duncan then changed the name of his paper, the Express, to Republican, and that paper has also continued since.

In March, 1876, Mr. Cook started the Niles Mirror, which paper at once advocated the principles of the greenback party with which the democrattic party soon affiliated, electing Begole as governor, as a result. The Mirror soon became firmly established as a democratic paper with a circulation unsurpassed by country newspapers.

In August, 1841, Mr. Cook married Jane Mabelle, youngest daughter of Abraham Wadhams, of Goshen, Conn. Directly after they removed to Detroit, where he remained until the fire of 1842, when they came to Niles, as previously mentioned.

To Mr. and Mrs. Cook four children were born, three of whom survive their parents. The children are: Fred W., editor of the Niles Daily Star; Frank D., of New York City, and Mrs. Perry Griffin, of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.

Mrs. Cook died December 8, 1889, in the home hallowed and brightened by her presence for nearly half a century. Mrs. Cook was born at Goshen, Conn., Dec. 31, 1819, being in her 70th year at the time of her demise.

Having spent six months among the Indians in '39-40, in the forests of Allegan county, this State, Mr. Cook has left to posterity a little book, which is one of the few genuine Indian books in existence. The savage is painted as he really was and shown to be cruel and treacherous, yet notwithstanding these defects, to have some very noble qualities when a white man had tact enough to make the Indian his friend.

In 1839 Mr. Cook was told by his physician that if he remained longer in his position on the staff of the Kalamazoo Gazette, he would be a dead man inside of six months. The doctor's prescription to him was that he should go and live among the Indians for half a year or so, and that by doing that there was a chance for his recovery.

His long life proves the wisdom of the doctor's advice, although he at that time had some doubts about his being able to stand the hardships and privations of life among the Indians. It was during these months

that Mr. Cook accumulated the knowledge of Indian life so ably portrayed in his book.

Mr. Cook talked most entertainingly of days gone by, and in conversation with the writer but a few days before he left us, he spoke as follows of the house of representatives and senate of the United States, as it was in Jackson's and Van Buren's days:

"During the administration of Martin Van Buren in 1837 (an extra session), I obtained a situation as compositor on the National Intelligencer a stanch whig paper, by Gales & Seaton, two venerable and dignified gentlemen. At that time one visiting the house of representatives could not but be disgusted at the pandemonium which reigned, members rushing hither and thither making the greatest confusion. One can never forget that the only voice which could be heard by the visitor was the shrill and piercing one of John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts. His voice could be heard above the din in all parts of the hall. Next to him was Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, whose powerful voice, like Adams', would generally command silence.

"Not so in the senate. There sat in that chamber Daniel Webster, the pride of Massachusetts, the dignified and able expounder of the constitution; by his side was the noble and brilliant orator of Kentucky, Henry Clay; on the opposite side of that chamber sat the proud, aristocratic, earnest and brilliant John C. Calhoun, of North Carolina. A little to the right and in the rear of Calhoun sat the keen-eyed Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri, the great champion of Jackson and Van Buren. Farther around to his right sat the most pleasant speaker of all, Silas Wright, of New York, the great joker with Webster; near him was James Buchanan; a little in front sat the handsomest man in the senate, William C. Rieves, of Virginia, with a brilliant black eye, black hair, elegantly attired in black, perfect in every feature and every inch a gentleman. Near him sat the homeliest man, William C. Preston, of South Carolina, with a long, slim, Roman nose, and rather forbidding features, yet a firm and able supporter of the great nullifier, John C. Calhoun. There was Lucius Lyon, and John Norvell of Michigan; the brilliant William R. King, of Alabama, who served from October 28, 1819 to March 4, 1841, and other distinguished men whose powers of eloquence were unsurpassed in the world—men of great minds and statesmen of the highest order.

"One could not but be struck by the great contrast in going from the house of representatives, where all was chaos, and looking from the gallery of the senate upon the presiding officer, Richard M. Johnson,

and upon that noble body of men, dignified and silent, where courtesy was extended to all. When Clay, Webster, Calhoun or any of those men arose all was silence.

"The people of the United States will probably never see such a senate of giants as existed in those days. Now politicial demagogues —men who have the most money, regardless of dignity or brains, are elected to fill the seats of Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Wright, Benton and others of that day.

"At the commencement of that extra session of Mr. Van Buren's, the venerable statesman from Kentucky, Henry Clay, then about the oldest in senatorial life, did not arrive in time. The senate was accustomed to meet at 10 a. m. On the morning in question all was in readiness, the reporters were in their places, Richard M. Johnson presiding, and all business was delayed out of courtesy to Clay. While waiting, the members commenced joking with each other, and Wright and Webster sparred with the keenest wit. Wright assailed the memory of Webster, and was sorry to see the noble State of Massachusetts failing so rapidly, and Webster in turn would quote some law tending to show that the State of New York had better send to the senate a man better read in Blackstone, and thus they would put the senate in a roar of laughter, then adjourn.

"So passed three or four days. Finally, one morning while in session, word came that there was an accident on the Baltimore road and that Clay was in the wreck. The sergeant-at-arms was dispatched and soon returned and reported that Clay was unhurt. A few moments later Clay entered. Every senator arose to meet him save John C. Calhoun. He sat at his desk writing, with a little colored page at his elbow sealing his letters. He never looked up while all the others advanced and shook Clay's hand. At that time Calhoun was bitter toward Clay.

"The character of the men of those days may be explained by a little incident. Clay never entertained any enmity toward any political opponent, and so it was with nearly all of that body. During Jackson's day, Van Buren presiding in the senate, Clay was selected by the whig caucus to make a buncombe political speech and arraign Jackson in a most terrific manner. His speech was terrible. He charged Van Buren with being the father of all the inquity of the administration, of eating with gold spoons at the white house at the expense of the people, and with many other things which had no foundation in fact. He poured hot lava upon Van Buren and one would have supposed that they were bitter enemies. When Clay concluded 'Van' took out his snuff box and

asked Clay to take a pinch, which he did with a smile. Many took snuff in those days. Clay's speech was used in the campaign of 1840, and contributed much toward the defeat of Van Buren."

In speaking of the visits made to the printing office, Mr. Cook said:

"The printers in the Intelligencer office were always glad to set up Clay's speeches, for he always desired in his great speeches to read the proof. He would appear in the office about midnight and ask the foreman, 'How are the boys getting along?' 'The proof will be ready soon,' was the general answer. After reading and correcting, the forms were placed on the press, after which came a fine lunch for all in the office, at Clay's expense. He was the only senator who remembered the boys in that way.

"In society Mrs. Calhoun was considered the center of attraction. She was tall, graceful, beautiful of feature and figure, dignified, brilliant and admired by all."

The National Intelligencer and Clay and Webster possessed more political influence in their day than any set of men have enjoyed since. The great whig party, north and south, depended on them, and whatever they advocated was almost unanimously supported up to the great compromise of 1850, called a "repeal of the Missouri compromise" of 1820. The great ambition of Henry Clay was to be president. He made a fatal political speech when he was a member of the lower house, in 1813. He was a democrat and made a great speech against the United States bank. He afterwards became its defender and a whig, but could never answer the arguments he had made against it, and "Old Hickory" and other democrats crushed out all his prospects for the presidency, Jackson beating him in 1832.

CALHOUN COUNTY.

BY H. B. SMITH.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Babcock, Elias	Marengo	May 20, 1901	81	He came to Michigan in 1839.
Houck, Sophia Best	Marengo	May, 1901	71	Came to Michigan in 1851.
Lusk, Prunella	Marengo	Dec. 10, 1900	77	Came to Michigan in 1836.
Marsh, P. W	Albion	Aug., 1900	91	Came to Albion in 1837.

WILLARD.—Hon. George Willard died March 26, 1901, at his home, 84 North avenue, Battle Creek, as the result of a stroke of apoplexy, received Friday afternoon. He was seemingly conscious to within a few hours of his death, though unable to speak, the throat and entire right side of the body having been paralyzed. He reached his 77th birthday on Wednesday, March 20. His loss will be deeply felt in the community where he spent his life, but to none, outside of the immediate family, more than to the Journal staff and employes, by whom he was revered and loved almost as a father, and in whom he always took the most kindly interest.

Hon. George Willard, son of Allen and Eliza (Barron) Willard, was born March 20, 1824, in Bolton, Chittenden county, Vermont, and came of a sturdy pioneer stock. The founder of the family, Simon Willard, who emigrated from the county of Kent, England, in 1634, settling in Concord, Mass., was a man of strong character and marked ability. He was very active in the affairs of the colony, both civil and military, having been a member of the general court from 1636 to 1652, and governor's assistant from the latter date to 1676. He explored the headwaters of the Merrimac, and was one of the commissioners to settle the boundary line dispute between New Hampshire and Massachusetts, the rock which marks the boundary still bearing his initials. He was commander of the militia of Middlesex county during King Philip's war, and led the force to the relief of Deerfield. Oliver Willard, the great-grandfather of the subject of this sketch, received from the colony of New York a patent to Hartland township, and first settled there.

George Willard's father, a graduate of Darmouth College, and a classmate of Rufus Choate, removed to Michigan with his family, consisting of his wife and two sons, George and Charles, in 1836. Under his

supervision George received a thorough training in the classics, as well as other branches and when only twenty years of age, graduated from Kalamazoo College. The following years were spent in teaching and preparing himself for the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church, to which he was ordained in 1848. He was successively rector of churches in Coldwater, Battle Creek and Kalamazoo, Michigan. Mr. Willard remained in the active discharge of his ministerial functions until 1862, when, his convictions of duty having been gradually undergoing a change, he felt that he could not consistently continue to fill the priestly office, and he resigned his charge, soon afterwards accepting a Latin professorship in the Kalamazoo College.

Mr. Willard's hatred of wrong led him to strongly oppose the extension of slavery into the territories, and finally drove him into political life. In 1855, during the excitement in regard to the Kansas-Nebraska bill, he wrote a letter to the Hon. William H. Seward on the subject, receiving a reply from which the following is an extract:

"Truth in every department of human knowledge and action, is entitled to open, free confession and vindication by all classes of society; and I know of no ground upon which any man anywhere, much less any man in a republic, can suppress his convictions or refrain from giving his support to the truth on any great and vital question."

In 1856, Mr. Willard became a member of the State Board of Education, on which he served six years, his influence and efforts contributing largely to the establishment of the State Agricultural College at Lansing, which was successfully put in operation during this period. In 1863, he was elected regent of the Michigan University, which office he held for two years. Always radical and progressive, Mr. Willard drew up the resolution opening the univerisity to women, which was adopted. He also strongly advocated the establishment of a chair of homeopathy in the medical department, and was largely instrumental in securing the services of President Angell to the university. In 1866, he was elected to the legislature, serving as chairman of the committee on education in the house, and in the following year was appointed to the same position in the constitutional convention, of which he was a member. In the State republican convention of 1868, he was chairman of the committee on resolutions. In 1872, he was appointed a member of the centennial board of finance, and in the same year was a delegate at large to the National republican convention at Philadelphia, in which he was a member of the committee on rules. In the fall of that year, Mr. Willard was nominated by his party for repre-

sentative in the forty-third congress, and was elected by the remarkable majority of 7,547. He was a member of the committees on civil service, and on coinage, weights and measures, and on his re-election in 1874, was again appointed to the latter committee, and was also a member of the committee on the District of Columbia. He was made a member of the United States Monetary Commission in 1877, and made a thorough study of the silver question, attending all meetings of the committee both in Washington and New York. Mr. Willard was also on the committee to provide a method of counting the electoral vote, and on a sub-committee to prepare a history of the entire vote. While in congress Mr. Willard labored zealously for the adjustment of sectional difficulties, and advocated a speedy settlement of the southern question on the basis of justice and charity. He at once took high rank as a speaker, his speeches on the subject of cheap transportation, in opposition to the Force bill, and advocacy of a popular government, and on a bill to regulate the presidential vote, attracted wide attention, and gave him a national reputaton; the latter speech was published in all the leading papers of both parties. In addition to his attainments as a scholar and orator, Mr. Willard was a recognized worker, looking closely after the material interests of his immediate constituency, while not forgetting that his duties were also national in their scope.

In 1868, Mr. Willard purchased the Battle Creek Weekly Journal, and four years later established the Daily Journal, of which he was editor and a proprietor up to the time of his death. In 1844, he married Miss Emily Harris, daughter of Rev. John Harris, of Battle Creek. They had four children—Mrs. Charles D. Brewer, Charles Willard, Mrs. E. W. Moore, whose husband is business manager of the Journal, and George B. Willard, city editor of the Journal, all of whom survive him with the exception of Charles, whose death occurred in early childhood. Mrs. Emily H. Willard died in 1885, and in 1887 Mr. Willard married Mrs. Elizabeth A. Willard, who still survives him.

A great reader, an ardent student of both ancient and modern history, a fine linguist, possessing a familiar acquaintance with German, French, Italian, Spanish, Latin and Greek, Mr. Willard's scholarly acquirements, supplementing fine natural gifts, made him one of the foremost among the throng of brilliant men of whom Michigan is so justly proud. Mr. Willard, though advanced in years had always

possessed good health, and up to his last illness retained fully the mental qualities of his vigorous manhood. In person, he was of medium height, erect, robust figure, a finely developed head, blue eyes, and clear-cut intellectual features. His manner was dignified, and as a conversationalist he was charmingly entertaining and instructive. In all that tended to the development and progress of Battle Creek, Mr. Willard took a deep interest, and contributed largely by voice and pen, as well as in other ways, to its prosperity. He retained his connection with the Protestant Episcopal Church, and was a delegate to its triennial general conventions in 1856, 1886, 1889, 1892 and 1898. A man of strictest integrity, with "the courage of his convictions," a gentleman in the truest sense of the word, Mr. Willard was deserving of the high regard and esteem in which he was held by all whom he honored with his friendship.

Andrus.—George Andrus, aged 70 years, died at the residence of his daughter, Mrs. Martin E. Brown, Battle Creek, March 25, 1901.

The deceased was born at Binghampton, N. Y., December 5, 1831, and came to Michigan sixty years ago. He settled upon a farm on Goguac prairie, eighty acres of which were taken up by his father from the government. In 1846, he was united in marriage to Diadama Sweet, and unto them were born three children. Mrs. Andrus passed away at the homestead in the month of March, 1886. Surviving him are three children, Mrs. E. P. Young, Mrs. Ellis R. Smith, and Mrs. M. E. Brown, one brother, William Andrus, and one sister, Mrs. Andrew Helmer, all of this city.

Bentley.—Geo. W. Bentley died at his home in Marshall, February 24, 1901, aged 92 years.

Deceased was born in Graton, Yorkshire, England in 1809, and when a man he came to America and located in Marshall in September, 1834, and there he spent the remaining sixty-seven years of his life, all save four years in the fifties, which he spent in Iowa.

In 1872, he with others established the National City Bank of Marshall, of which he was president up to the date of his death. He was twice married and only one son survives him.

Fiske.—Lewis Ransom Fiske died while visiting his son in Denver, Col., February 21, 1901, aged 75 years.

Dr. Fiske was born in Pennfield, Monroe county, New York, December 24, 1825. Removing to Coldwater, Mich., in 1835, his parents settled

on a farm which is now within the corporate limits of the city. Passing over his early schooldays, at twenty years of age he entered Wesleyan Seminary, now Albion College, of which he was one day to become the honored president, where he spent two years. Later he completed the full classical course at the university, receiving his Bachelor's degree and graduating with the class of 1850. He then began the study of law, which was his intended pursuit, but in the fall of his graduating year he accepted the position of professor of natural science at Albion, which he held three years. In 1853 he resigned to accept a like position in the normal school at Ypsilanti. In 1856 he was elected professor of chemistry in the Agricultural College. His proposed pursuit of law gave way under his congenial educational work and he entered the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

He filled pastorates at Jackson, Ann Arbor and Detroit from 1863 to 1877, when he was elected president of Albion College. From 1875 to 1880 he edited the Michigan Christian Advocate. The degrees of D. D. and LL. D., were conferred upon him respectively by Albion College, in 1873, and by the University of Michigan in 1879.

Dr. Fiske was six times elected delegate to the quadrennial general conference of the M. E. Church, held respectively in Brooklyn, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Omaha and Cleveland. For sixteen years he was a member of the board of education, which supervises all the educational work of the church. In 1890 he was president of the State Teachers' Association, and for twenty years, president of Albion College.

Dr. Fiske was a well known contributor to the standard literature of the country. In 1898 he published a most successful work entitled, "Echoes From a College Platform." Another book, "Among the Professions," was recently issued and met with a splendid reception. A third book, "Man Building," was in the press at the time of his death.

Dr. Fiske had been twice married, first in 1852, at Howell, to Miss Elizabeth Ross Spence, a lady of Scotch birth, who died in 1879, and in 1880 to Mrs. Helen M. Davis, of Detroit, who died in 1896. He leaves three sons, Herbert, living in Denver; Harry, in Leadville, Col.; and Clarence A., living in Springfield, Ill.; and one daughter, Mrs. Otis Leonard, of Albion.

Gorham.—After a life filled with years and honor the Honorable Charles T. Gorham passed away at his home in Marshall, March 11,

1901. In his death not only the immediate family are bereaved but the loss is felt by Marshall and the whole State of Michigan. Mr. Gorham was a man of great energy, faithful to every trust, possessed of the courage of his convictions, a born leader and a patroit, and had the confidence and respect of all who knew him. His life was one of regular habits and due to this fact, mainly, he was permitted to reach a ripened age, breathing his last on the eve of his eighty-ninth birthday.

Charles T. Gorham was born in Danbury, Fairfield county, Conn., May 29, 1812, the third son of Mr. and Mrs. William Gorham, both of English descent. His father's family, during the early days of the republic, were prominently identified with the formation of the government, Nathaniel Gorham being one of the delegates to the first United States constitutional convention held in New York city.

At an early age he moved with his parents to Oneonta, N. Y., where he lived until 1836, when he came westward to Michigan, settling in the village of Marshall, which with the exception of the absence of a few years while United States Minister at the Hague, has since been his home.

His first business venture in Marshall was a partnership with the late C. M. Brewer, with whom he engaged in the mercantile trade until 1840 when he disposed of his interests to Mr. Brewer and opened a private bank.

The enterprise at that date was not the pretentious banking institution of the present. He opened an office in a small wooden structure on West State street and the wealth of the bank was secured in a tin box, that being the only safe. In 1865 upon the solicitation of a government official, he determined to incorporate, and the First National bank of Marshall was the outgrowth with a capital stock of $100,000, which was subscribed to by hlmself and others also prominently identified with the interests of the town. Mr. Gorham was elected president of the bank which office he retained until 1898, when failing health led him to resign as the active head of the institution, his son, Selden H. Gorham, being elected to fill his place.

During the last year, especially, was it noticed that the cord of life was gradually becoming loosened and when, Monday evening, the heart ceased to beat, his death did not come as a shock to the family who were with him in his last hours. His death was as peaceful as had been his life, a closing of the eyes as in gentle sleep to awaken in the better life.

April 10, 1839, Mr. Gorham was married to Miss Charlotte Eaton

Hart, formerly of Durham, N. Y., who with two sons, Selden H. and Charles E., and one daughter, Mrs. Norris J. Frink, survive the husband and father.

The public career of Charles T. Gorham has been an illustrious one and is pointed to with pride. On the 23d of April, 1855, Kinsley S. Bingham, then governor of the State of Michigan, commissioned Mr. Gorham major general of the sixth division of the State militia, he being the first to receive this honorable distinction. In 1859 he was elected to the State senate and in the same year was also made a member of the Michigan legislative association. In 1864 he was elected delegate to the republican convention held in Baltimore and was among those who nominated the illustrious Lincoln for a second term as president, and later as a member of the electoral college, cast his ballot to confirm the election which ensued. In 1868 he was delegate at large to the Cincinnati convention, where General Grant was nominated for the presidency.

In 1867 Governor Crapo appointed Mr. Gorham railroad commissioner and in this capacity he served the interests of the State with his wonted fidelity. In 1880 he was made a member of the board of control of the reform school for girls, by Governor Croswell, and was one of the committee appointed to select the location for the institution. In 1881, in view of his executive ability, Governor Jerome appointed him a member of the improvement committee of the Mississippi river, and he later was elected a member of the American Institute of Civics, as a councilor for the district of Marshall, under Governor Jerome. He was also a trustee of the insane asylum at Kalamazoo for many years, resigning at the time he was elected to the senate in 1859.

In 1870 President Grant extended to Mr. Gorham the office of minister to Chili, but for various reasons the offer was declined. Afterward in the same year, however, he was appointed minister to the Netherlands, which he accepted and for five years he was established at the Hague, filling this position with honor to himself and his country.

Upon his return to the United States as a recognition of his efficient services he was tendered the assistant secretaryship of the interior under Secretary Zachariah Chandler, which office he retained until a change of administration occurred.

Prior to 1848 he was a democrat, but the management of the canvass of that year was so distasteful to him that he withdrew from the party and in 1854 was a conspicuous participant in the first republican

convention held in Jackson, "under the oaks," and was ever after a stanch supporter of the party there organized.

In Mr. Gorham's career there has been many a thrilling moment and the part that he played in the "underground railway" will ever live in history. The Crosswhite affair which occurred in the early forties, in which Mr. Gorham was implicated, reads like a story book and gives a forcible evidence of his strength of character and indomitable courage.

It will be recalled how Mr. Gorham was arrested and most unjustly convicted of violating the rights of slave owners. The case did not end, however, with the end of the trial, for it was decreed by fate that the seed of freedom which was sown upon Marshall soil should bear more abundant fruit. The case was carried into the United States senate, finally resulting in the passage of the fugitive slave law of 1850, which is branded as the most pernicious measure that ever received the sanction of an American congress.

To use Mr. Gorham's own words in describing the affair: "This law was the straw that broke the camel's back. The people of the north would no longer endure the arrogant demands of the south. The history of the succeeding years is written in blood. The wave of destruction which grew from the ripple caused in Marshall, swept over the country. The names of the few noble men who fought the earlier battles for freedom and the million brave souls who faced death for the sake of a principle, are mentioned with reverence whenever the theme is broached. The martyrs, Lincoln and John Brown, head a glorious list of fallen heroes and the stain of slavery has been obliterated from the nation's tablets by the crimsoned hand of war."

Mr. Gorham was a man of commanding figure, fine head and face, and dignified manner, that always attracted attention, whether on the public street, in the legislative assembly, or the courts of Europe. Though ever the busy man of business, he was fond of good literature, and a man of wide reading. As a companion he was the life of any company, bright, witty and full of entertaining stories, which he was an adept at relating. He received his friends at his home and in the office at the bank with cordial urbanity and pleasing hospitality. He was a good judge of character and of clear, far-seeing sight in business matters that made him not only successful as a banker but invaluable in his relation to the commercial class and the larger interests of the community. He took an active and earnest interest in the educational and religious life of Marshall, serving many years on the school board.

HINMAN.—Henry T. Hinman died at his home in Battle Creek, March 10, 1901, aged 78 years.

He was born in Castleton, Rutland county, Vermont, and came to Michigan in 1840 when a young man eighteen years of age, locating in Bellevue, Eaton county. He remained there but three years, then removed to Battle Creek, where he entered the mercantile business with his brothers, B. F. and J. F., under the firm name of Hinman & Co., and continued a prominent business man until his death.

In November, 1849, he married Miss Bington, who died ere one brief year of wedded life had been completed. In 1855 he married Miss Mary Langdon of his native town, who died February 22, 1866.

KINGSBURY.—F. A. Kingsbury, one of the earliest settlers of Marshall, died March 10, 1901, aged 91 years.

He was born at Schaghticoke, N. Y., and came to Michigan early in the thirties and located in Marshall in 1835. For many years he was the only furniture dealer in Marshall, and he continued in that business long after competition became a permanent feature of trade. In 1840 he built the house on High street which was his home for sixty-one years. His aged wife survives him.

PATTISON.—George W. Pattison died in December, 1900, at his home in Marengo, aged 83 years.

Deceased was born in Farmington, Ontario county, N. Y., May 5, 1817, and came to Michigan at the age of seventeen years with his parents, settling in Marengo in 1834. From the first he became actively identified with the best interest of his section and the early history of Calhoun county.

His father was a pioneer of two states, and before his removal to the west he assisted in building the Erie canal, having charge of the construction of a large portion of it.

George W. Pattison became a newspaper man early in life and his experiences in this line of chosen work were varied and prominent. In 1835 he established the "Western Star," the first newspaper of Buffalo, which he soon disposed of and went to Detroit to accept a position on the "Weekly Free Press," then published by Sheldon & Knight. In 1837 he launched a new paper the "Niagara Falls Journal," which he conducted for a year, when he disposed of it and went to Grand Rapids and started the "Grand River Times." He sold this paper in 1838 to Judge Charles I. Walker, of Detroit. In 1844 he was

manager of the "Hillsdale Gazette" and in 1846 he went to Detroit and began the publication of the "Commercial Bulletin." In this enterprise he associated with him Col. Daniel Munger. Two years later they published the "State Journal" in connection with the "Bulletin." In 1848 he was appointed State printer and served two years, after which he again returned to Detroit and established the "Temperance Union" and a little later the "Firemen's Journal." During the war of the rebellion he served as sutler of the 25th regiment of Michigan infantry, and on his return at the close of the war, or the latter end of it, he again launched forth in newspaperdom, starting again a new paper the "True Democrat." It is a noticeable fact that nearly all his ventures were in floating new weekly papers. In 1864 he engaged in mercantile pursuits, dealing in books, periodicals, etc., in Detroit, and continued in this business twenty years. He died surrounded by volumes of rare books which he had loved in life.

CASS COUNTY.

BY L. H. GLOVER.

Alanson Benedict, a native of N. Y., died in Dowagiac, Jan. 11, 1900, at the age of 63 years.

Asa Duran, born in N. Y., in 1826, died in Dowagiac, June 25, 1900.

John Mittan, aged 74 years died in Dowagiac, March 10, 1900.

Allan Rudick, born in Ohio, died in Dowagiac, April 1, 1900.

William A. Sprague, born in Michigan, died in Dowagiac, April 3, 1900.

Dennis Daily, born in Ireland, died in Dowagiac, April 28, 1900, aged 82 years.

James D. Wicks, born in New York 70 years ago, died in Dowagiac, April 23, and his wife Elizabeth died the next day, aged 64 years.

Thomas J. Rice, a native of Ohio, died in Dowagiac, April 29, 1900.

Daniel R. Ball, a native of Butler county, Ohio, a former resident of Wayne and Cassopolis, died at Manistee, at the age of 75 years.

Warren G. Brown died in Marcellus Oct., '99, at the age of 87 years.

Clinton Bair, a native of Cass county, died in Newberg, Jan. 23, 1900, at the age of 65 years.

Lemuel Archer, a former resident of Calvin, died at Constantine, April 29, 1900.

Thomas Dungy, born in Calvin in 1845, died May 9, 1900.

Daniel McKee, a former resident of Newberg, died in Kalamazoo, Dec. 17, 1899, at the age of 69 years.

Ezekiel Oren, a former resident of Calvin, died in Florida in April, 1900.

Mollie Shields, born in Ohio, died in Pokagon, Jan. 8, 1900, at the age of 45 years.

Margaret Brusch, born in this State, died in Howard, in 1900, at the age of 60.

Oliver Virgil, born in New York 78 years ago, died in Howard, Feb. 23, 1900.

Eva Motley, born in Porter in 1853, married to J. W. Symons; died June 15, 1900.

John Bell, native of England, died in Newberg, Feb. 19, 1900, at an advanced age.

Horace Crane, born in Pennsylvania, died in Wayne, Feb. 8, 1900, aged 79.

Ellen J. Tice, a resident of Silver Creek, died at Middlebury, N. Y., Feb. 11, 1900.

Polly Sturges died in Dowagiac, Nov. 20, 1899, at the advanced age of 96 years.

Alonzo Kingsbury, born in Alabama, came to Cassopolis in 1854, went to California about 30 years ago, and there died Nov. 18, 1899.

William Hilbert, born in Pennsylvania, died at Adamsville, March 8, 1900.

William Bates, born in Chautauqua county, New York, Sept. 4, 1823, came to Kalamazoo county in 1832, and seven years later to Pokagon; died in Cassopolis, June 23, 1899.

William Cady, born in New York city in 1830, came to Michigan many years ago, lived with Henry Kimmerle, in La Grange since 1884, and there died June 29, 1899.

Mary E. Worthington, born in Kalamazoo in 1853, and came to Cassopolis in 1878, married to S. H. McIlvain in March, 1883, died in Kalamazoo, June 22, 1899.

Margaret Hedrick, born in Montgomery county, New York, Jan. 9, 1811, married to Abraham Bronner in 1829, came to Penn in 1862, died in Cassopolis, July 1, 1899.

Lafayette R. Read, born in Tompkins county, N. Y., August 5, 1824, came to Calvin in 1833; died at Cassopolis, June 24, 1900.

John Jenkins, born in Greene county, Ohio, in 1821, came to Michigan in 1825, later to Pokagon, where he lived until 1865; died at Newton, Ind., June 25, 1900.

John Dasey, born in Ireland in 1827, came to America in 1843 and to Cassopolis in ——; died June 30, 1900.

L. C. Mowry, born in Erie county, N. Y., February 22, 1826, came to Cass county at the age of ten; went to Lake City, Iowa; died June 30, 1900.

Harvey E. Tompkins, born in Trumbull county, Ohio, March 17, 1845; died in Volinia, June 28, 1900.

Washington I. Griffith, born in St. Joseph county, Ind., Dec. 22, 1845, came to Milton when a child; died there June 20, 1900.

Henry M. Bishop, born in Cayuga county, N. Y., in April, 1843, came to Cassopolis in 1865, moved to Elkhart in 1894 and there died June 20, 1900.

Orville D. Carlisle, born in Ontario county, N. Y., Aug. 31, 1833, came to Edwardsburg in 1839, and later to LaGrange; died at New Market, Ala., June 29, 1900.

Asenath E. Shivel, born in Montgomery county, Ohio, Oct. 10, 1827, settled in Porter in 1833; married to Robert Traverse in 1855; died at Cassopolis, July 6, 1901.

Uriah M. Adams, born in Sandusky county, Ohio, Nov. 2, 1832, settled in Porter in March, 1837; died July 5, 1900.

Milton J. Gard, born in Butler county, Ind., March 11, 1824, came to Volinia in 1829; died July 19, 1900. Former president of the Cass County Pioneer Society.

Christina Rinehart, born in Rockingham county, Va., July 4, 1819, settled on Young's Prairie in 1829; married to Warren H. Stevens in 1857; died in Porter, July 18, 1900.

Alexander Bass, born in Robinson county N. C., Dec. 14, 1819, for many years a resident of Calvin; died July 26, 1900.

A. Louise Ruggles, born in Pokagon in 1865; married to Empson Corey in 1890; died at Benton Harbor, July 10, 1900.

Jefferson Rucker, born in 1824, a resident of Howard for 60 years; died July 3, 1900.

Ellen Mansfield, born at Cassopolis, Aug. 19, 1853; married to John Donough in 1875; died in Penn, Aug. 18, 1900.

James Bradt, born in New York, March 29, 1828, came to Marcellus in 1854 and there died Aug. 4, 1900.

Frank Savage, born in Marcellus, Feb. 4, 1845; died at Cassopolis, Aug. 29, 1900.

Albert Franklin Smith, born in Wayne, Nov. 3, 1858; died at Kalamazoo, Aug. 27, 1900.

Clayburn D. Shingledecker, born in Greene county, Ohio, May 20, 1820, came to LaGrange in 1842; died Aug. 27, 1900.

Richard Heddon, born in England in 1818, at the age of 12 came to America, to Michigan in 1848 and to Dowagiac in 1860 and there died Aug. 10, 1900.

Catherine Higgins, born at Richmond, Ind., March 11, 1848; at the age of eleven years came to Jefferson; married M. F. Westfall May 15, 1867; died Aug. 31, 1900.

John Dwan, born in Ireland in 1833, came to Howard when a boy; died at Benton Harbor, Aug. 15, 1900.

Fred J. Harwood, born in Newburg, March 24, 1858, and there died Aug. 16, 1900.

Huldah Colyer, born in Logan county, Ohio, April 25, 1815, came to Cass county in 1830; married to I. W. Reames in 1831, after his death married to William Abbott in 1859; died at Bellevue, Sept. 23, 1900.

William W. Beard, born at Liberty, Ind., in 1830, came to Penn at an early day and remained there until 1882 when he went to North Dakota and died Sept. 8, 1900.

Mrs. Mary A. Hartman, born in Clinton county, Pa., Oct. 28, 1820, married to Jefferson Hartman, April 27, 1843; died in Porter, Sept. 13, 1901.

Abbott Hawks, born in Pennsylvania, Aug. 4, 1826, came to Porter 1856.

Amos Smith, born in Erie county, Pa., Aug. 7, 1829, first came to Penn in 1848, and permanently in 1852; died Sept. 18, 1900.

Elizabeth McCollister, born at White Pigeon in June 1839; married to Charles Starrett in 1859 and came to Dowagiac in 1865, and there died Sept. 8, 1900.

Joel H. Smith, born in New York in 1820, came to Cass county first in 1839 and permanently in 1846; died in Dowagiac, Sept. 23, 1900.

Mary E. Haggerty, born in Oneida county, New York, in 1820, came to Newberg in 1844; married to James M. Chapman, April 30, 1843; died Sept. 30, 1900.

Hiram N. Wooden, born in Saratoga county, N. Y., Jan. 15, 1826, settled in Mason in 1846; died Sept. 6, 1900.

Amanda Wall, born in 1845; married to Gillman C. Jones in 1872; died at Dowagiac, Sept. 6, 1900.

Marshall Goodspeed, born in Cayuga county, N. Y., April 1, 1830, came to Volinia in 1836 and there died Sept. 3, 1900.

Benjamin F. Gard, born in Butler county, Ind., July 30, 1829, and came to Volinia the same year and there died Sept. 23, 1900.

Sarah Henderson Lowery, born at Milford, Delaware, Dec. 22, 1805; married to Thomas T. Glenn in March, 1825; came to Milton in 1834, and remained in the county until 1847, when with her family she moved to Niles; died at Grand Rapids, Sept. 6, 1900.

Squire Zane, born in Virginia, came to Cass county at an early date, went to Oskaloosa, Iowa, in 1841; died Sept. 19, 1900.

David Snyder came to Marcellus in 1842 and there died Sept. 30, 1900.

Mary Burges, born in New York, April 10, 1819; married to William Porter in 1841, settled in Marcellus in 1864; died Oct. 29, 1900.

Samuel Shoemaker, born in Pennsylvania in 1825, came to Marcellus in 1858; died Oct. 12, 1900.

Edward B. Goodenough, born in Cayuga county, N. Y., in 1835, came to Volinia in 1837; died Oct. 15, 1900.

Emily Hunter, born in Hamilton county, Ohio, Feb. 20, 1823, came to Cass county in 1833; married to Franklin Burnham, March 15, 1853; died at Vandalia, Oct. 23, 1900.

Jane Birdsall, born in Oneida county, N. Y., March 10, 1813; married to Asa W. Batchelor in 1836, came to Cass county in 1850; died at Buchanan, Oct. 10, 1900.

Marie Burnham, born in Canada, Aug. 6, 1825, came to LaGrange when 14 years old; married to Wm. K. Palmer in 1845; died at Dowagiac, Oct. 7, 1900.

Angelia Adams, widow of William Adams, born in Hopkinton, N. H., in 1823, came to Pokagon in 1867; died at Dowagiac, Oct. 25, 1900.

Robert H. Vose, born in Cayuga county, N. Y., Nov. 29, 1837, came to Marcellus when nine years of age and lived there until 1882, when he moved to Cedar county, Neb., where he died Oct. 17, 1900.

Cordelia Jones, born in Newberg in 1836; married to Collins Miller; always a resident of the county; died at Vandalia, Nov. 14, 1900.

Kate Beckwith, born at Dowagiac, Sept. 17, 1859; married to Fred E. Lee, Sept. 18, 1878; died Nov. 2, 1900.

Mrs. Catherine Grady was born in Ohio, Jan. 15, 1841, for many years a resident of Calvin; died at Lansing, Nov. 15, 1900.

Elizabeth Mason, born Nov. 1, 1853; married to Abner Tharp in 1875; died Nov. 19, 1900.

Robert C. Sloan, born in Seneca county, N. Y., May 7, 1842, came to Michigan in 1846 and to Newberg in 1870; died Nov. 24, 1900.

James B. Bonine, born in Wayne county, Ind., July 18, 1825, came to Penn in 1831; died Nov. 28, 1900.

John Alexander, born near Richmond, Ind., Dec. 22, 1824, came to Young's Prairie in 1830; died at Michigan City, Ind., Nov. 27, 1900.

Delia A. Thomas, born in 1845; married to J. Fred Emmerson; died Nov. 24, 1900.

Louisa Wilson, born in Schodack, Rensselaer county, N. Y., Jan. 5, 1821; married to Solomon Curtis, Nov. 25, 1851, and settled in Berrien county, in 1863 moved to Penn where she lived until moving to Dowagiac in 1887, and there died Nov. 27, 1900.

Helen Herkimer, born in Herkimer county, N. Y., June 7, 1831; married to William Holmes in 1849, came to Pokagon in 1852; died at Dowagiac, Nov. 28, 1900.

Emaline Joy, born in Chautauqua county, N. Y., April 24, 1823, at the age of 14 came to Cass county; married to M. V. B. Charles in 1843; died at Niles, Nov. 26, 1900.

Jennie Thomas was born in Penn in 1866; married to Edwin Wright; died at Dowagiac, Nov. 16, 1900.

Roxana Joy, born in Cayuga county, N. Y., April 20, 1833, came to Mason in 1841; married to W. W. Zane, Oct. 1, 1863; died at Lake City, Iowa, Nov. 19, 1900.

Betsey Dewey, born Jan. 28, 1828; died at Vandalia, Nov. 7, 1901.

Thomas H. Pease, born in Albany, N. Y., 1837, came to Cassopolis in 1875, went to Chicago 20 years ago; died Dec. 15, 1900.

Seth P. Hurlbut, born in Berkshire county, Mass., Sept. 15, 1832, came to Porter in 1866; died in Newberg, Dec. 5, 1900.

Seth Tolbert, born in Steuben county, N. Y., Feb. 13, 1823, came to Porter in 1845; died Dec. 9, 1900.

Reuben T. Wooden, born in Saratoga county, N. Y., May 4, 1813, came to Mason in 1843; died Dec. 18, 1900.

William B. Sickles, born in Crawford county, Pa., March 21, 1900, settled in Newberg in 1862; died Dec. 21, 1900.

Carrie Driskel, born in Porter, Feb. 3, 1879; married to Ben. W. Voorhis, Oct. 25, 1899; died at Beetsville, Ohio, Dec. 17, 1900.

Martha Lee, born in Canandagua county, N. Y., in 1834, came to Jefferson when a child; married to George Vail; died in Chicago, Dec. 22, 1900.

Horace Ashley, born in Pokagon, Aug. 15, 1842; died at San Antonio, Texas.

Rebecca A. Reece was born in Shenango county, N. Y., Feb. 22, 1828, came to Cass county in 1836 and was five times a widow; married to

G. W. Lynch in 1838; married to Oliver Drew in 1853; married to J. W. Lewis in 1856; married to Goodsell Gregory in 1861, and to G. W. Force in 1889; died in Newberg, Dec. 17, 1900.

Emma M. Vanderhoof was born in LaGrange in 1849; married to Oscar M. Sherwood; died at Dowagiac, Dec. 22, 1900.

Charles N. Lewis, born at Seneca Falls, N. Y., Sept. 14, 1819; died in Pokagon, Jan. 25, 1901.

Emma A. James was born in Volinia, March 15, 1869; married to Daniel Swank, July 12, 1888; died Jan. 6, 1901.

Eliza Primrose, born in Philadelphia, Pa., Oct. 25, 1815; married to William Loftland, March 8, 1832 and with him came to Cass county at an early date; died in Howard, Jan. 20, 1901.

Ida E. Griffith, born at Edwardsburg, Feb. 7, 1856; died Jan. 11, 1901.

Leah E. Alexander, born in Wayne county, Ind., April 23, 1818, came to Penn in 1832; married to George H. Jones in 1848; died at Watertown, S. D., Jan. 16, 1901.

Mahitable Bogart, born in Genesee county, N. Y., April 1, 1815, settled at Edwardsburg in Aug., 1829; married to Richard C. Ross and moved to Mason soon after and there died, Jan. 1, 1901.

Reuben M. Haynes was born in Snyder county, Pa., May 30, 1816, came to Mason in 1863; died Jan. 31, 1901.

Hiram B. Mead, born in Duchess county, N. Y., Feb. 7, 1824, came to Edwardsburg ten years later and there died Jan. 11, 1901.

John B. Harmon was born at Wabash, Ind., Oct. 31, 1841, came to Porter in 1850; died at Cassopolis, Jan. 28, 1901.

Mary J. Morse, born in Ontario county, N. Y., Aug. 29, 1829; married to Henry Pells in 1849; died at Dowagiac, Jan. 24, 1901.

Sarah Wyatt, born near Hamilton, Ontario, Feb. 25, 1836, came to Penn ten years later; married to John O. Pollock in 1860; died at Dowagiac, Jan. 31, 1901.

James B. Madison, born in Clinton county, June 13, 1856, came to Cass county in 1857; died at South Bend, Jan. 13, 1901.

Ardelissa Sears, born at Cassopolis, Nov. 30, 1844; married to Joseph T. Bangham, in 1867; died at Corona, Cal., Jan. 25, 1901.

William Fosdick, born in Allegany county, N. Y., in 1826, for fifty years a resident of Newberg; died Jan. 13, 1901.

William H. Goff, born in Marcellus, April 28, 1845; died Feb. 17, 1901.

Mary L. Elliot, born at Ludlow, Vt., Jan. 22, 1834; married to Benjamin F. Engle, Dec. 23, 1854, came to LaGrange in 1865; died Feb. 3, 1901.

Henry Aldrich, born at Smithfield, R. I., May 5, 1813, came to Berrien county in 1834 and to Milton in 1837, and there died Feb. 8, 1901.

Charlotte Crego, born in New York in 1830, came to Newberg in 1842; married to Joseph Jones, June 3, 1847; died at Hawarden, Iowa, Feb. 8, 1901.

Flora M. Hutchings, born in Ulster county, N. Y., Oct. 17, 1830, came to Newberg at an early date; married to J. H. Bowermen, July 4, 1849; died at South Haven, Feb. 7, 1901.

Anna M. Fisher, born at Spencer, N. Y., in 1839, came to Cassopolis in 1856; married to H. B. Shurter; died in Jefferson, Feb. 19, 1901.

Lester Blackmer, born in Erie county, N. Y., Feb. 29, 1827, came to Cass county when a boy; died at DesMoines, Iowa, Feb, 7, 1901.

Alfred Marmon, born in 1823, came to Jefferson in 1831 where he remained until 1852, when he went to California and there died Feb. 3, 1901.

Mrs. Ann Sears, born in England, April 27, 1819, came to Porter in 1863; married to Edward Sears in 1842; died Feb. 16, 1901.

Henry McCoy, born in Ohio, July 27, 1833, came to Cass county when three years old; died at Marcellus, Feb. 10, 1901.

William Dickson, born in Pokagon in 1835; died at Red Cloud, Neb., Feb. 15, 1901.

Elizabeth Shaul, born in 1815, a resident of Silver Creek for 64 years; died Feb. 2, 1901.

Harriet N. Barber, born is Columbia county, Pa., Oct. 5, 1836, came to Milton and was married to John Fruitt, Feb. 1, 1866; died at her home at Steward, Ill., Feb. 2, 1901.

Ruth Mead, born in New York in 1826, came to Edwardsburg in 1836; married to Nathan Fitch, and died at Niles, Feb. 17, 1901.

Cleopatra Smith, born in Otsego county, N. Y., Oct. 2, 1812; married to Amos Rouse in 1833, came to Dowagiac in 1858; died Feb. 11, 1901.

Mrs. Samantha Harmon, born in Kosciusko county, Ind., Feb. 29, 1848, came to Penn in 1849; married to William Harmon in Jan., 1867; died Feb. 8, 1901.

Julia Kimble, one of the early residents of Edwardsburg; married to Clark W. Crocker; died at her home in San Francisco, Cal., Feb. 22, 1901.

Elizabeth Manning, born in Miami county, Ohio, Nov. 21, 1831, came to Ontwa in 1854; died Feb. 1, 1901.

Orange H. Barber, born in Trumbull county, Ohio, Nov. 10, 1828, came to Newberg in 1862; died March 2, 1901.

Tilmon P. Gregg, born in Logan county, Ohio, 1827, came to Brownsville in 1848; died at Lake City, Iowa, March 3, 1901.

Samuel Bridges, born in Marcellus, April 27, 1855; died in hospital at Ann Arbor, March 13, 1901.

George B. Crawford was born in Trumbull county, Ohio, Sept. 19, 1842, came to Cass county in 1855; died in LaGrange, March 15, 1901.

Albert McDonald, born in Otsego county, N. Y., Oct. 13, 1827, came to Porter in 1846; died in Marcellus.

John S. Thomas, born in Juniatia, Pa., Oct. 4, 1825; died at Dowagiac, March 18, 1901.

Mrs. Hannah Mann died at her home in Newberg, March 18, 1901, at the advanced age of 82 years.

Charles C. McKinstry, born Nov. 7, 1829 in Cataraugus county, N. Y., a resident of Pokagon for forty years; died March 5, 1901.

Sara J. Snyder, born in Columbia county, Pa., Dec. 6, 1834; married to Jacob Smith in 1857, and came to Milton; died March 18, 1901.

Charles H. Kidney, born in New York, Oct. 8, 1828, settled in Marcellus, 1841; died April 21, 1901.

George A. Smith, born at Dowagiac in 1861; died at Huston, Texas, April 17, 1901.

Alexander Smith, born in New York, Dec. 15, 1834, came to Porter in 1856, and there died April 26, 1901.

Edward Pipher, born in Summit county, Ohio, July 22, 1835, a resident of Mason since 1874; died April 28, 1901.

Jefferson Osborn, born at Economy, Ind., Jan. 2, 1824, came to Calvin when 11 years of age and there died, April 4, 1901.

Mary Root, born in Huron county, Ohio, Sept. 6, 1829, came to Cassopolis in 1832; married to Joseph Clowes, May 4, 1848, to Rev. Henry A. Worthington in 1862 and after his death to W. B. Nichols in 1889; died April 28, 1901 at Decatur.

Lucy A. Nutting, born in Porter, July 30, 1859; died April 1, 1901.

Catherine Senior was born in Scotland, Sept. 13, 1824, came to America is 1830; married John Pangborn, Dec. 31, 1845; came to Porter in 1859 and died at Cassopolis, April 17, 1901.

Charles H. Kidney was born in New York, Oct. 8, 1828; settled in Marcellus in 1841; died April 21, 1901.

Abram Cary, born at Syracuse, Ind., July 11, 1845, came to Volinia in 1868; died April 20, 1901.

Sarah E. Acton, born in Bedford county, Va., Sept. 4, 1832; married to Ezra Pearson, Oct. 11, 1854, came to Cavlin in 1862; died April 17, 1901.

Martin McNulty was born in Pennsylvania, March 17, 1830, came to Cassopolis in 1870; died at South Bend, April 18, 1901.

Elizabeth Champion, born in South Wales, April 24; 1810; married to Chas. Morgan in 1838, ten years later settled in Milton; died in Pokagon, April 20, 1901.

Elizabeth A. Reynolds was born in England, Nov. 25, 1823, came to America in ——; married to Robert Green in 1842, after his death married to Charles Carter in 1847; died April 7, 1901.

Richard C. Ross, born in Stark county, Ohio, March 20, 1814, came to Mason in 1832; died April 22, 1901.

Matthew T. Garvey was born in Clarke county, Ohio, May 13, 1821, came to Cassopolis in 1846 and there died April 8, 1901.

Lemuel R. Bolter, born in Richland county, Ohio, July 27, 1834, came to Porter and remained there until 1863, went to Logan county, Iowa, and died April 29, 1901.

Florence R., widow of Daniel McOmber, born July 19, 1841, a resident of Dowagiac; died April 9, 1901.

Ernest August Reum, born in Germany, June 18, 1829, came to Berrien county and later, in 1859, to Milton and there died April 30, 1901.

Arthur Graham was born in Scotland in 1812, came to America in 1835, and four years later settled in Yayne; died at Dowagiac, April 23, 1901.

Cora M. French, born at Edwardsburg, in 1851; married to Daniel S. Stryker, Dec. 27, 1880; died April ——.

Purnell W. Carpenter, born in Sussex county, Delaware, Aug. 28, 1825, settled in Milton in 1837, and there, died April 2, 1901.

Lydia Rice, born in Livingston county, N. Y., Sept. 17, 1834, came to Kalamazoo county in the forties, and to Dowagiac in 1852; married to Elias Pardee, June 10, 1853; died April 4, 1901.

John Oxenford, born in England, came to Cass county in 1852, seven years later went to Lake City, Iowa, where he died May 15, 1901.

Mrs. Adelia S. Cronk, born at Warsaw, N. Y., June 22, 1836, came to Dowagiac in 1856; married to Clinton Cronk, Nov. 12, 1854; died May 19, 1901.

Samuel Keen, born in Penn in 1849; died in Jefferson, May 14, 1901.

Josephus Baldwin, born in New Jersey, Oct. 15, 1812, came to Cass county in 1828; died at Granger, Ind., May 16, 1901.

Perlis Glazier, born in Boston, Mass., is 1822; married to Reuben Booth in 1840, settled in Marcellus in 1860; died May 11, 1901.

Henry P. Manuel, born in Orleans county, Vt., in 1832, came to Adamsville in 1852; died May 26, 1901.

John Crawford was born in Urbana county, Ohio, Oct. 21, 1833, came to Mason in 1856; died May 8, 1901.

Edith E. Jewell was born in LaGrange, July 2, 1841; married H. D. Goodrich, Aug. 20, 1862, after his death married to William H. Stretch, Jan. 7, 1896; died May 23, 1901.

Sarah Allen, born at Sheridan, N. Y., April 9, 1828; married to William Cookson in 1844; came to Edwardsburg in 1845; after husband's death married to John P. Hewitt in 1866; died May 27, 1901.

Ralph L. Zane, born in Jefferson in Oct., 1854, went to Lake City, Iowa, in 1864 and there died May 6, 1901.

Elizabeth Herron, born in Lancaster, Pa., Nov. 23, 1806; died at Cassopolis, May 22, 1901.

William N. Stillson, born in Cayuga county, N. Y., Sept. 5, 1827, came to Ontwa in 1847; died in Mason, May 12, 1901.

Mrs. Anna Shetto, born in New York in 1821; married to R. H. Runkle and came to Michigan in 1855, afterwards married to Mr. Shetto; died at Edwardsburg, May 25, 1901.

Daniel Cullinane, born in Ireland in 1828, settled in Silver Creek in 1848; died May 7, 1901.

Daniel Black, aged 73 years; died in Newberg, May 28, 1901.

John Snyder, born in Cass county in 1849; died in Chicago, May 31, 1901.

Phineas Nixon, born on the farm where he died, on Young's Prairie, Oct. 21, 1839; died June 1, 1901.

Sarah A. Tietsort, born in Dark county, Ohio, Feb. 25, 1832; came to Volinia the same year; married to Charles Ferrell, Nov. 5, 1851; died June 2, 1901.

Wm. Conley, born in Stark county, Ohio, March 23, 1822, came to Mason in 1865; died June 8, 1901.

Achsah Paxson, born in Logan county, Ohio, Feb. 22, 1831; married to Jacob Eddy, July 5, 1849; died in Penn, June 7, 1901.

Leander Osborn, born at Economy, Ind., Dec. 27, 1825, came to Calvin in 1835 and to Vandalia in 1852 and there died June 13, 1901.

Harvey L. Drew, born in Milton, about 1835 and remained there until after the civil war then went to San Bernardino, Cal., where he died June 11, 1901.

Margaret Ann Harder was born at Kinderhook, Columbia county, N. Y., April 11, 1826; married to Henry Pruyn, May 22, 1860, came to Howard in 1861 and there died June 8, 1901.

Dennis Driskel, born in Tennessee, settled in Porter in 1833 and there died June 16, 1901.

Ezra Shaw, born at Columbiana, Ohio, July 31, 1842, came to Porter in 1856; died in Calvin, June 17, 1901.

Mrs. Christena Storey died in Mason, June 14, 1901.

Richard Bunting, born in 1816, came to Cassopolis at an early date, went to Lake City, Iowa in 1856; died June 13, 1901.

William Gibbons, born in 1842; died in Cassopolis, June 15, 1901.

Mary A. Pew, born in Wheeling, W. Va., in 1835, came to Calvin in 1852; married to James Wright and then to J. W. Foster; died at Kalamazoo, June 15, 1901.

Samuel Lutz, born in Pennsylvania in 1819, came to Porter in 1860 and there died June 12, 1901.

CLINTON COUNTY.

EDDY.—Mrs. Isabelle Eddy died at her home in South Riley, Nov. 2, 1900, aged 70 years.

Deceased had lived in Clinton county over 60 years and was one of the earliest settlers. Four children survive her, viz: Mrs. Charles Harris and W. M. Eddy, Lansing; Mrs. Capt. Rogers, Texas, and Mrs. Charles Rademacher, California.

EATON COUNTY.

BY ESEK PRAY.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Armstrong, Susan G	Windsor	Aug. 26, 1900	76	Came to Michigan in 1856.
Bell, Robert J	Windsor	Nov. 3, 1900	82	Resident of the county 48 years.
Cogswell, Mrs. Ruth	Windsor	Nov. 13, 1900	82	Always lived on the farm—located in 1839.
DeCoursey, Jesse	Eaton Rapids	Feb. 13, 1901	88	Located in Eaton Rapids in 1856.
Kay, William	Charlotte	Sept. 13, 1900	90	
Kilbourn, Fosdick H	Charlotte	Nov. 3, 1900	97	Lived in the home over 40 years.
Loring, Allen T	Charlotte	Oct. 9, 1900	83	Located in the city in 1868.
Merritt, Mrs. Harriet E	Eaton Rapids	Dec. 25, 1900	82	Came to Michigan in 1846.
Miller, Josiah	Eaton Rapids	Sept. —, 1900	68	Lived on his farm 43 years.
Montgomery, Mrs. Harriet	Eaton Rapids	Nov. —, 1900	86	A resident of city over 60 years.
Stall, Samuel	Charlotte	Nov. 11, 1900	76	A resident of the county 50 years and a veteran of the war of '61.
Stirling, James	Eaton Rapids	Feb. 15, 1901	61	Came to Michigan when a child.
Wright, William	Windsor	March 21, 1901	80	A resident of the county nearly 50 years.

SHERWOOD.—George W. Sherwood, one of the earliest settlers of Charlotte, died Dec. 21, 1900, aged 77 years.

Deceased was born in Seneca county, N. Y. He came to Michigan, probably early in the year 1848, for, on the first day of May of that year he located in Charlotte, having spent some time previous to that date prospecting for the most desirable location for a grocery. Lansing was one of the locations visited and he remained there several days; during his short stay he "chopped" for two days on capitol square, where work had been begun of ridding the ground of trees and stumps for the new State capitol, which was built that year. Quoting from the "History of Eaton County," we find he finally started on foot, along an Indian trail, for Charlotte, having been induced to do so by I. D. Burns, who was at that time proprietor of the old "Eagle," or "Charlotte" house and a merchant in the "Old Fortress," which stood on the present site of the Strong block. Soon after reaching Charlotte, Mr. Sherwood took a hundred dollar job of chopping on the road between the two cities. For that sum he, in two months and according to contract, cut and cleared away the timber between the northern bounds of the prairie at Charlotte and the hill some distance to the northeast. He purchased 80 acres of land and returned to Ohio, bringing back a small stock of groceries, which he placed upon shelves fitted up in the hotel, and began their sale. The rent was donated him in consideration for his services as manager of the hostelry for Mr. Burns. He subsequently located on a lot which he had purchased, and for ten years conducted the grocery business in a small building which stood upon it. At the end of the ten years, having purchased the corner on which the hotel now stands, he admitted his brother in business, and the firm of G. W. & S. C. Sherwood became popular as clothing merchants, in which line they continued for twelve years. In 1868 the erection of the fine hotel was commenced and it was finished and occupied the next year. Mr. G. W. Sherwood assumed the management of it in 1871 and continued its host for more than twenty years.

EMMET COUNTY.

BY ISAAC D. TOLL.

CURTIS.—Mrs. Isabella Montieth Curtis died March 5, 1901, aged 90 years.

She came of strong, rugged Scotch ancestors descended from some of the families and blood famous in that country of strong character. The characteristics of the Chalmers family, the Stuarts and the Montieths from the historic hills and valleys of Perthshire met and flowed through the veins of the subject of this sketch, and it is said that through the Stuarts the line traces back to the royal families of Scotland. "Fair Montieth" spoken of by Scott in the Lady of the Lake, lying to the north of Sterling, was then, and is still, near the broad acres of that ancient family from which she is descended, the Montieth.

Perthshire was also the home of the Chalmers family, well known through the fame of the great preacher, scientist, and philanthropist Thomas Chalmers, of Glasgow. This incident is quaintly told in the family history, of his uncle Wm. Chalmers, a lowland Perthshire farmer: that he went into the highlands to buy cattle, forgot his errand and brought home instead a highland lassie, Grace Stuart, as his bride.

Wm. Montieth, the direct ancestor of the subject of this sketch, married Isabel Gilchrist in Sterling, Scotland, in 1775, and at once migrated to America and settled at Broadalbin, Fulton county, New York. The first mutterings of the American revolution were just beginning to be heard when they set up their home in the new country. In this home were born and grew up seven children. The eldest son, William, Mrs. Curtis' father, born June 18, 1776, was married to Jeannette Chalmers, daughter of Wm. Chalmers and Grace Stuart, already mentioned and who had also migrated to this country and settled near the Montieths about 1805. They bought a farm and built a home some miles south of what is now the village of Broadalbin, and here were born and reared a family of six children, all of whom grew to mature years and most to extreme old age.

Mrs. Curtis' childhood was spent in a home where religion was the first business, and the strenuous life of industry and thrift began

with childhood. It is a marvel to us now to see some of the evidences of a girl's accomplishments of seventy-five years ago. The spinning and weaving, the piecing, cutting and sewing that was done from day to day is beyond the belief of the girl of today. In such a home and through such experiences and training was formed the sturdy character of the men and women who came to the wilds of Michigan in the early thirties and forties, well fitted for the hardships and toil of pioneer life. With hundreds of other families, Mr. Montieth came west and settled on a farm on Gull Plains, Allegan county, in 1836. Here Mrs. Curtis met and married Mr. Morgan Curtis, March 25, 1840, and with him settled on Gull Prairie, where they spent forty-five years of their most active and useful lives.

Michigan owes to just such courageous, God-fearing, industrious, patriotic pioneers, her greatness. The school, the church, and society, and all that make a state and community great and virtuous, was built up by these noble men and women while they toiled almost night and day to clear away the forests, break up soil, and earn the livelihood for their families. While Michigan was a territory, we find among the territorial laws an act incorporating "Gull Prairie Seminary," which was established and maintained by the toil of these pioneers for years, and was a famous school for those early days. The church too, was just as loyally maintained, and the pastor, Dr. Bradley, ministered in its pulpit and in the homes of the people like a benediction for forty years. Surely in the lives of these people was wrought out the very spirit of the text, "Diligent in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord."

Among the best and foremost in this group of noble fathers and mothers for all those years stood Mr. and Mrs. Curtis. The hand of diligence brought worldly prosperity, and added responsibility and opportunity for doing good. Four children were born, two only of whom remain: Mr. Wm. L. Curtis, of Petoskey, and Mrs. Jas. R. Wylie, of Grand Rapids. On March 5th, closed her earthly life of ninety years, and two days later she was carried back to Richland and buried beside her husband in the cemetery, where already sleep most of the companions of her active life.

Lockwood.—William McClintock Lockwood the founder of Lockwood Hospital and leading citizen of Petoskey, gave up life's fitful struggle quietly and peacefully, and passed to the Great Beyond, Nov. 1, 1900.

The deceased was born in North Springfield, Vt., July 26, 1824, and was 76 years, 3 months, 11 days of age. He served with honor throughout the civil war, at the close of which he engaged in business in Plymouth, Ohio, which he carried on successfully until ill health compelled him to give up.

About 1880 Mr. Lockwood began going to Petoskey in order to escape the ravages of hay fever. Being so thoroughly impressed with the place, he purchased property and became a permanent resident in 1890, since which time his interests have been with us altogether. He was of a philanthropic disposition and one of his life's aims was to help others.

June 28, 1899, he deeded to a board of trustees the Oriental hotel property, worth $11,000 as the basis for a city hospital. The plans for this have been perfected, about $6,000 has been subscribed and erection will begin soon on the lot known as Toll Park and kindly donated for that purpose by Gen. I. D. Toll.

CURTIS.—On Friday morning, December 17, 1891, at 7 o'clock, Mr. Morgan Curtis passed away at the ripe old age of eighty-one years.

He was born in Courtland county, New York, 1810. Work on the farm gave him a rugged constitution, and work in the winter schools, first as a pupil, then as a teacher, made him an intelligent and well informed man. At the age of twenty-six he came to Michigan and settled in Richland township, Kalamazoo county, where he worked on a farm in the summer, and taught school in the winter. In 1840, he married Miss Isabelle Montieth, and buying a farm of his own, entered upon the hard work of a pioneer; clearing land, grubbing stumps, building fences and raising stock, in the winter continuing his work as a school teacher. These years of toil and economy laid broad the foundation of his sturdy character, and also of that fortune which brought ease and comfort to his old age. For more than forty years his home was in Richland and he was a tower of strength to the Presbyterian church, to the cause of good morals, and good citizenship. The only living children, Mr. William L. Curtis, and Mrs. James R. Wylie, having settled in Petoskey, Mr. and Mrs. Curtis removed there in 1885, and established themselves in the comfortable home on corner of Lake and Division streets. He and his wife at once identified themselves with the Presbyterian church of Petoskey, and by his energy, and largely through his munificence, the new church on Mitchell street

was erected upon ground presented by him. The beautiful pews were also donated by him, and in land, money, and furnishings he had a very large share in the large, handsome edifice as it now stands.

He was taken to Richland and buried beside his children in the family lot. An aged wife and two children survive him.

HILLSDALE COUNTY.

BY C. H. STARR.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Adams, Sarah	Hillsdale	Mar. 2, 1901	81	An early settler in the county.
Andrews, Mary C	Hillsdale	Jan. 27, 1901	85	
Bailey, Joseph	Pittsford	April 14, 1901	92	Came to Michigan in 1836, resident of the county 65 years.
Bushnell, Mrs. N. B		——, 1901	88	Came to Michigan in 1844.
Daniels, Amanda	Litchfield	July —, 1900	89	Came to Michigan in 1855.
Filson, Margaret	Hillsdale	Jan. 20, 1901	79	
Gleason, Anson	Litchfield	Jan. 18, 1901	82	
Harris, James W	Litchfield	July —, 1900	82	
Herring, Lucy I	Litchfield	June —, 1900	85	Came to Michigan in 1836.
Michael, M	Litchfield	——, 1901	81	Came to America in 1840.
Murray, Mrs. E. E	Litchfield	July —, 1900	78	Lived in the same county since 1835.
Pierce, Wesley J	Allen	Mar. 12, 1901	85	Lived in Allen over 50 years.
Propper, George	Jonesville	Oct. —, 1900	70	A resident of the village over 50 years.
Updike, Lewis	North Adams	Jan. 19, 1901	66	
Vanevera, N. C	Hillsdale	——, 1901	84	
Walker, Mrs. J	Litchfield	Jan. 29, 1901	81	Came to Litchfield in 1833.
Waning, Ira	Moscow	Jan. 20, 1901	83	
Warren, Ira	North Adams	——, 1901	83	
Wood, Alexander	Hillsdale	Jan. 28, 1901	81	

DUNN.—Dr. Ransom Dunn, the father and founder of Hillsdale College, was born in Vermont, in 1818, and died at his home in Hillsdale, November 17, 1900, aged 82 years.

He entered the ministry when but 19 years old and he preached in Boston in 1849. He was an ardent worker and a liberal supporter of Hillsdale College. He was the man to set his foot on the identical spot where the college now stands and said, "Here is the spot on which we will build." He was elected professor of moral philosophy in 1852 and was closely identified with the institution to the day of his death.

INGHAM COUNTY.

BY JOHN N. BUSH.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Beaman, Charles W	White Oak	April 26, 1901.	59	
Beck, Thomas H	Lansing	March 27, 1901	70	
Bowerman, Michael H	Williamston	June 21, 1900..	68	Pioneer banker.
Boyce, Mrs. Sarah Ann	Stockbridge	Nov. 3, 1900...	73	
Bristow, Thomas	Williamston	March 26, 1901	76	
Chaddock, Dr. L. R	Delhi	Nov. 20, 1900..	76	
Chalker, Mrs. Mary A	Bell Oak	April 12, 1901.	80	
Clark, John Lee	Bunkerhlll	June 15, 1900..	61	
Darling, Horace	Lansing	May 25, 1901..	80	
Dearin, A. V	Lansing	June 24, 1900..	76	
Dell, Ernest	Alaiedon	April 24, 1901.	70	
Dewey, Mrs	Fitchburgh	July 9, 1900...	50	
Downs, Josiah	Lansing	Feb. 21, 1901..	80	
Driscol. Daniel	Lansing	Sept. 5, 1900..	88	They lived in Lansing 45 years.
Driscol, Mrs. Daniel	Lansing	Aug. 15, 1900..	86	
Edson, Dr. Albert W	Lansing	April 6, 1901..	53	
Field, Henry	Dansville	Sept. 16, 1900.	81	
Fletcher, Gardner	Wheatfield	Jan. 27, 1901..	84	
Foote, Wm. O	Okemos	Feb. 6, 1901...	68	
Frogel, Mrs. Catherine	Mason	April 27, 1901.	75	
Gatton, Stephen	Meridian	Feb. 10, 1901..	76	
Gee, Mrs	Fitchburgh	July 13, 1900...	82	Lived there 60 years.
Hewitt, Mrs. Mary	Lansing	April 13, 1901.	87	
Kelifer, Mrs. Julia	Lansing	Sept. 18, 1900..	90	
Mackley, Mrs. Zackariah	Bunkerhill	June 15, 1900..	69	
Marquen, Mrs. Chas	Alaiedon	May 27, 1901..	80	
Meade, Marvin	Bell Oak	Mar. 17, 1901..	80	
Meech, Oliver	LeRoy	Dec. 2, 1900...	74	
Melius, Mrs. Almira	Lansing	Sept. 17, 1900..	70	Resident of Lansing 54 years.
Melius, John A	Lansing	Feb. 18, 1901..	69	
Murray, Charles	Williamston	Oct. 15, 1900..	82	
North, Mrs. Joshua	Delhi	April 5, 1901..	80	Resident 60 years of the place.
Oakley, Mrs. Sally A	White Oak	April 14, 1901.	90	
Oakley, Wm. P	White Oak	March 24 1901.	61	
Parmalee, Mrs. Edmond	Lansing	May 27, 1901..	86	

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Payne, Mrs. Betsy	Eden	March 16, 1901	84	
Peacock, Wm	Leslie	Jan. 19, 1901	77	
Peck, Thomas	Lansing	March 27, 1901	70	
Price, Mrs. Ann	Lansing	May 2, 1901	82	
Rix, Mrs. Hiram	LeRoy	March 2, 1901.	82	
Robinson, Mrs. Ann	Lansing	Oct. 2, 1900	83	
Rulison, Mrs. Helen	Lansing	May 13, 1901	65	
Smith, Mrs. Joel	Alaiedon	July 18, 1900	62	Lived in the township 43 years.
Smith, Mrs. Sarah K	Okemos	Aug. 1, 1900	70	
Stebbins, C. B	Lansing	March 2, 1901.	89	
Steffy, Enos	Mason	April 27, 1901.	80	
Standish, Mrs. Cynthia	Stockbridge	Jan. 9, 1901	76	Lived in Stockbridge 66 years.
Sutliff, Lester	Lansing	Sept. 20, 1900.	86	
Sutton, Geo. B	Lansing	May 18, 1901	71	
Taylor, Mrs. Margaret	Meridian	April 26, 1901.	82	
Towne, Leander	Lansing	May 6, 1901	83	
Turner, Dr. Chas	Lansing	April 14, 1901.	76	
Wagner, Michael	Alaiedon	May 25, 1901	66	
Winchell, N. F	Stockbridge	Dec. 7, 1900	75	
Young, Daniel	Meridian	Dec. 15, 1900	81	

CHURCH.—Edward P. Church, superintendent of the School for the Blind, died June 4, 1901, aged 66 years.

Edward Payson Church was born in Orwell, Vt., December 12, 1835. During his infancy his parents came with the Vermontville colony, and located in Eaton county, in the village of Vermontville, or near that village. His education was obtained in the district school and the academy which was opened in Vermontville with a fine corps of instructors in that early day.

In 1857 he entered Oberlin College, paying his expenses by money saved from teaching school summers and supplementary work done about the college. He graduated in 1863 and taught for nearly a year in the Ohio reform school, which he left to enlist in the 150th Ohio regiment.

In 1855 he began the study of theology in the Oberlin Seminary, but this course was interrupted by his acceptance of the professorship of mathematics in the Oahn College, Hawaiian Islands. Later he was made president of the college, which position he retained until 1875.

Returning to the United States, Prof. Church spent a year in travel and in special study at Harvard College. In 1876 he became superin-

tendent of the Greenville, Michigan, schools and in 1889 superintendent of the schools of Cadillac. In 1893 he became superintendent of the Michigan School for the Blind, a position he retained until his untimely death arrested his labors.

Prof. Church's educational work was not limited by his official positions. He had been active in various teachers' institutes and for six years was school examiner of Montcalm county. He had delivered more than two hundred lectures on the Hawaiian Islands.

Mr. Church was married in 1865 to Miss Frances A. Lord, his Oberlin classmate. She and three children survive him. The children were all born in Hawaii and are Dr. Albert Church, of Chicago Junction, Ohio; Charles, of Cleveland, Ohio, and Miss Louie Church, of Lansing.

COTTRELL.—Capt. Abraham Cottrell died at his home in Lansing, January 16, 1901.

Capt. Cottrell was a native of England and located in Lansing in 1848. At the breaking out of the rebellion he went into service as a lieutenant of Company A, 8th Michigan Volunteer Infantry, and later was promoted to the command of the company. During the battle of James Island he was shot in the spinal column and captured by the rebels. When paroled his wound prevented further active service, and he entered the veteran reserve corps and aided in guarding rebel prisoners. He was placed in command of the distributing camp at Elmira, N. Y., and later commanded Camp Carlyle, Pennsylvania. This was a camp of regulars and it was a distinguished honor for a volunteer officer to be placed in command. After his muster out he returned to Lansing where he remained until life closed.

CROSSMAN.—Daniel L. Crossman, of Williamston, for many years a resident of Ingham county, and connected with the Michigan legislature longer than any other man, died March 7, 1901, aged 64 years.

There were few men in the State as well known as Mr. Crossman. He was born November 4, 1836, in Cayuga county, New York, and came to Ingham county with parents in 1844, settling at Ingham Center, now Dansville. At the age of fourteen he entered the Michigan Central College at Spring Harbor, where he studied two years. He then went into business with his father, whose interest he purchased at the age of twenty-one, at which time he platted the lands of his father's farm, and created the village of Dansville. In 1871 he moved to Williamston, where he managed a grain elevator, flouring mill and bank. His first presidential vote was cast for Abraham Lincoln, and he was postmaster during his administration.

In 1867 he began his long term of service to the State, in which year he was one of the assistant clerks in the house of representatives. In the session of 1869 he represented the southern district of Ingham county. He was a candidate for the chief clerkship of the house in 1871 and was defeated by N. B. Jones, but two years later he became clerk and held the position until 1891, or until failing health caused him to decline further service. During that period Mr. Crossman became a notable authority throughout the United States on questions of parliamentary usages. In 1881 he was made secretary of the tax commission and made permanent improvements in tax regulations of the State. From 1871 to 1877 he was treasurer of the State reform school, during which term its methods were changed from those of a prison to a gentler and more efficacious one.

In 1881 he introduced the bill incorporating the Millers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company and served as its president and adjuster until compelled to give up active labor.

In 1876 he was presidential elector and was a witness in Washington in the celebrated Hayes-Tilden contest. He filled many municipal offices in his home town and was essentially a man of the people.

GILLETT.—Israel Gillett, for many years a resident of Lansing and one of its best known citizens, died July 9, 1900.

He was born March 4, 1827, at Crownpoint Center, Essex county, N. Y. In 1851 he married Miss Sarah K. Seaman, who died in 1895. They removed to Michigan in 1852 and located in Lansing. Mr. Gillett's first work in the city was on the old State capitol. During his long life in the capital city he was engaged in the jewelry business most of the time, but he had also been connected with the erection of many buildings in the city. He was architect and builder of the hotel Downey, and had charge of the building as superintendent of the Central high school, the library block, the City National Bank, the Central M. E. Church and other churches and buildings in the city and vicinity. He leaves two children, Charles Gillett and Mrs. Jennie Kirby, both of Lansing.

HULL.—Dr. Joseph B. Hull died at his home in Lansing, May 19, 1901.

Dr. Hull was born in Fairfield, Vt., January 25, 1824. When twelve years of age he came with his parents to Michigan and settled in Jackson county. He studied medicine at the University of Michigan and was a member of the class of 1854, the second class to graduate from the University. In 1855 he was married to Miss Emily Hewitt, of Leoni,

Jackson county, and started on his wedding day for Lansing, which city has been his home since that date.

PINCKNEY.—Wm. H. Pinckney died January 23, 1901 at his home in Lansing.

Mr. Pinckney was born in Westchester county, New York, March 18, 1824. That same year his parents moved to Aurelius, Cayuga county, where his boyhood days were passed. The district school of the time furnished his earlier education, and the better part of it was gained after he was eighteen years old, walking daily four miles and back to Auburn Academy. For a time he taught school winters and studied summers. Later he read law in Auburn for four years with Stephen I. Goodwin and William H. Seward, and was admitted to practice before the supreme court of that city in 1848. He visited Lansing with Dr. H. B. Shank, in 1849, and the next year returned with his bride, whose maiden name was Maria B. Comstock. He cleared a place on Grand street and built the home which he occupied until his death, refusing to leave it on account of its old associations, in spite of the stores and manufacturing buildings which grew up on every side of it. Judge Pinckney practiced his profession in Lansing all the years of his residence there, with occasional exceptions, when he filled official positions precluding it.

He was alderman for two years in the early history of Lansing; was city recorder in 1865; judge of probate from 1856 to 1864, and was private secretary to Hon. John M. Howard while attorney general of the State. During the war of the rebellion he was, for a time, internal revenue collector for his district. He refused an offer by Governor Blair, of a colonelcy in the army if he would raise a regiment. Toward the close of the war, when a call was issued for more soldiers, it devolved upon the second ward of Lansing to furnish eleven more men. The ward not being able to comply, a meeting was called to raise a money substitute. Regarding this matter, the following entry appears in a sort of diary kept by the late O. A. Jenison, now in the possession of his son, O. A. Jenison:

Lansing, July 30, 1864.

At a meeting of the citizens of the second ward of the city of Lansing, on Saturday evening, July 30, 1864, it was agreed to organize an executive committee for the purpose of soliciting subscriptions, and raising a fund sufficient to clear said ward of the eleven men to be drafted on the present call for 500,000.

On motion, the following named persons were appointed to act as said executive committee, viz: W. H. Pinckney, O. A. Jenison, J. W. Edmonds.

The name of Mr. Pinckney, who was the last survivor of the committee, was first to appear on the subscription roll, with $100 opposite his name; $3,000 was raised at that time.

It was about this time that the citizens of the capital city were interested in procuring the Lansing branch of what is now the Michigan Central railroad and Mr. Pinckney, with D. L. Case and H. H. Smith, held meetings throughout the country, urging the townships to vote aid for the railroad. He was a fine orator in those days and made many campaign speeches.

In 1880 he was appointed one of the enumerators for taking the census, and for several years previous had been city attorney. He was justice of the peace for ten years.

JACKSON COUNTY.

PREPARED BY EDWARD W. BARBER.

BENNETT.—At the age of sixty-five years William W. Bennett, a prominent undertaker and highly esteemed citizen of Jackson, passed away, on Sunday, May 5, about noon. A member of the First Congregational Church of this city, and always faithful in his attendance at the communion service, it is a singular coincidence that the close of the service on Sunday and of his earthly life were simultaneous. A son of Isaac Bennett, an early settler near Vandercook's lake in the town of Summit, he was familiar with the incidents of pioneer experience. August 12, 1862, he enlisted as a private soldier in the Seventy-seventh Illinois Infantry, serving during the remainder of the Civil War, and was honorably discharged July 10, 1865, as quartermaster. Later Mr. Bennett came to Jackson, and for about twenty-five years has been the proprietor of an undertaking establishment in the city. He was a charter member and commander of Pomeroy Post, G. A. R., of Jackson.

Such is a brief outline of the life of a worthy citizen and a faithful friend. He has tenderly assisted at the funeral obsequies of hundreds of dear ones in many families. Finally his day of farewell to earth came, and appropriately it was at midday of a beautiful and bright Sunday—a day that specially commemorates the teachings of One whose chief lesson was peace on earth and good will to men. His life was devoted

to kind words and good deeds. Language seems cold to express the feeling of tribute for the character of the departed. He had no enemies. His life was honorable; his death is sincerely regretted by those who admire virtue and simplicity, and who believe honesty to be the noblest attribute of human greatness and goodness; but it is a consolation to realize that he has taken out of this life qualities that will endure forever and render certain future progress and development, which can be only faintly perceived. It is a comforting assurance to all who knew him that he could approach the grave

> "As one who wraps the drapery of his couch
> About him and lies down to pleasant dreams."

Blair.—Mrs. Lester Blair, whose maiden name was Adelia S. Stone, daughter of Charles and Sarah Stone, was born in Hanover, Jackson county, Michigan, November 13, 1839, and died February 4, 1901. Her happy girlhood was spent at her father's homestead near the village of Horton, where she attended school, completed her education at the Jackson high school, and became a successful teacher. April 9, 1868, she married Lester Blair, and soon after they settled in the town of Tompkins, Jackson county, where they resided nearly thirty-three years, and raised six children, who, with their father, survive her. Mrs. Blair was a devoted wife and mother, being never so happy as when ministering to others. She was a member of the W. C. T. U., and possessed those traits of character which elevate and inspire the community with an example of kind deeds and loving words. She always adhered to the Universalist belief, and during her sickness of five weeks never alluded to her demise with any fear.

Bedford.—Captain John Bedford, a soldier of the Civil War, died in Jackson in 1901, aged seventy-two years. He enlisted in 1861 in the First Michigan Volunteer regiment under Colonel Robinson. He was in many hard-fought battles and sieges; he was present at the surrender of Vicksburg and did his share in all the battles leading to the battle of Fredericksburg; here he was wounded and was taken to the field hospital, and later was transferred to Douglas hospital, Washington, D. C. When able to leave he was placed on detached service. Later he was transferred to the Veteran's Relief corps. He held commissions of captain both from President Lincoln and Gov. Austin Blair. The commission from the President was framed in wood from the pirate boat Florida.

Captain Bedford was born in Monmouthshire, Wales, April 2, 1824. He came to America when a young man and in 1845 took up his resi-

dence at Ann Arbor. After the close of his military career he came to Jackson in 1869, and for five years was keeper at the state prison. He was accidently shot at the fair ground soon after coming to Jackson from which he never fully recovered.

CARTER.—Born in Auburn, New York, September 4, 1839—died in Jackson, Michigan, October 16, 1900—these dates represent the earth-life of John B. Carter, a well-known resident of the city for forty-five years.

When a lad he entered the dry goods store of Dwight Merriman in Auburn. After Mr. Merriman came to Jackson he received a letter from John's mother asking him if he could find something for her boy to do here. The result was that in 1855, at the age of sixteen years, he arrived in Jackson and became a clerk in the bookstore of the late George D. Brown. Soon after coming of age a partnership was formed, and the firm of Brown & Carter was one of the leading and most enterprising houses in the book trade in Michigan. With the exception of two or three years Mr. Carter has been in a bookstore ever since he came to the State, and since the death of his former partner he has been the business manager of the Geo. D. Brown bookstore, the oldest in continuous business of any store of the kind in Michigan. His record was that of an honorable and honest business man.

John B. Carter never talked much about himself, and only a few intimate friends knew anything of his past life. His own age he desired to forget. He was kind, genial and faithful in all the relations of life, and he possessed a fund of humor that made him a most agreeable friend and companion.

November 28, 1871, he was united in marriage with Miss Nellie Carter of this city. It was a happy union. Mrs. Carter died August 3, 1893. A notice of her death Mr. Carter preserved, and only last year read it to an intimate friend. Two daughters, Mrs. Harry W. Scott and Miss Clara Carter are left to mourn the loss of a devoted father and wise counselor.

DELAMATER.—Dr. John DeLamater, a pioneer of Jackson county and a highly respected citizen, died suddenly, without any premonitory illness, at the residence of his daughter, Mrs. Bradley M. DeLamater, in Jackson, on Sunday evening, December 30, 1900. Born in Pompey, Onondaga county, New York, March 29, 1820, he first came to Michigan in 1834, when about fifteen years of age; then returned to New York, where he attended the Casenovia Seminary, and afterwards studied

medicine and graduated at Castleton, Vermont. Coming again to Michigan, Dr. DeLamater commenced the practice of his profession in the then village of Jacksonburgh, now the city of Jackson, and continued it for several years, until compelled to abandon it on account of ill health. Thereupon he moved to the farm he had purchased west of the village of Brooklyn, in Jackson county, bordering on Clark's lake, where he lived until 1878. His home has been in Brooklyn since that year, but his frequent visits to Jackson, and his dignified and courtly manner, a typical gentleman of the old school, made him one of the best known of the early pioneers of the county to our people.

March 29, 1843, Dr. DeLamater married Phoebe O. Buell, and they lived together for fifty-five years, highly esteemed by a wide circle of relatives, friends and acquaintances. Nine children were born to them, of whom six survive, in possession of the rich endowment of an honorable parentage.

The DeLamater families of Jackson county are of Huguenot origin. On the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the outbreak of the terrible religious persecution that followed, some of them fled from France to Holland, and from there, like the Plymouth pilgrims, came to America; were pioneers of Ulster, Dutchess and Onondaga counties, New York; and as early as 1834 the name became prominently and permanently identified with the town of Columbia and the beautiful region of Clark's lake. Of the earliest settlers in that section of the county, Dr. John DeLamater was the last to leave this life.

Heyser.—December 31, 1900, the last day of the nineteenth century, Silas Heyser, a prominent citizen of Jackson, passed away. He was born at Collegeville, Pennsylvania, March 3, 1827. Most of his early life was spent at Norristown, Pennsylvania, where he acquired a practical education and learned the trade of carpenter and joiner. November 3, 1850, he was united in marriage with Miss Anna Kennedy, who survives him. In 1852 he removed to Cleveland, Ohio, and in 1855 came to Jackson where he had since resided. Mr. Heyser has been identified with the lumber business as a carpenter, contractor and manufacturer during the time up to October 11 last, when the large sash, door and blind factory of S. Heyser & Sons, was destroyed by fire.

Mr. Heyser has been prominent in the history of Jackson and has see it grow from a village of four thousand inhabitants to nearly thirty thousand. He was highly esteemed and leaves a large circle of friends to mourn his loss. He leaves besides a wife, two sons and one daughter,

ex-Mayor Winfield C. Heyser and Mrs. A. M. Walker of Jackson and Walter J. Heyser of Tellico Plains, Tennessee.

His death was a great loss to the citizens of the Central City, who have known him only to regard him as one of Jackson's most honored and highly respected citizens for nearly half a century. Mr. Heyser was a man of sterling integrity in all his dealings with his fellowman; and during his long and useful business career commanded the friendship of all who had business transaction with him.

Howe.—George N. Howe was born in Moscow, Hillsdale county, December 26, 1835, and died in the fall of 1900. For many years he taught in the schools of that section, and under his wise instructions many young people laid the foundations of upright and successful careers. In 1862 Mr. Howe enlisted in Company G, Eighteenth Michigan Infantry, and served until the close of the war.

Mr. Howe removed to Jackson in 1882 and for many years did faithful service as superintendent of schools and assistant hallmaster at the prison. Ill health, more than three years ago, forced him to give up his duties. His friends were many and sincere regret is expressed that illness and death should take from them a loyal comrade.

Landon.—Betsey Cranson was born in Ashfield, Massachusetts, August 22, 1808. While she was still quite young her parents moved to Venice, Cayuga county, New York. On March 20, 1828, she married Hermon Landon. In September, 1835, they came with their family consisting of three sons and one daughter to the farm where she passed her last days. They were the third family to locate in the township of Springport, and her industry and perseverance made her a typical pioneer. Mr. Landon died September 14, 1852. In early life Mrs. Landon became a member of the Methodist Church, with which she communed until 1854, when she united with the Seventh Day Adventist Church, where she continued a consistent and devoted member and in that faith she passed peacefully away January 3, 1901.

Merriman.—February 18, 1901, Levi G. Merriman, one of Jackson's pioneers, passed from this to another life. Born at Elbridge, Onondaga county, New York, October 26, 1827, he came to the village of Jackson in 1843, at the age of sixteen years, when he was employed as a clerk in the dry goods and grocery store of his brother, Denman Merriman, remaining with him until his death in 1853. In partnership with his brother, William B. Merriman, under the firm name of Merriman Bros. he then engaged in the mercantile business for himself, and

continued the same for twenty years. Soon after retiring from this business in 1873, he gave his entire time and attention to developing valuable real estate he owned, and in 1874 built Rustic hall, in the south part of the city, first as a pleasure resort, but changed it to a health resort in 1876. Identified with the interests of Jackson for nearly sixty years, never seeking publicity or notoriety and having no desire for public office, his career has been that of a private and substantial citizen in the life here, and of the reality of the life into which he has entered he had no doubt.

Over forty years ago he was united in marriage with Marie Smedley. The widow and two children survive him, Mignon, the wife of Fred H. Helmer, cashier of the People's National bank in this city, and Willeve T., the only son; another daughter died many years ago. Levi Merriman's father was a native of Connecticut, born October 9, 1786, of Scotch descent, and was a practicing physician in Onondaga county, New York, for over fifty years. Almost from its settlement the family has been identified with the village and city of Jackson, and to the early settlers but few names were more generally and favorably known. The Merrimans were peculiar in this respect—they all did their own thinking and had their own independent religious views, but were tolerant of the opinions of others.

McNaughton.—Dr. Moses A. McNaughton died of old age in Jackson, in 1901. For sixty years he was one of Jackson's most enterprising and prominent citizens. Born in Argyle, Washington county, New York, January 4, 1813, his boyhood days were spent on the farm summers and in the district school winters until he was fifteen, when he started out for himself. Going to Allegany county he lived with a brother one summer and in the winter taught a district school. For the six years following he taught school and studied alternately, spending part of the time in Wyoming Academy, and for two years attended Union College at Schenectady. In the meantime he studied medicine and graduated at Fairfield in 1840 with the degree of M. D. He began practicing his profession in his native county, and in 1841 he came to Jackson and opened an office. After twelve years of continuous practice the doctor became interested in real estate and had since given much of his attention to that line of business. He built a number of business blocks and one of the largest and most attractive residences in the city, that now occupied by Richard Waldron. In the early seventies he, in company with Geo. H. Lathrop and R. T. Hunter, established the Jackson Chemical Company, and for several years carried on the busi-

ness of manufacturing chemicals where the Jackson Pulp mills are now located. He was a member of the board of aldermen in the early years of the city's history, and in 1866-7 was its mayor. He also served two terms in the State Senate. He was largely interested in the work of building the Grand River Valley division of the Michigan Central, the Adrian and Jackson branch of the Lake Shore and the Air Line division of the Michigan Central. In his connection with the latter road he had much to do with securing the right of way and bonuses from the various townships through which the road passed.

Dr. McNaughton was united in marriage July 1, 1835, with Miss Sarah Orcutt in Wyoming, N. Y. She died the year following, leaving a pair of twin boys, both of whom have since passed away. His second marriage occurred April 6, 1848, his bride being Miss Mary R. Turner, whose death occurred in 1887. He leaves three children, Mrs. Mary Isabella Blakely, Robert T. McNaughton and Archibald W. McNaughton. The two former reside in Jackson and the latter in Tacoma, Washington.

Noyes.—Jasper H. Noyes was born in Wayne county, Michigan, October 5, 1839, his father, Bethuel Noyes, having been a pioneer and prominent attorney of the territory and State. He died in 1860. Jasper H. Noyes received his education in the public schools and in the State Normal School, having in view a practical business career. In 1865 he came to Jackson, entering the store of H. K. Dickinson, clothing merchant, and later became bookkeeper for Bumpus & Woodsum, manufacturers and jobbers of boots and shoes. Soon after he became a partner in the firm, and was thus engaged until 1872. Under the firm name of J. H. Noyes & Company he then engaged in the manufacture of boots and shoes on his own account. The firm of Noyes & Davis continued the business until the firm dissolved. For five years he was bookkeeper for the Warder-Bushnell Company at their agricultural agency in Jackson, and when the Eldred Milling Company was organized he became its secretary and treasurer.

Mr. Noyes' life was a busy one. Besides his business interests he filled responsible official positions. He was deputy assessor of internal revenue during the administration of President Andrew Johnson, and was elected mayor of Jackson in 1871. He was also an active member of Jackson Masonic Lodge No. 17 of this city, of Chapter No. 5, and Commandery No. 9.

In 1866 Mr. Noyes married Miss Mary Bumpus, daughter of H. H. Bumpus of Jackson, who with four children, Henry B., Charles E., Wickfield and Ruth, survive him.

Possessing an excellent commercial education, broadened by experience among business men and as a salesman, Mr. Noyes was quite successful in his undertakings, and he earned the reputation of being a reliable and honorable citizen, meriting the esteem in which he was held by those who knew him best.

Pierce.—Mandania E. Pierce, wife of P. E. Pierce, died at the family residence in Jackson on the morning of March 23, 1901. Mrs. Pierce was born in the state of New York seventy-four years ago, and came to Michigan with her people at the age of five years. She had had a continuous residence in and about Jackson for sixty-nine years, having lived in the house where she died twenty-five years. She had seen the city grow to its present size from a few houses in the forest. Mrs. Pierce was the daughter of the late Mrs. Eveline Laverty, who was a daughter of a revolutionary soldier, and was in early life a successful school teacher, and in that capacity helped her widowed mother in the struggles incident to a new country. She leaves an aged and sorrowing husband to whom she had been married fifty-two years, and two children, Mrs. Ermina Sprague, of Crawfordsville, Indiana, and Corydon E. Pierce, of Summit, also three grandchildren, Miss Belle Sprague, of Crawfordsville, Florence and Winnie Pierce, of Jackson, and one great grandson, little Corwin Pierce, son of Winnie Pierce.

Conspicuous in the large gathering at the funeral were the many heads bowed by the weight of years and silvered by the finger of time. These mingled with the bright heads of youth and bowed together in loving tribute to the dear old lady whom all loved.

Tomlinson.—Joseph B. Tomlinson died in Jackson in 1900 from the effects of old age. Scarcely a man in Jackson was better known or more highly esteemed, particularly among the older residents of the city than "Uncle Joe," as he was almost universally known. Born in Gaines, Orleans county, New York., October 6, 1820, he gained an education in the schools of his native place, fitted himself for a teacher, and spent three years in that line of work in western New York. In 1840 he came west, locating in Jackson, where he formed a partnership with E. C. Stone in the jewelry business. After three years he purchased his partner's interest and has since conducted the business by himself, and had been engaged continuously in one line of business longer than any other resident of the city, over sixty years.

When the first fire department was organized here, in 1845, Uncle Joe was one of the prime movers in the undertaking and for many years he

took an active part in the work of the department. Always averse to holding office he repeatedly refused to allow his name to go before the voters, but was induced to accept the office of supervisor, which he held four years. In 1847 he assisted in the organization of Jackson Lodge No. 4, I. O. O. F., of which he always remained a member. He was also a member of Jackson Lodge No. 17, F. & A. M.; Jackson Chapter No. 3, R. A. M.; Jackson Commandery No. 9, Knights Templar, and Grand Rapids Consistory of thirty-second degree Masons. He took a more active part in the Masonic orders than in any other public affairs. He passed all the chairs in the Odd Fellows and blue lodge and chapter of Masonry, and for many years held the office of treasurer of the blue lodge and commandery. He always attended the meetings of the grand commandery, Knight Templars, but could not be prevailed upon to accept office.

As a citizen Uncle Joe was quiet, unobtrusive, and gave his attention strictly to his own business, but he was often called upon to assist by advice his less fortunate friends, and his advice was always regarded as of the best. He was eccentric, one of his hobbies being to never wear an overcoat, and it was not an unusual thing on bleak, blustering winter days, when other ordinary persons were hardly able to get on wraps enough, to see Uncle Joe come down street without wraps of any kind and without even gloves or mittens. He insisted that people bundled themselves up too much, and it is a peculiar fact that when the people generally were suffering from colds and influenza the subject of this sketch was the extreme picture of health. Another peculiarity was his aversion to taking medicine of any kind and even during his last illness he persistently refused to see a physician or take medicine.

Yoxhimer.—Harriet Towns was born in the state of Maine, November 13, 1819, and crossed the bar at her home three miles west of Springport, Jackson county, Michigan, on Friday, November 16, 1900, aged eighty-one years, three days. At a very early age she moved with her parents to Ohio and later on to Michigan, where she has since resided. She was married to David Yoxhimer in the year 1842. To this union were born nine children, six daughters and three sons. The aged husband, who has passed his eighty-fourth mile stone, with all the children, still remains this side the bar.

KALAMAZOO COUNTY.

BY HENRY BISHOP.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Alexander, Peter F	Prairie Ronde	April 22, 1901.	85	Lived there 69 years.
Ames, Henry C	Portage	July 11, 1900..	75	
Ames, Lucy C		June 14, 1900..	88	
Armon, Wm. Dey		Aug. 28, 1900..	76	
Babcock, Mrs. Mary J	Kalamazoo	Dec. 7, 1900...	73	
Bacon, Geo. W	Portage	Oct. 1, 1900....	71	
Balch, Confucius I		Feb. 12, 1901..	75	
Baldwin, Schuyler		Aug. 10, 1900..	78	
Baldy, Paul R	Schoolcraft	Mar. 17, 1901..	77	A veteran of '61.
Bennett, Gad	Schoolcraft	Sept. 22, 1900..	76	
Bennett, Wm. B		May 6, 1901....	62	He drove a breaking up team on Gov. Ransom's farm.
Biglow, Mrs. Edward M		May 18, 1901...	63	
Bissell, James A	Kalamazoo	May 17, 1901...	70	
Blakslee, Lyman		Jan. 31, 1901 ..	70	
Booker, James		Mar. 27, 1901..	60	
Bovie, Dr. Wm		April 25, 1901.	72	
Brackett, Franklin		Dec. 28, 1900..	80	St. Jo river pilot.
Briggs, Margaret	Pavilion	Sept. 7, 1900...	65	
Brown, Samuel T		Dec. 13, 1900..	85	He drove the first 4-horse coach into Chicago, 1835.
Burrel, David		Feb. 3, 1901...	79	
Case, Isaac		Jan. 25, 1901...	79	
Clark, Edwin	Prairie Ronde	Mar. 18, 1901..	75	Lived 70 years on Prairie Ronde.
Curry, Margaret M	Vicksburg	Sept. 18, 1900 .	65	
Daffee, Nancy	Kalamazoo	Dec. 10, 1900..	80	
Delano, Wm. S		Feb. 8, 1901...	83	
Dewing, Mrs. Jane A	Kalamazoo	Sept. 6, 1900 ..	88	Founded the Children's Home of Kalamazoo.
Eldrid, Mrs. T. B		Feb. 3, 1901...	82	
Fox, Benjamin		April 10, 1901.	85	
Fox, Mrs. Wm. H		July 20, 1900..	87	
Frakes, Charlotte		Jan. 27, 1901 ..	67	
Frazier, Mrs. Polly		Feb. 8, 1901...	86	
Garland, Mrs. Addison	Kalamazoo	Oct. 6, 1900 ...	94	
Goodrich, Mrs. Delia C		July 8, 1900...	72	
Gray, Mrs. Samuel		Nov. 21, 1900..	84	
Habing, Henry	Oshtemo	Oct. 27, 1900 ..	74	

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Haines, Porter L	Kalamazoo	Sept. 15, 1900	65	
Harris, Eliza		Feb. 8, 1901	73	
Hartwell, Samuel	Comstock	Oct. 4, 1900	74	
Haskell, Rev. Samuel	Kalamazoo	July 4, 1900	82	
Heneka, Hosea		Feb. 1, 1901	71	
Henry, Christian		May 20. 1901	78	
Hicks, Eliza		Feb. 3, 1901	90	
Hunt, Mrs. Eliza K	Kalamazoo	Oct. 16, 1900	93	
Kennedy, Anna	Oshtemo	Aug. 4, 1900	79	
Knowles, Asa S	Kalamazoo	Sept. 7, 1900	75	
LaFever, Johanna		Feb. 20, 1901	90	
Lemon, Jacob	Brady	Dec. 12, 1900	85	
Lincoln, Mrs. Cynthia B		April 20, 1901.	85	
Limprecht, Mrs. Maria		April 21, 1901.	84	
Littler, Ralph, Sr		April 29, 1901.	76	
Macoy, Mrs. Nancy	Kalamazoo	Mar. 6, 1901	89	
Mason, Edwin		Feb. 21, 1901	95	
May, Chas. S		Mar. 25, 1901	71	
Mayo, Elbert		Sept. 15, 1900	69	
Millham, Mrs. Hannah		July 19, 1900	70	
Newton, Joel M	Cooper	Mar. 27, 1901	73	
Parker, Elizabeth B	Cooper	Nov. 7, 1900	84	
Perrin, Joel J	Kalamazoo	Sept. 18, 1900	73	Retired hardware merchant.
Randolph, Mrs. Eliza J		May 26, 1901	71	The second white child born in the county.
Reese, George	Kalamazoo	July 14, 1900	85	
Rockefellow, Samuel		Mar. 19, 1901	93	
Scales, Mrs. Jane		Jan. 4, 1901	85	
Sealy, Joseph Owen		Feb., 1901	78	Retired banker.
Smalley, Isaac	Kalamazoo	Dec. 22, 1900	80	
Starkey, Lewis C		Nov. 2, 1900	74	
Skinner, William		Feb. 6, 1901	86	
Thomas, George		Aug. 16, 1900	87	
Tolles, Frederick L	Kalamazoo	Aug. 12, 1900	75	
Tomlinson, Wm. A	Kalamazoo	Oct. 1, 1900	81	
Valentine, Abraham		Jan. 20, 1901	82	
Webster, Joseph	Pavilion	Sept. 1, 1900	88	
Wells, Mrs. H. G		Feb. 28, 1901	83	
Wheeler, Sidney	Kalamazoo	Sept. 6, 1900	76	
Williams, Wm	Brady	Dec. 24, 1900	78	

DEWING.—Mrs. Jane Amelia Dewing died at her home in Kalamazoo, September 6, 1900, aged 88 years.

Jane Amelia Dewing was the daughter of Captain Thaddeus Tuttle and was born in Wallingford, Vt., October 19, 1812. She went, when quite young, to Burlington, Vt., and about 1840 she removed to Kalamazoo, where she was soon married to William Goss Dewing. To those who have known Mrs. Dewing during her life in the city it is needless to refer to her largeness of heart, to her motives of philanthropy and practical beneficence. Her devotion and membership were in the old St. John's Episcopal Church and later in St. Luke's after the union of those parishes. Mr. Dewing was for some time senior church warden. It will be recalled that Mr. and Mrs. W. G. Dewing established the industrial school which was formerly held in a store owned by Mr. Dewing. They practically supported the school during the first three years of its life. The great work of her life, however, outside of her home, was manifested in the founding of the children's home in her home city. To this institution she gave more than official care, and of it she was at the time of her death a director and its faithful recording secretary.

Mrs. Dewing watched with a mother's solicitude and tender care the children therein entrusted, and after they left its protection she continued to watch over them.

She leaves three sons: W. S. Dewing, C. A. Dewing and J. H. Dewing; and George H. Tuttle, who will be 92 years of age October 31, 1900, is a brother of Mrs. Dewing.

LEMON.—The death of Jacob Lemon, one of the oldest and most respected pioneers of Kalamazoo county, occurred at his home near Indian lake in Brady township, December 12, 1900. His age was 85 years.

Mr. Lemon was born in Orange county, New York, April 8, 1815, and was a member of a family of eleven children. He was reared on a farm and received his education in the district schools on the rate bill system. When sixteen years of age he removed to Chemung county, and about that time he was thrown on his own resources by the death of his father by drowning. In 1835 he made the journey to the Wolverine state by boat and on foot, reaching Jackson county with but one cent as his financial capital. He obtained work as a farm hand and later purchased 40 acres near Grass lake. Later for several months

he drove stage on the Detroit and Chicago stage line. In 1837 he went to Illinois to buy grain and horses for a Chicago stage line.

In 1840 Mr. Lemon came to Kalamazoo county, but after a short stay he went to Iowa and Missouri and engaged for a time in the stage business and later went to New Orleans, returning to Kalamazoo county in 1844, when he pre-empted 80 acres of land from the Pottawattomie Indian reservation in Brady. He was surrounded by wild beasts, Indians and a wilderness, but he soon carved out a comfortable home and at the time of his death he was the owner of an estate of several hundred acres in the vicinity of beautiful Indian lake. He served his town several years as supervisor.

The deceased was twice married, first to Miss Amy Spicer, January 1, 1838, to whom were born four children. She died February 6, 1843, and he was married October 17, 1847, to Miss Hannah Spicer, a sister of his first wife. The last marriage was blessed with twelve children, seven of whom grew to maturity. The children surviving him are Mrs. Charles Moon and Mrs. Seymour Richardson of Pavilion, and Mrs. Richard Worthington and Messrs. Frank Lemon, Fred Lemon and Sant Lemon, of Vicksburg.

KENT COUNTY.

BY W. N. COOK.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Cady, Ebenezer H.		Oct. 15, 1900..	79	
Case, J. H.		May 14, 1901..	68	
Ederson, Enos		June 20, 1900.	80	
Gibson, Orson B.		March 1, 1901.	75	
Hanchett, Betsey J.		March 11, 1901	75	
Hilton, Mrs. Alice E.		Sept. 28, 1900.	50	
Hinsdill, Chester B.		July 5, 1900...	64	
Johnson, Welcome W.		Aug. 4, 1900...	82	
Loettgert, Mrs. Frederick		Nov. 22, 1900.	60	
Luther, John		Feb. 16, 1901..	78.	
Norton, Mrs. Barbara H.		Nov. 21, 1900..	91	
Pelton, Chauncey		Dec. 1, 1900...	79	
Pitts, Mrs. Louisa M.		May 11, 1901..	75	
Richards, Horace H.		May 29, 1901..	71	
Schenierkorn, H. O.		April 23, 1901.	73	
Schneider, Hugo		Nov. 29, 1900..	69	
Shackelton, George		Aug. 5, 1900..	79	
Smith, Amos Hosford		Aug. 29, 1900.	88	
Stuart, Oscar L.		July 15, 1900..	65	
Uhl, Edwin F.		May 17, 1901..	60	Ex-Ambassador to Germany.
White, James W.		Feb. 15, 1900..	69	
Wilson, George B.		May 1, 1901...	64	

EDWIN F. UHL.

A LIFE SKETCH BY BYRON M. CUTCHEON.

Honorable Edwin F. Uhl was born in the town of Rush, near Avon Springs, in the State of New York, August 14, 1841, and removed with his parents to Michigan in 1844. His father, David M. Uhl, made his home on a farm on "the plains" just east of Ypsilanti, where he continued to reside until a few years since.

When Edwin was about thirteen years of age, he entered the Ypsilanti Union Seminary, and was not quite seventeen when he completed his preparatory course, and became an alumnus in this high school.

During the years that he was a member of the school, his work was characterized by faithful and diligent attention to his studies, rather than by especial brilliancy, although he was one of the most proficient students in the school. He was, perhaps, best known for his brilliant oratorical ability in which regard he was easily the leader in his class. In 1858 he entered Michigan University in the classical course, and there his career was marked by the same qualities as his preparatory course. The enviable standing he gained in college was by virtue of conscientious, hard work, and he graduated in the class of 1862, with a most honorable record. For five years the writer of this sketch was his schoolmate. Immediately he took up the study of law in the office of Norris & Ninde at Ypsilanti, and in January, 1864, he was admitted to the bar of Michigan, before the supreme court of the State.

For about thirty years he devoted himself almost exclusively to the practice of the law, and in that time gained a position very near the head of the profession in the State. In 1866 he formed a partnership with Hon. Lyman D. Norris, then of Ypsilanti, under the style of Norris & Uhl, and this relation continued until 1871, when Mr. Norris removed to Grand Rapids. In 1871 and 1872 Mr. Uhl was prosecuting attorney for the county of Washtenaw, and declined a re-election. In 1873 he formed a partnership with Mr. Albert Crane, also an old pupil in the seminary, under the firm name of Uhl & Crane, and this partnership continued until 1876, when Mr. Uhl removed to Grand Rapids, and renewed his partnership with Mr. Norris, which business association continued uninterrupted for a period of eleven years. During this time they became one of the best known and most highly esteemed law firms in western Michigan, with a wide and constantly increasing clientage.

But Mr. Uhl did not limit his activities to the legal profession. In 1881 he was made president of the Grand Rapids National Bank, one of the large financial institutions of the western part of the State, and was identified with numerous industrial enterprises, and concerned in the management and settlement of very large estates.

At the beginning of 1887, Mr. Norris retired from the firm, and Mr. Uhl once more became associated with Mr. Albert Crane, who had then also removed to Grand Rapids. This partnership continued until Mr. Uhl accepted the position of assistant secretary of state of the United States, in October, 1893. Mr. Uhl's work as a lawyer was characterized by careful and elaborate preparation of his cases before

trial, and by clear and impressive presentation of the law and the facts to the court and jury.

Mr. Uhl was all his life identified with the democratic party in politics, which was in the minority in the State. Had he been with the majority, there is little doubt that he would have been recognized by the offer of many honors and offices by his party.

It was not until 1890 that he entered upon his public career. In that year he was elected mayor of Grand Rapids, the second city of the State, and in 1891 was elected for a second term by a large majority. It is not too much to say that he added more of honor and dignity to the office than the position could possibly confer upon him. He left the office of mayor with the universal respect of his fellow townsmen; and in the democratic state convention of 1894 he received the unanimous nomination of his party for United States senator. As his party was in a minority in the legislature, the nomination proved only an honorable endorsement by his party friends.

Upon the inauguration of President Cleveland, March, 1893, he tendered to Mr. Uhl a high position in the war department, which place was declined, on account of his entire unfamiliarity with military affairs. Later he was asked to accept a diplomatic post abroad, which was in like manner declined. Upon the resignation of Mr. Quincy as assistant secretary of state, in October, 1893, that position was tendered Mr. Uhl by the President, and accepted. As soon as he could arrange his business and private affairs, he took up his residence at Washington and entered upon the discharge of the duties of the position.

Under the law and usage of the department, the assistant secretary of state becomes acting secretary, in case of the absence or disability of the secretary of state. As is well known, Secretary Gresham was too ill to attend at his office for several months, and during this period Mr. Uhl was de facto secretary of state, and some very important diplomatic episodes were managed by him. The most cordial relations of mutual esteem and confidence existed between Mr. Uhl and his chief, and no uncomfortable restrictions were put upon his freedom of action. Perhaps the most important matter entrusted to him as assistant secretary was the arbitration of the boundary between Brazil and the Argentine. This case involved what is known as the "Missiones Strip," embracing 31,000 square miles of territory and the nationality of 68,000 people. It was a matter of the utmost delicacy and in other

times could have been settled only by war. Mr. Uhl devoted several months of the most severe and careful labor to the study and briefing of this case, and so thoroughly and conscientiously was the work performed that the President signed his findings without change. To signalize his approval of the labor of Mr. Uhl, Mr. Cleveland specially commissioned him to deliver the award of the diplomatic representatives of the contending parties. This award was delivered February 6, 1895, and during the same year Mr. Uhl went abroad, and traveled through a large part of the continent, inspecting the consular service, and directing such changes in methods as his examinations suggested.

Not long after his return from this important tour, a vacancy occurred in the post of ambassador plenipotentiary to the German Empire, through the death of Chancellor Runyon, the incumbent. Numerous names were urged for this important mission, but as a result of his personal knowledge of and acquaintance with Mr. Uhl and his excellent judgment in matters of state, the President upon his own motion, tendered the appointment to him. This was in February, 1896, and in the following month he proceeded to Berlin and entered upon the duties of his ambassadorship. In the spring of 1897, not long after the inauguration of President McKinley, the latter commissioned Hon. Andrew D. White, who had been one of Mr. Uhl's teachers in the university, to succeed him.

Returning to the United States in the summer of 1897, Mr. Uhl resumed the practice of law, in Chicago and in Grand Rapids. In Chicago he formed a partnership under the style of Uhl, Jones & Landis, and in Grand Rapids, under the firm of Uhl, Hyde & Earle. But after a time he found this double work too exacting, and that the vigor and energy of youth had been impaired during the years of his public service, and he withdrew from the Chicago connection, and in 1899 settled down for a quiet life of comparative ease, at his beautiful country place "Waldheim," a little beyond the southern boundary of the city of Grand Rapids. He had been re-elected president of the Grand Rapids National Bank, and he received many tokens of the continued esteem and confidence of his old friends and townsmen.

On May 1, 1865, Mr. Uhl was united in marriage to Miss Alice Follett, of Ypsilanti, daughter of Hon. Benjamin Follett, one of the most enterprising and honored citizens of the town. Of this union four children were born: Lucy Follett (Mrs. Guy V. Thompson), David Edwin, Alice Edwina and Marshall Mortimer, all of whom survive him.

Mr. Uhl was an earnest and consistent believer in the great truths of the Christian religion, and was for many years a member and official of St. Luke's Protestant Episcopal Church at Ypsilanti, and later, of St. Mark's Church at Grand Rapids.

Fifty-eight years of strenuous life had told upon Mr. Uhl's constitution, and before the end of the year 1900 it became known to his friends that he was no longer a well man. His last few months were months of suffering and decline—of fluctuating hope and despair. Nothing that the tenderest love and most untiring devotion could suggest was wanting to insure his recovery and return to active participation in the affairs of the community of which for more than a quarter of a century he had been so large a factor. But all could not avail. The clock of life had run down, and on Friday, May 17, 1901, he peacefully passed over to the majority.

LENAWEE COUNTY.

BY B. L. BAXTER.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Ash, James	Rollin	Oct. 10, 1900	80	
Bassett, Charles	Madison township	Oct. 9, 1900	70	He was the second white child born in Madison township.
Baker, Mrs. Sarah B	Macon	Oct. 15, 1900	71	Lived in the home fifty years.
Deming, Edward	Franklin		68	
Goodrich, Mrs. George	Tecumseh	Oct. 13, 1900	75	She came to Michigan in 1832.
Holmes, David		Oct. 9, 1900	80	
Knight, Stephen	Adrian		85	
Meade, Dr. Richard T	Adrian			During the civil war he was assistant surgeon of the 29th regiment, New York infantry.
Meyer, Mrs. Charles	Adrian	Oct. 14, 1900	64	She came to Michigan in 1836.
Miller, John C	Tecumseh			He served in the 23d Michigan infantry until the close of the war.
Smith, Mrs. Asa	Adrian township	Oct. 13, 1900	78	Lived in the State sixty-seven years.
Wilson, Mrs. Milton Gaskill	Tecumseh	July 4, 1900		

BIDWELL.—Mrs. George Bidwell died 1900, aged 63 years. Mrs. Bidwell was born and raised in Adrian, she being a daughter of the late R. W. Ingalls, of the old Adrian Watchtower. She was married in 1855 to George W. Bidwell, an old-time clothing merchant, who died several years ago.

CLARK.—Tidings were received one Sunday morning in August 1900, of the death of Mrs. John R. Clark, at the Clark cottage on the south side of Sand lake, where she had enjoyed the summers for some fifteen years past. Mrs. Clark was a resident of Adrian for sixty years, and her husband, who died in 1897, was for many years a prosperous wholesale grocer, member of the firm of Clark, Mason & Co.

Mrs. Emily E. Clark was born in Manchester, Ontario county, N. Y., October 23, 1825, and came to Michigan in 1837 with her parents and settled in Adrian. Emily Wadsworth was married to John R. Clark April 8, 1846, and was the mother of four children, two dying in infancy and the others, Helen L., wife of Peter L. Bailey, who died October 30, 1873, and Maria Isabelle, wife of Ira Z. Mason, of Toledo.

CODDINGTON.—Ansel P. Coddington passed peacefully away October 23, 1900, after an eventful life of 65 years.

Ansel P. Coddington, a native of Tompkins county, New York, came to this section of the country when a young child with his parents, Alvah and Barbara Coddington, who settled in Bath township, Clinton county, where their nearest neighbors were three miles away. Mr. Coddington passed his boyhood days at the primitive homestead of his parents in Clinton county, receiving his early education at the district school, after which he completed his studies at Stearkey Seminary in New York state.

The second year after the outbreak of the rebellion he enlisted in Company C, 109th New York infantry, which was assigned to the Army of the Potomac. Our subject was detailed to the commissary department as clerk and was soon promoted to second lieutenant. A few months later he was given the rank of first lieutenant. He filled the position of acting assistant commissary on the staff of Gen. Meade and in the changes which were subsequently brought about he was placed first in charge of Patrick Station and afterwards assigned to Humphrey Station which he and his men held until the fall of Richmond. Lieutenant Coddington, after this event, was placed in charge of the commissary

trains passing over the South Side road, running from Petersburg to Burksville and near the point which was afterward made memorable by the surrender of General Lee. He remained with his troops until they were mustered out in June, 1865.

Upon retiring from army life Mr. Coddington engaged in the life insurance business at his old home, Tompkins county, New York. He remained in that business until 1877 when he purchased his farm in Tecumseh township, comprising 112 acres.

Mr. Coddington was first married to Miss Mary M. Kelly, who died in 1877. To them five children were born; Alva Coddington, of Barberton, Ohio; Mrs. Cora Remington, of Tecumseh; Mrs. Libbie Spencer and Mrs. Etta McDermid, of Nelson, B. C.; and Edgar Coddington, of Chicago. In October of 1877 he married Miss Fanny Teeter, of New York state.

Roberts—Jacob G. Roberts was born in Sparta, Livingston county, New York, June 17, 1812, and died at Tecumseh, Michigan, October 3, 1900.

Mr. Roberts married Miss Sarah McGinley, of New York. Four sons blessed this union, two of whom are living. One son died in youth and one as a soldier in the Civil War. Mrs. Roberts died twelve years ago, after fifty years of wedded life.

Mr. Roberts went to Tecumseh when 21 years of age, but owing to the unhealthfulness of the country at that time, he returned to New York and remained until the spring of 1854 when he again concluded to try Tecumseh for a home. He lived in the village until the following spring when he bought his farm, northeast of town, of the Patchen heirs. There he resided until his death.

Sinclair—On the morning of Tuesday, October 16, occurred the death of Elizabeth Hyde, wife of the late D. D. Sinclair, at the home of her daughter, Mrs. T. S. Applegate, where she had made her home since the death of her husband two years ago.

Elizabeth Hyde, daughter of Chancellor and Polly Hyde, was born in Junius, Seneca county, N. Y., December 31, 1815, and was married to Daniel D. Sinclair, October 2, 1834, at Brockport, N. Y., when they came west, making their first home at Tremainesville, Ohio, but soon removed to Adrian, where they made a permanent home.

Mrs. Sinclair came of revolutionary stock, her maternal grandfather, Jonas Abel Birdseye, being a captain in the Revolutionary War, and

afterwards a sea captain, sailing to the West Indies. On the last voyage Captain Birdseye ever intended to make, he and his two eldest sons died of yellow fever, and it was never known whether they were buried at sea or on the island of Cuba. Captain Birdseye, the grandfather, was a direct descendant of "Deacon" John Birdseye, the settler of Stratford, Conn. Her father, Chancellor Hyde, was a merchant and partner of her grandfather, Birdseye.

Mrs. Sinclair leaves three sons, Henry Hyde, of Adrian; Edward Wilkins, of St. Louis; Daniel Campbell, of Troy, Kas., and two daughters, Mrs. William Humphrey and Mrs. T. S. Applegate, of Adrian.

LIVINGSTON COUNTY.

Barber—Charles W. Barber died at his home, the Hotel Barber, Howell, May 7, 1901.

Charles Barber was the son of James and Mary Barber, nee Ketchum; he was born in Washington county, state of New York, October 26, 1830, and came to Michigan with his parents in 1836, settling in the township of Green Oak, in this county that year, where he lived most of the time until he came to Howell, where he married Miss Janette Peebles, February 14, 1860. That year they began housekeeping at Chelsea, Michigan, where they resided one year, when they returned to Howell, where they have since resided. For several years during and after the War of the Rebellion, Mr. Barber operated four mail and stage routes: one from Brighton to Ann Arbor; and three from Howell, one to Dexter, one to Dansville, and one to Fenton. For the last fourteen years the deceased was the genial host of Hotel Barber, and was a very popular landlord with the traveling public. Mr. Barber was a lifelong republican from the birth of that party under the oaks at Jackson, and amid the vast changes time has wrought in political lines, he has ever been a staunch loyal supporter of his party's principles. He was pronounced in his ideas, and loyal to the right, as he saw the right. His family of four children are living, Mrs. Will Carl and Will Barber, of Muskegon Heights, Mich., Mrs. Dr. Don McIntyre, of Dale, Wisconsin, and Miss Josie Barber, who resides at home, with her mother. He was president of the Livingston County Pioneer Society, and was never happier than when the old pioneers came together in the annual meeting.

MACOMB COUNTY.

BY GEO. H. CANNON.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Adams, Stephen	Utica	Oct. 12, 1900..	80	Came to Michigan in 1822.
Arnold, Orrin S.	Utica	March 6, 1901.	53	A veteran of the rebellion.
Bailey, Maria M.	Romeo	Aug. 20, 1900.	76	A native of the place.
Crissman, David H.		May 18, 1901..	78	
Ellsworth, Clark		——, 1901...	77	Lived in Macomb county 65 years.
Fangboner, Mark	Mt. Vernon	April 11, 1901.	72	Lived there 56 years.
Flagler, Mrs. Donnel		——, 1901..	84	One of the oldest settlers.
Gass, Geo. W.		March 17, 1901	88	He came to Michigan in 1837.
Goodell, Capt. Perrin C.		——, 1900...	83	A resident of the county 70 years.
Goodyear, Hiram				Among the oldest settlers.
Goodyear, Mrs. Hiram				
Leech, Payne K.	Utica	March 21, 1901	93	Came to Michigan when a young man.
Lewis, George	Mt. Vernon	Nov. 24, 1900..	71	One of the early pioneers.
Lyon, Timothy	Romeo	Dec. 27, 1900..	75	Located in Romeo in 1852.
Miller, Mrs. Dora	Mt. Clemens	Feb. 25, 1901..		Resided in the city 50 years.
Norton, Mrs. J. A.	Davis	Feb. 11, 1901..	91	Came to Michigan in 1837.
Palmerlee, Lewis	Romeo	Feb. 15, 1901..	82	An old settler of Bruce township.
Phillips, Mrs. Geo. W.		——, 1900...	70	A resident of the county 70 years.
Powell, Mrs. Sarah A. Field	Bruce	July 31, 1900..	88	Came to Michigan in 1833.
Sumner, Benjamin				One of the oldest settlers of the county.
Thompson, Mrs. O. D.		——, —, 1901..	61	Resident of the county 60 years.
White, Mrs. Calvin		May 13, 1901..	85	Resident of the county 59 years.
Wood, Ira	Washington	May 13, 1901..	62	He was born on the farm where he died.

ANDRUS—Loren Andrus died April 12, 1901, aged about 76 years. Mr. Andrus had been a resident of Washington township over seventy years. He was born in Covington, Genesee county, New York, and came to Michigan in 1822 when a boy of six years of age, with his parents, who located at Washington, where he resided from that date. In 1840 he was married to Lucina Davis, whose parents located in Macomb county, about 1828. Both families are known as the earliest pioneers of that part of the State.

Mr. Andrus was a farmer and was always prominent in the advancement of agricultural industries, having been for years a director of the Macomb County Agricultural Society and at one time its president.

He was also identified with the Michigan Agricultural Society. He was one of the organizers of the Macomb and St. Clair and later of the Macomb County Fire Insurance company. For many years he gave special attention to the breeding of fine wool sheep.

BRABB—Isaac N. Brabb was born in Macomb county, Michigan, August 15, 1833 and died in the Hotel Oceanique, Paris, France, July 12, 1900.

The parents, Isaac and Hannah Brabb with five children, came from Yorkshire, England, in 1830 and settled in what was the western part of Macomb county, in the territory of Michigan, where the subject of this sketch was born. They soon afterward removed to the large farm, three miles southwest of Romeo, where this son had lived until 1891 when he became a resident of the village.

By inheritance and frugality he had acquired a competence and was one of the foremost citizens of his town, reliable and steadfast, alive to its every interest. He had held the office of justice of the peace continuously for more than twenty years and at the time of his death was president of the County Pioneer Society, beside holding various township and village offices of trust.

Mr. Brabb had been an extensive traveler in his own country, and in 1862 he crossed the ocean to visit his ancestral home in England and also to attend the world's fair held in the Crystal Palace in London. While attending the Paris exposition death found him and claimed its own.

CRISSMAN—F. S. Crissman died October 15, 1900, aged 83 years. Mr. Crissman was born in Sandiston, Sussex county, New Jersey, March 5, 1817. The Crissman family set out for Michigan in September, 1836. The father had bought three "80's" in June previous, in Orion, Oakland county. Mr. Crissman and his brother proceeded to Buffalo with a horse and wagon, where they expected to join the family party traveling by water, but the latter was delayed by a break in the canal, and the sons took passage on a boat for Detroit, driving their team thence to their destination. The family arrived two weeks later. Mr. Crissman was dissatisfied with his father's purchase and expressed his opinion of the stony, unpromising character of the land without reserve, which resulted in his securing the means of making a purchase of the northeast quarter and south half of the southeast quarter of section 20, Washington.

Mr. Crissman was director of the Citizens' National bank for many years and a heavy stockholder, and one of the substantial farmers of Washington township.

MULLEN.—Andrew Gordon Mullen died June 22, 1900, aged 66 years. He was a native of New York. His parents dying while he was very young he was denied the privilege of education, but being of an ambitious nature he studied day and night, and at an early age, under many discouraging attempts, entered the machine shops and mastered engineering. He went from one part of the United States to another, always trying to excel. From the shops he went on the railroad. He helped build the Union Pacific and several branches of the Grand Trunk and the Bay City division of the Michigan Central.

He was united in marriage to Frances Connell in 1858, at Utica, Michigan and his home was in that village until his death.

WALES.—Mrs. Willard A. Wales, second daughter of John and Jane Chapman, was born in Livingston county, New York, August 21, 1822, and died at her home in Shelby, Macomb county, May 7, 1901.

At the age of two years Amy Ann Chapman came to Michigan with her parents, who settled upon section five of Shelby township, on what is known to the older residents as the "Chapman farm." She has ever since resided in the township of Shelby and for the last forty-two years on the place where she died.

After four years teaching in the public schools, she was married April 10, 1843 to the late Willard A. Wales, with whom she lived until his death in August, 1894.

WARREN.—Rev. Square E. Warren died at his home in Armada village, November 23, 1900, aged 75 years.

Mr. Warren had been in the ministry over forty years, thirty years of which were in active service. During that period he had preached in Detroit, Grosse Pointe, Wyandotte, Plymouth, Almont, Armada, New Baltimore, etc. He was a native of Vermont and came to Michigan when a young boy. He leaves a widow, two daughters, one in California and one in Brooklyn, N. Y., and one son, Homer Warren of Detroit.

CROZER.—Hon. James A. Crozer died July 3, 1901, aged 57 years.

Mr. Crozer was born in Hillsboro, Highland county, Ohio, in 1844, and with his parents, at the age of thirteen, came to Ontonagon in

1857, where the father engaged in business. In 1859 the deceased entered the Miner office, and a year or two later published a paper at Eagle River.

On the outbreak of the rebellion he enlisted in 1862 in the first Lake Superior contingent and was assigned to Co. A, 27th Michigan Infantry, in which he served in both the western and eastern armies, receiving three bad wounds under Grant at Spottsylvania Court House in 1864, after which he was taken to Detroit, where he was placed in a hospital until recovery, when he was discharged.

Col. Crozer started the Tribune at Escanaba in 1869, and in 1870 purchased the Menominee Herald, which he conducted until 1880, when he sold the same to the present proprietor. Since then Mr. Crozer has devoted most of his time to the lumbering business in Menominee and other points.

In 1884 he was elected representative from his district, the territory now comprising Menominee and Dickinson counties. He served his constituents ably and well for one term.

In 1895 he was chief mustering officer on Commander Kanitz' staff of the G. A. R. and in 1897-8 was commandant of the State Soldiers' Home at Grand Rapids.

Deceased was married to Miss Margaret E. Beaser at Ontonagon in 1868, who, together with a daughter, Miss Laura, survive him.

The funeral took place Friday forenoon, July 5, under Masonic auspices. The local Grand Army post also turned out and paid their last respects to their dead comrade. The interment was at Riverside.

MONTCALM COUNTY.

BY J. P. SHOEMAKER.

Hoy.—Robert W. Hoy, a resident of Bushnell township since 1867, died February 8, 1901, aged 76 years.

He was born at Canton, Ohio, February 26, 1824. When the civil war broke out he organized a company and was chosen as its captain, which position he held until the close of the war, refusing promotion, preferring to remain with his men that he had enlisted and associated with, many of them companions and neighbors in his younger days. His company was lettered Co. I, 129th Indiana Infantry, and was attached

to the 23d Army Corps. During their service they participated in the battles of Resaca, then Kenesaw Mountain, Decatur, Ga., Columbia, Tenn., Atlanta, Ga., Lovejoy Station, Ga., Columbia, Tenn., November 5, Franklin, Tenn., November 30, 1864, and Nashville, Tenn., December 15-16, 1864. After Hood's defeat at Nashville the Twenty-third and a part of the Fourth Army Corps under Gen. Thomas were transferred to Washington, D. C., and from there went to Ft. Fisher and Ft. Anderson, and from there went to Beaufort, Newbern and Goldsborough, N. C., where they met Gen. Sherman. Previous to reaching Goldsborough and while at Kingston, N. C., the 129th participated in their last fight. Gen. Lee soon afterward surrendered his army and the 129th, with other regiments, was ordered to Charlotte, N. C., for duty, and there remained until August 29, 1865, when they were mustered out.

In 1869 Mr. Hoy was elected justice of the peace of Bushnell, which office he held for thirty years. He was also supervisor of the township twenty-three years during his residence there.

He was married three times, but all his companions have preceded him. He was the father of six children, four of whom survive him.

JUDD.—Daniel Judd was born in Lockport, Niagara county, N. Y., February 7, 1829, and died at Greenville, November 29, 1900.

He was the eldest son of Rev. S. and Catherine Judd and the third in a family of nine children, of which Rev. Wm. Judd of Greenville is the youngest. When the deceased was sixteen years of age, he was apprenticed to learn the carpenter and joiner trade, and has followed his chosen occupation for fifty-five years. He came to Michigan in 1855 and spent about a year at Hillsdale working at his trade. In 1856 he removed to Greenville and formed a partnership with George Ward and a Mr. Fisher, and for some years they carried on the business of manufacturing doors, sash and blinds, and as contractors. In 1857, he married Charlotte Worden and began housekeeping in the old homestead on the corner of Clay and Benton streets. Seven children were born to them, five of whom are now living. William of Toledo, Marvin of Greenville, Mrs. Ray Dowling of Adrian, R. T. of Aberdeen, Wash., and Charles M. of Greenville. Daniel Judd was one of the little band of explorers that went to Pike's Peak from Greenville in 1860. They went overland and with wagon train. He enlisted in Co. F, 21st Michigan Infantry and served three years, being in nearly all of the battles of that regiment and was first duty sergeant when discharged.

MASSIE.—Alexander Massie died February 27, 1901, aged 77 years. Mr. Massie has been a business man in Greenville many years as a grocer.

NOAH.—Joshua Noah died February 28, 1901, aged 93 years.

Joshua W. Noah was born June 19, 1808, at Nelson, Portage county, Ohio. He was united in marriage to Mrs. Ruth Fox Davids, November 25, 1830, at Nelson, Ohio, who died April 1, 1898, after a wedded life of nearly sixty years. They experienced all the hardships and privations of pioneer life, having come to Sidney township in 1855, when it was a dense wilderness, where they settled on a homestead of government land and where they lived until 1894 when, on account of old age, they went to live with their daughter, Mrs. D. L. Walters of Stanton, where they both passed the remainder of their days. Mr. Noah was one of the organizers of the township and always held important town offices during his days of usefulness. Six children survive him, William and Joshua Noah of Sidney Center, Mrs. D. L. Walters of Stanton, John Noah of Moline, Orange Noah of Pinckney and Mrs. Ruth Van Ness, now residing in Mississippi. He had three sons in the Civil War, the oldest, George, having lost his life there.

PRATT.—Lyman H. Pratt was born in Paris, Oneida county, New York, May 12, 1822, and died at his home in Greenville, March 8, 1901.

Montcalm county owes its prominence as much to Lyman H. Pratt as to any other man, be he living or dead, for he has been prominently identified with its progress and prosperity from its earliest settlement. When fourteen years of age, his father died leaving a family of four children of which Lyman was the oldest. The widowed mother was poor and the rest of the children were too small to do anything as breadwinners, so the duty devolved upon the fourteen-year-old boy, of supporting the mother and children, until they could earn their own support. For seven years he was the prop of that loved mother, and then being twenty-one years of age, Mr. Pratt started out in quest of a home and independence, coming to Kent county in this State, where he spent one winter in the town of Paris, which was then a wilderness. The howl of the wolves was no unusual sound and attracted Mr. Pratt. Taking a rifle he soon brought in a wolf scalp, for which there was a bounty of $12. He then procured traps and caught six others, making seven in all that winter which was a paying business. In the spring of 1844, Mr. Pratt and his brother-in-law, S. D. Barr, purchased the "Lincoln saw mill," at the mouth of Black creek, Montcalm township,

Montcalm county. This mill had then just been erected, was the first and only mill in Montcalm county, and was of the most primitive kind. Mr. Pratt then returned to New York state and brought his mother to his wilderness home. At that time their nearest neighbors were eight miles distant. The only white family in the county was that of R. K. Divine, residing where Greenville now stands. No white man had disturbed the primitive forest or obstructed the waters of Flat river. Indians were numerous and frequent callers on the new settlers. In 1846 settlers began to arrive and a mail route was established from Ionia to Lincoln's mill, and Montcalm office was established, and Lyman H. Pratt was appointed postmaster, the first in the county.

In 1850, he married Mary A., daughter of Nathan Walker, of Oakfield, Kent county, who survives him, and who has done so much in cheering and helping him, when the outlook seemed so dark and dreary. In 1859, Mr. Pratt purchased the hotel in Greenville, built the upright part, and kept it as Pratt's Exchange for some years. Hotel Phelps now occupies the site on which that hotel was built. In 1866 he engaged in mercantile business in Mecosta county, at the same time being interested in the construction of the Greenville and Big Rapids state road until 1868. He returned to Greenville, and in 1874 he purchased a farm in Fairplain, where he resided until August, 1888, when he and his wife moved back to Greenville and occupied the brick home on Washington street, which they had built during the spring and summer and which they have lived in ever since. Mr. Pratt was a member of the pioneer society of Greenville and vicinity and until health failed him was present at its meetings.

Shepard.—Norman Shepard died October 28, 1900, aged 60 years.

Mr. Shepard was born in the state of New York in 1840 and early in life he removed to Hastings in this State. In 1866 he came to Greenville and ever since has been prominently identified with its business interests. He was first engaged in driving stage between Ionia and Greenville before there was a railroad. He was a member of the pioneer real estate firm of Moore & Shepard and consummated some of the largest real estate deals ever made in the county. He has also been engaged in various other enterprises, at the time of his death being a member of the drug firm of Shepard & Bachman. He was always interested in every scheme that was intended to promote the interests of his city and community. His jovial disposition made him many friends.

Besides a wife and two daughters, Maude and Florence, he leaves an aged mother who resides at Battle Creek, and a sister and brother.

SLAWSON—George R. Slawson died at Greenville, February 12, 1901, aged 54 years.

In his early childhood, he moved from Tompkins county, New York, with his parents to this State and settled on a farm near Harvard, now known as the "Slawson farm." He went to school at Polo, Ill., and in 1866 he worked the "Slawson farm" east of Greenville, which was owned by his father. In 1869, he entered the employ of Fuller & Merritt, druggists, as clerk, and in 1870 he bought out the interest of Mr. Fuller. In 1872 he purchased the interest of his partner and for fifteen years was the sole proprietor of the business. In 1887 he took in W. W. Slawson and W. A. Hall as partners, and in 1896, Mr. Hall's interest was purchased by his partners. He was married to Julia Berridge in 1871, by whom he had two sons, Earle B. and David H. Mrs. Slawson died Janury 11, 1899. He was a member of the county pioneer society.

WILSON.—George Wilson Sr., died at his home in North Greenville March 1, 1901, after a long and weary sickness, aged 81 years.

The deceased came from Yorkshire, England, and settled in Otisco in 1855, where he stopped one year. He then moved to Grattan, where he resided three years. In 1859 he bought a farm in southeast Eureka on which he lived until twelve years ago, when he moved to North Greenville. One son, George Wilson Jr., and two daughters, Mrs. Mary Antcliff of Boyne City and Mrs. Bessie Mann, of Greenville, survive him.

OAKLAND COUNTY.

BY E. W. JEWEL.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Baldwin, Mrs. Edwin	Bloomfield	Dec. 27, 1900	85	Lived in county 70 years.
Baldwin, Mrs. S. M.	Pontiac	Jan. 5, 1900	83	
Bamber, Mrs. Susan	Milford.	Feb. 20, 1901	89	Lived in county 70 years.
Bird, James	Independence	Jan. 12, 1900	83	
Bowers, Henry	Lyon	Feb. 2, 1901	83	
Bristol, Mrs. Lucy	Southfield	Feb. 19, 1901	93	
Britten, John	Brandon	Feb. 11, 1900	85	
Callow, Charles	Pontiac	April 17, 1900.	90	Oldest Mason in eastern Michigan.
Chamberlin, Mrs. Sally	Brandon	Nov., 1900	93	
Chase, Merritt	Royal Oak	Jan. 5, 1901	81	
Colby, Mrs. Melinda	Allen	Jan. 24, 1901	89	Lived in county 70 years.
Denison, Wm. A	Troy	Nov. 7, 1900	83	
Draper, Chas. A	Pontiac	April 20, 1900.	88	
Garner, Mrs. Margaret	Rose	Aug. 6, 1900	93	
Gerls, Thomas F	Pontiac	April 17, 1900.	80	
Going, Mrs. Benjamin	Pontiac	Jan. 10, 1901	90	Organizer of first woman's club.
Goodenow, Horatio N	Holly	April 20, 1900.	84	
Hall, Mrs. Abby	Bloomfield	April 6, 1900	90	
Kinney, Riley	Milford	Aug., 1900	82	
Lee, Mrs. D. A	Highland	Mar. 31, 1900	95	
Leggett, Mrs. Eliza S	Waterford	Feb. 8, 1900	85	
Leonard, Seth	Troy	Jan. 29, 1901	80	
Merrill, Mrs. Lucretia	Bloomfield	Dec. 10, 1900	88	A continual resident for 76 years.
Millard, Erwin W	Troy	Jan., 1901	82	
Murray, Mrs. Rebecca E	Farmington	Jan. 3, 1901	87	
Nesbitt, Thomas P	Pontiac	June 12, 1900	81	Served three years in war of rebellion.
Osman, Mrs. Mary A	Pontiac	Mar. 16, 1900	80	
Pearsall, Mrs. Sarah A	Pontiac	Nov. 21, 1900	89	
Robertson, George	Waterford	Aug., 1900	88	Was justice of the peace 50 years and resident of county over 65 years.
Skeelmore, Solomon C	Rose	June 20, 1900	83	
Smalley, Robert	Troy	Aug. 21, 1900	87	
Smith, Deacon Francis	Pontiac	June 8, 1900	92	
Tanner, Francis C	Farmington	June 7, 1900	82	
Tanner, Mrs. Francis C	Farmington	June, 1900	80	
Taylor, David	Lyon	Dec. 3, 1900	90	
Turner, Mrs. Emily	Independence	April 25, 1900.	86	

ST. CLAIR COUNTY.

BY M. F. CARLETON.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Native of—
Philomena Duengle	Marine City	June 3, 1900.	68	Germany.
Catherine Dolan	Columbus	June 10, 1900.	76	Canada.
Sarah L. Shaw	Kimball	June 6, 1900.	50	Canada.
William Muna	Kenockee	June 1, 1900.	64	Canada.
Benjamin Gilbert	Riley	June 14, 1900.	82	Pennsylvania.
Mary Bailey	Wales	June 22, 1900.	50	Canada.
Gottfried Rathsbury	Mussey	June 4, 1900.	80	Germany.
William Ruich	Port Huron	June 2, 1900.	79	New York.
Mrs. Grace Strigle	Port Huron	June 3, 1900.	82	Canada.
John W. Jordan	Port Huron	June 4, 1900.	61	Ohio.
William Colwell	Port Huron	June 13, 1900.	80	England.
Angus McQueen	Port Huron	June 15, 1900.	80	Scotland.
Elizabeth J. Harris	Port Huron	June 17, 1900.	50	Canada.
Julia Isabell	Port Huron	June 22, 1900.	67	Canada.
Robert Kelly	Port Huron	June 27, 1900.	59	Ireland.
Gottfried Schunk	Casco	April 5, 1900.	83	Germany.
Julia Schoenfield	Casco	April 13, 1900.	65	Germany.
Martha Smith	St. Clair township	July 6, 1900.	84	England.
Josephine Wells	St. Clair township	July 11, 1900.	66	Ohio.
Sarah Bates	Kenockee	July 5, 1900.	64	Canada.
Philura Johnson	Wales	July 9, 1900.	79	Canada.
Rebecca Lordley	Riley	July 27, 1900.	75	England.
Patrick Aigo	Greenwood	July 20, 1900.	65	Ireland.
Matthias Winkle	Casco	July 3, 1900.	77	Germany.
Maria Uppleger	Casco	July 24, 1900.	72	Germany.
Sophia Schrœder	Ira	July 15, 1900.	64	Germany.
Jane Hudsputh	Port Huron	July 2, 1900.	71	Scotland.
Alrena Walsworth	Port Huron	July 5, 1900.	62	Canada.
Elizabeth Kuhn	Port Huron	July 11, 1900.	70	Germany.
Emily Clements	Port Huron	July 14, 1900.	61	England.
Frederick Saunders	Port Huron	July 21, 1900.	87	England.
Walter Coner	Port Huron	July 23, 1900.	73	Ireland.
George Walker	Port Huron	July 25, 1900.	70	Vermont.
Andrew Johnson	Port Huron	July 26, 1900.	55	Sweden.
Eleanor H. McLeod	Port Huron	July 29, 1900.	57	Ontario.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Native of—
John Roths	Port Huron	July 26, 1900.	70	
Conrad Marth	Casco	Aug. 11, 1900.	80	Germany.
John Krause	Kimball	Aug. 20, 1900.	77	Germany.
Ann Fisher	Kimball	Aug. 22, 1900.	74	Ireland.
Jesse Ferrell	Wales	Aug. 16, 1900.	80	Canada.
Hannah Quant	Columbus	Aug. 26, 1900.	82	New York.
Almira Lindsay	Kenockee	Aug. 9, 1900.	59	Canada.
Hannah Bushell	Marine City	Aug. 2, 1900.	73	New York.
Robert Jackson	Greenwood	Aug. 8, 1900.	66	Ireland.
Barney Westrick	China	Aug. 5, 1900.	53	Germany.
Edward Fry	Yale	Aug. 3, 1900.	87	Ireland.
Mary Gariock	Port Huron	Aug. 1, 1900.	50	Scotland.
Mary M. Jones	Port Huron	Aug. 7, 1900.	57	Michigan.
Daniel A. Kimble	Port Huron	Aug. 8, 1900.	70	Canada.
Clark Strevel	Port Huron	Aug. 9, 1900.	72	Canada.
Frank S. Comins	Port Huron	Aug. 10, 1900.	60	Maine.
Eliza Ann Merrill	Port Huron	Aug. 29, 1900.	58	Canada.
Rosalind Wright	China	Sept. 6, 1900.	74	Ireland.
Robert Ricks	Brockway	Sept. 6, 1900.	82	England.
Robert Cheeseman	Brockway	Sept. 10, 1900.	79	England.
Mrs. R. Copeland	Brockway	Sept. 25, 1900.	64	England.
Jennie Eagling	Riley	Sept. 30, 1900.	51	Michigan.
Frederick Fisher	Mussey	Sept. 21, 1900.	63	Michigan.
Margaret M. Brown	Yale	Sept. 1, 1900.	55	Michigan.
Palmer Chamberlin	Yale	Sept. 12, 1900.	87	New York.
Silas Fuller	Burtchville	Sept. 3, 1900.	84	Canada.
Adam Hartlein	St. Clair township	Aug. 17, 1900.	71	Germany.
Margaret Brayman	St. Clair township	Aug. 24, 1900.	67	New York.
Arthur Adams	Port Huron	Sept. 1, 1900.	74	England.
Betsey A. Bennett	Port Huron	Sept. 9, 1900.	74	New York.
Phebe McKeller	Port Huron	Sept. 11, 1900.	77	Ireland.
Sarah Hazelwood	Port Huron	Sept. 11, 1900.	75	England.
Catharine Frier	Port Huron	Sept. 18, 1900.	76	Canada.
Jennie Gilchrist	Port Huron	Sept. 18, 1900.	50	Scotland.
Margaret Walsh	Port Huron	Sept. 20, 1900.	58	Ireland.
Caroline Cane	Port Huron	Sept. 22, 1900	74	England.
Fritz Segate	Port Huron	Sept. 22, 1900.	60	Germany.
Jacob Buler	Port Huron	Sept. 30, 1900.	80	Germany.
Eliza Sheldon	Yale	Oct. 21, 1900.	52	Canada.
Thomas Gibbs	Columbus	Oct. 4, 1900.	82	
David Loun	Riley	Oct. 25, 1900.	81	New York.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Native of—
William Gillis	Grant	Oct. 5, 1900.	65	Ontario.
Christina Labahn	Casco	Sept. 3, 1900.	85	Germany.
Almira Stalker	Grant	Sept. 9, 1900.	78	Canada.
Dora Guldensteine	China	Oct. 19, 1900.	80	Germany.
Thomas Conroy	Berlin	Oct. 2, 1900.	63	Ireland.
Rudolph Miththaleo	Greenwood	Sept. 6, 1900.	81	Germany.
Minnie Mavis	Greenwood	Sept. 11, 1900.	50	Germany.
Melissa Dobbins	Algonac	March 30, 1900	84	New Hampshire.
Mary Day	Algonac	April 4, 1900.	74	Ohio.
Chas. Cartwright	Algonac	July 9, 1900.	59	Scotland.
R. McDonald	Algonac	July 17, 1900.	56	Canada.
Peter Rowe	Algonac	Aug. 24, 1900.	68	Ireland.
Louisa Blank	Mussey	Nov. 30, 1900.	74	Germany.
Thomas White	Riley	Nov. 3, 1900.	70	Ireland.
Allen Gillett	Riley	Nov. 13, 1900.	74	New York.
James Needham	Kimball	Nov. 3, 1900.	68	Ireland.
Bridget Henry	Brockway	Nov. 13, 1900.	71	Ireland.
Neil Connell	Brockway	Nov. 21, 1900.	85	Scotland.
Charles Rose	Ira	March 4, 1900	79	Canada.
Lizzie Bantiem	Ira	March 6, 1900	72	Germany.
Henry Beamais	Ira	March 14, 1900	50	Michigan.
Ezekiel Hubbard	Berlin	June 27, 1900.	86	Canada.
John Zehmer	Marine City	Nov. 12, 1900.	64	Germany.
Peter Sears	Marine City	Nov. 19, 1900.	63	Michigan.
Patrick Moore	Marine City	Nov. 21, 1900.	80	Canada.
John Hogan	Marine City	Nov. 26, 1900.	56	Canada.
Rebecca Betts	Burtchville	Nov. 16, 1900.	53	Canada.
Moses Hillock	Burtchville	Nov. 20, 1900.	84	Canada.
Thos. Gibbs	Port Huron	Oct. 4, 1900.	82	England.
Elizabeth Shoulters	Port Huron	Oct. 11, 1900.	59	New York.
Jessie A. Stitt	Port Huron	Oct. 11, 1900.	60	Scotland.
Anna S. Whitman	Port Huron	Oct. 14, 1900.	71	Vermont.
Amelia Wargowski	Port Huron	Oct. 14, 1900.	56	Germany.
Rebecca O'Dell	Lynn	Aug. 31, 1900.	57	England.
Marie Dohrman	Lynn	Oct. 21, 1900.	71	Prussia.
Emil H. Schmidt	Columbus	Aug. 24, 1900.	55	Germany.
Nancy King	China	Aug. 22, 1900.	81	New York.
Wm. Graham	Grant	Dec. 19, 1900.	80	England.
Joseph Weise	Ira	Dec. 29, 1900.	72	Germany.
Mortimer Culhane	Kenockee	Dec. 13, 1900.	64	Ireland.
Gilbert Isbester	Kenockee	Dec. 28, 1900.	68	Scotland.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Name of—
Henry A. Sawyer	Yale	Dec. 23, 1900	59	New York.
George Brown	Brockway	Dec. 18, 1900	72	Canada.
John Kilroy	Wales	Dec. 18, 1900	65	Ireland.
Anna Schram	Wales	Dec. 18, 1900	79	Ontario.
Catharine Saws	Marine City	Dec. 6, 1900	61	Canada.
Wm. H. Smith	Marine City	Dec. 31, 1900	72	Canada.
Isabella Mallon	Clyde	Nov. 18, 1900	76	Ireland.
Isaac Hamilton	Port Huron	Dec. 1, 1900	83	New York.
Roswell E. Knapp	Port Huron	Dec. 5, 1900	53	Michigan.
John McCormick	Port Huron	Dec. 11, 1900	54	Ireland.
Sarah M. Johnson	Port Huron	Dec. 16, 1900	69	England.
Elizabeth Fairfield	Port Huron	Dec. 22, 1900	50	Europe.
Susan McKenzie	Port Huron	Dec. 25, 1900	95	England.
Christian Rocht	Port Huron	Dec. 30, 1900	85	Germany.
Obadiah King	Capac	Sept. 24, 1900	70	England.
Johana Michales	Emmett	Dec. 1, 1900	73	Germany.
Ann Parker	Clay	Dec. 21, 1900	72	England.
Elizabeth B. Dain	Burtchville	Jan. 10, 1901	77	Canada.
Agnes Riffenberg	Marine City	Jan. 9, 1901	61	Michigan.
Catharine Jock	Marine City	Jan. 12, 1901	92	Canada.
Christian McFee	Marine City	Jan. 21, 1901	68	Scotland.
Mary Allemon	Marine City	Jan. 29, 1901	63	Germany.
Mary A. Bennett	Port Huron	Jan. 5, 1901	82	Ireland.
Richard R. Goodwin	Port Huron	Jan. 6, 1901	86	New York.
Wm. Bressatt	Port Huron	Jan. 6, 1901	63	Canada.
Wm. Curtis	Port Huron	Jan. 9, 1901	70	New York.
Chas. J. Moak	Port Huron	Jan. 15, 1901	55	Michigan.
Nancy Howard	Port Huron	Jan. 22, 1901	94	Pennsylvania.
Christian Nelson	Port Huron	Jan. 26, 1901	50	Denmark.
John C. Young	Port Huron	Jan. 28, 1901	53	Michigan.
Henry H. Thomas	Kimball	Jan. 28, 1901	74	Canada.
Dorthia Beckman	Ira	Jan. 3, 1901	87	Germany.
Margaret Laforge	Riley	Jan. 19, 1901	63	Canada.
Wm. Stephens	Riley	Jan. 25, 1901	80	England.
Anna Allen	Wales	Jan. 13, 1901	79	Norway.
David Fuller	Wales	Jan. 15, 1901	79	New York.
A. J. Valentine	Wales	Jan. 24, 1901	65	New York.
Lucian Fairfield	China	Jan. 3, 1901	73	England.
Mary Morgan	Brockway	Jan. 8, 1901	70	Ireland.
Christina P. Hoffman	Greenwood	Jan. 28, 1901	52	Germany.
Mary Manuel	Marine City	Feb. 7, 1901	72	Germany.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Native of—
Matilda Donahue	Marine City	Feb. 8, 1901	72	Virginia.
Rudolph Andrae	Yale	Feb. 11, 1901	55	Germany.
Harriet Patterson	Grant	Feb. 21, 1901	78	Ireland.
John Balkwell	Grant	Feb. 26, 1901	69	England.
Cyrus Owen	Wales	Feb. 7, 1901	81	
Mary Hammond	Wales	Feb. 7, 1901	83	Canada.
Wm. Ramsey	St. Clair	Feb. 6, 1901	64	Ireland.
Mary Meyer	Casco	Feb. 16, 1901	86	Germany.
John J. Stevens	Wales	Feb. 22, 1901	86	New York.
Elizabeth Ropbert	Wales	Feb. 26, 1901	62	Germany.
Wilhelmina Radike	China	Feb. 18, 1899	75	Germany.
Stephen Mettig	St. Clair	April 22, 1899	76	Germany.
May J. Poole	St. Clair	June 17, 1899	82	Scotland.
Dora C. Cox	St. Clair	Sept. 11, 1899	52	Prussia.
Joseph Sively	St Clair	Oct. 15, 1899	77	England.
Charles Boeckman	St. Clair	Dec. 18, 1899	58	Germany.
Margaet Hanna	St. Clair	Dec. 22, 1899	74	Ireland.
Christian Bauthien	St. Clair	Jan. 6, 1900	76	Germany.
Victoria Thomas	St. Clair	Mar. 3, 1900	86	Michigan.
Parson Tucker	St. Clair	April 27, 1900	59	Massachusetts.
Daniel Langell	St. Clair	May 4, 1900	50	Nova Scotia.
Phœbe J. Brown	St. Clair	May 11, 1900	67	Michigan.
Emily O. Whiting	St. Clair	May 15, 1900	52	Michigan.
Albert S. Padfield	St. Clair	May 29, 1900	58	Canada.
Archibald Morrison	St. Clair	May 31, 1900	57	Scotland.
Ernestine Feske	St. Clair	June 25, 1900	59	Germany.
Sanford Irons	St. Clair	July 4, 1900	76	New York.
Nelson Anderson	St. Clair	July 8, 1900	81	Sweden.
Mary Snay	St. Clair	July 19, 1900	93	Michigan.
Henry L. Smith	St. Clair	July 27, 1900	60	Pennsylvania.
Isaac Webb	St Clair	Sept. 28, 1900	82	Canada.
Magdalene Wood	St. Clair	Nov. 21, 1900	62	Germany.
Vitus E. Rett	St. Clair	Dec. 21, 1900	81	Germany.
Grace R. Sheldon	St. Clair	Jan. 10, 1901	82	Ireland.
Mary Williams	St. Clair	Jan. 13, 1901	88	Germany.
John Hill	St. Clair	Jan. 23, 1901	89	Ontario.
Leonard Tigchon	St. Clair	Jan. 31, 1901	54	Michigan.
John Harris	St. Clair	Feb. 1901	82	Canada.
Frederick Pluddeman	St. Clair	Feb 9, 1901	73	Germany.
Lucinda Burns	St. Clair	Feb. 13, 1901	70	Michigan.
Isabella McMichael	St. Clair	Feb. 15, 1901	85	Scotland.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Native of—
Philip Endlich	Port Huron	Feb. 2, 1901	74	Germany.
Amanda Bentley	Port Huron	Feb. 11, 1901	52	Michigan.
William H. Ray	Port Huron	Feb. 17, 1901	68	Canada.
Anna Biddlecomb	Port Huron	Feb. 17, 1901	70	England.
Margaret W. Smith	Port Huron	Feb. 26, 1901	57	Michigan.
James Moffatt	Port Huron	Feb. 26, 1901	76	Scotland.
Albert Vorheis	Kimball	Feb. 14, 1901	74	New York.
Joanna Cowhy	Emmett	Feb. 17, 1901	76	Ireland.
Jesse C. Moore	Yale	Mar. 1, 1901	78	New Jersey.
Casper Schroepfel	China	Mar. 10, 1901	83	Germany.
Patrick Coyne	Marine City	Mar. 1, 1901,	77	Ireland.
Susan Folsom	Marine City	Mar. 11, 1901	77	New Jersey.
Sarah McNutt	Berlin	Mar. 18, 1901	56	Michigan.
James Holden	Brockway	Mar. 2, 1901	78	England.
Foster W. Francis	Brockway	Mar. 12, 1901	79	Nova Scotia.
Agnes Shelts	Brockway	Mar. 30, 1901	59	Scotland.
Henry Gelschlager	Brockway	April 2, 1901	76	Germany.
Wm. Castelo	Wales	Mar. 14, 1901	59	Ireland.
Jacob Bernard	St. Clair township.	Mar. 3, 1901	78	France.
Daniel Pelette	Kimball	Mar. 2, 1901	64	Michigan.
John McMichael	St. Clair	Mar. 3, 1901	91	Scotland.
Anthony Recor	St. Clair	Mar. 29, 1901	76	Canada.
Isabelle Brown	St. Clair	Mar. 4, 1901	94	Canada.
Henry Hock	St. Clair	Mar. 3, 1901	62	Canada.
Josiah H. Smith	St. Clair	Mar. 4, 1901	84	England.
William Black	Greenwood	Mar. 29, 1901	75	Canada.
Mary Elliott	Port Huron	Mar. 19, 1901	87	Scotland.
Catharine Thun	Port Huron	Mar. 27, 1901	95	Germany.
John Brown	Port Huron	Mar. 27, 1901	66	Canada.
Louisa King	Port Huron	Mar. 29, 1901	63	Canada.
Mary Lincoln	Port Huron	Mar. 29, 1901	73	New York.
Mary Turner	Port Huron	Mar. 29, 1901	74	New York.
Christina Moss	Port Huron	Mar. 31, 1901	50	England.
Casper Slegher	China	April 12, 1901	79	Germany.
Elihu Caswell	Wales	April 19, 1901	71	Michigan.
Hannah Nightingale	Wales	April 2, 1901	74	England.
Thos. French	Port Huron	April 1, 1901	83	England.
Thos. Mahar	Port Huron	April 2, 1901	70	Ireland.
Elizabeth Bathey	Port Huron	April 6, 1901	87	Canada.
John J. Frankellar	Port Huron	April 7, 1901	53	Michigan.
Elizabeth Moore	Port Huron	April 16, 1901	88	England.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Native of—
Margaret Scott	Port Huron	April 17, 1901.	63	Canada.
Alice M. Moak	Port Huron	April 19, 1901.	51	Ohio.
Cicero Tomlinson	Port Huron	April 19, 1901	71	Canada.
Ellen Mahar	Port Huron	April 21, 1901.	87	Ireland.
Mary E. Austin	Port Huron	April 22, 1901.	67	Ohio.
Thos. Burgua	Port Huron	April 24, 1901.	55	Canada.
Mrs. E. Buckner	Port Huron	April 26, 1901.	66	Ireland.
Sarah Marshall	Port Huron	April 26, 1901.	66	Scotland.
Isabell McDonald	Port Huron	April 25, 1901.	74	Scotland.
Thos. H. Abbott	Port Huron	April 27, 1901.	51	Michigan.
Jos. Mapletoft	Marine City	April 4, 1901.	67	England.
Rachel Lortz	Columbus	April 11, 1901.	84	Germany.
Lucinda Kiddle	Algonac	April 17, 1901.	80	New York.
Charles Laffrey	Algonac	April 29, 1901.	53	Michigan.
Mary Walker	Riley	April 8, 1901.	70	Ireland.
Margaret Burns	Riley	April 19, 1901.	64	Canada.
Richard Turner	Brockway	April 30, 1901.	79	New Brunswick.
George Murray	Greenwood	April 8, 1901.	70	Ireland.
Nicholas Vogelei	Greenwood	April 21, 1901.	70	Germany.
Frank Kernrumpf	Greenwood	April 23, 1901.	53	Germany.
Ann Bannan	St. Clair township	April 25, 1901.	76	Ireland.
Elizabeth Tearbau	St. Clair township	April 16, 1901.	85	Michigan.
Fred Wolf	St. Clair township	April 29, 1901.	92	Germany.
Christ Roloff	Columbus	May 5, 1901	86	Germany.
Geo. Coughell	Columbus	May 7, 1901	68	Canada.
Saffa Lindeman	Columbus	May 22, 1901	63	Germany.
Mary Gordon	Ira	May 14, 1901	74	Switzerland.
Krena Tigchon	Wales	May 2, 1901	79	Holland.
Jno. Cochrane	Wales	May 20, 1901	72	Scotland.
Jane M. Duquette	Brockway	May 8, 1901	57	Canada.
Margaret Cartwright	Algonac	May 16, 1901	52	Canada.
Geo. W. Day	Algonac	May 22, 1901	78	New York.
Wm. W. Jones	Berlin	May 8, 1901	65	New York.
George N. Brown	St. Clair	May 16, 1901	73	New York.
Julia J. Marril	St. Clair	May 14, 1901	92	Massachusetts.
Margaret Distelrath	St. Clair	May 28, 1901	89	Germany.
Charlotte Fordt	Casco	May 7, 1901	76	Germany.
John D. Hilliker	Greenwood	May 13, 1901	81	Canada.
Esther Walker	Kenockee	May 27, 1901	59	Ireland.

ST. JOSEPH COUNTY.

BY THOS. G. GREENE.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Andrews, Van Ansel		March 22, 1901	73	
Artley, Robert		Dec. 22, 1900	71	
Baker, John G		Dec. 27, 1900	72	
Bailey, Henry		Dec. 20, 1900	65	
Bailey. Mary J		Sept. 8, 1900	61	
Balke, Mary		Oct. 9, 1900	83	
Barker, John		Jan. 23, 1901	70	
Barnard, Richard		Feb. 12, 1901	72	
Barnum, Chas. H		Jan. 11, 1901	88	
Bartholomew, Melissa		May 4, 1901	69	
Bates, Hannah M		March 25, 1901	93	
Baumeaster, Fred'k		Oct. 16, 1900	75	
Beardsley, Abner M		Nov. 12, 1900	85	
Benham, Tobis M		March 3, 1901.	65	
Benjamin, Wm. W		April 10, 1901.	68	
Bishop, Eliza J		Oct. 3, 1900	61	
Bissell, George W		Sept. 13, 1900.	81	
Birch, Eliza J		Oct. 3, 1900	61	
Blanchard, Jane C		March 25, 1901	93	
Blodget, Clarissa		Feb. 12, 1901	99	
Blood, George		Feb. 16, 1901	59	
Blood, Maria		Feb. 16, 1901	81	
Bondeman, Alfred		Nov. 4, 1900	54	
Bowersox, Martha D		March 3, 1901.	88	
Bucker, Henry		Dec. 6, 1900	77	
Burton, Hannah		March 10, 1901	71	
Buss, Elizabeth C		April 8, 1901	74	
Buys, Daniel		Feb. 24, 1901	80	
Bycroft, Wm		April 25, 1901.	81	
Campbell, Agnes		Nov. 21, 1900	88	
Carr, Eleanor		March 2, 1901.	75	
Carter, Chas. T		April 25, 1901.	80	
Chamberlain, Wm. A		March 17, 1901	72	
Clark, Sydney		Jan. 8, 1901	84	
Clubine, James		Aug. 27, 1900	81	
Cole, Mary A		Oct. 3, 1900	83	

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Coltrim, Lucy A.		Feb. 17, 1901.	81	
Coney, Percival E.		Jan. 20, 1901.	62	
Cook, Emeline		Nov. 22, 1900.	68	
Cooper, Peter		Dec. 5, 1900.	82	
Cotton, Charles		Feb. 11, 1901.	57	
Craig, Jonas W.		Oct. 15, 1900.	62	
Craig, Hezekiah		Jan. 9, 1901.	71	
Davis, Eliza A.		June 30, 1900.	78	
Decker, Adam W.		April 20, 1901.	76	
Dickerson, Josephine		Feb. 2, 1901.	76	
Dingman, Felix		Sept. 2, 1900.	77	
Dougherty, Richard		Dec. 17, 1900.	77	
Douglass, Ellen		Jan. 25, 1901.	67	
Drake, Henry		June 19, 1900.	81	
Driggs, Alfred S.		Oct. 5, 1900.	93	
Early, John		June 29, 1900.	77	
Eberhartt, Catherine		Oct. 22, 1900.	75	
Eggleston, Charles		Sept. 11, 1900.	60	
Ervin, Betsey		June 10, 1900.	84	
Evans, Morris H.		Oct. 16, 1900.	84	
Farrand, Ebenezer		June 2, 1900.	70	
Feas, Susan		April 15, 1901.	91	
Ferry, Manette		Dec. 22, 1900.	64	
Fetterolf, Henry		June 17, 1900.	60	
Foster, Elizabeth B.		March 13, 1901	79	
Foster, Mary E.		Feb. 8, 1901.	73	
Fowler, Ira		March 16, 1901	81	
Fox, George W.		Feb. 9, 1901.	62	
Francis, Helen M.		Sept. 3, 1900.	72	
Frankish, Ellen M.		May 20, 1901.	66	
Freese, Henry		Sept. 18, 1900.	77	
French, Orlo		Dec. 23, 1900.	69	
Fulkerson, Christopher C.		July 17, 1900.	64	
Garrison, John L.		June 10, 1900.	62	
Gerry, Margaret		April 17, 1901.	67	
Gillespie, George W.		June 15, 1900.	78	
Gladding, John P.		Nov. 6, 1900.	85	
Good, George F.		June —, 1900.	60	
Gordon, James F.		April 4, 1901.	76	
Hafer, Wm. H.		April 25, 1901.	83	
Hagerman, Lucinda		Sept. 20, 1900.	67	

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Hamilton, David P		Feb. 4, 1901	73	
Hanchette, Catherine		April 10, 1901	66	
Harosy, James		Jan. 27, 1901	77	
Harrison, Elizabeth		June 20, 1900	71	
Harrison, John W		Sept. 6, 1900	71	
Harwood, Hiram H		March 14, 1901	88	
Heath, John C		April 29, 1901	66	
Hibbs, Stephen B		Sept. 1, 1900	86	
Hickmot, John		May 14, 1901	79	
Hill, Permelia		March 12, 1901	89	
Hoffman, John M		June 2, 1900	75	
Howes, George		Dec. 22, 1900	75	
Hughes, Barclay		Feb. 7, 1901	79	
Hutchinson, Luther		Nov. 4, 1900	77	
Ikcher, Mary		July 24, 1900	90	
Ingraham, Mary A		Sept. 2, 1900	79	
Jackson, George		Feb. 26, 1901	67	
James, Sarah		June 29, 1900	76	
Johnson, Mary Ann		March 2, 1901	64	
Johnson, Mary Jane		June 29, 1900	76	
Kenyon, Asa		June 7, 1900	84	
King, David		March 1, 1901	74	
Kirby, Mary		April 13, 1901	84	
Kittell, Stephen R		Nov. 23, 1900	75	
Kyte, Jane A		Feb. 23, 1901	94	
Land, George E		July 21, 1900	68	
Langley, Thomas C		—— —, 1901	67	
Langton, Ann		Feb. 2, 1901	74	
Langton, James		Nov. 17, 1900	79	
Laudenslager, Ann		April 27, 1901	78	
Leland, Eunice		Jan. 21, 1901	68	
Lenhart, Susan		Sept. 3, 1900	69	
Libhart, James A		April 16, 1901	81	
Lintz, Jacob		June 6, 1900	61	
Lowther, Abigail		March 13, 1901	78	
Lyttle, Mrs. James		May 2, 1901	73	
Maher, Michael		Nov. 14, 1900	66	
Marquard, Jacob		June 19, 1900	80	
McGowan, Jane K		April 24, 1901	72	
Melvin, Elizabeth		Jan. 1, 1901	55	
Mervine, Ranse		Oct. 18, 1900	70	

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Millard, Jane H		May 7, 1901	85	
Miller, Catherine		Oct. 13, 1900	69	
Miller, David		Feb. 28, 1901	73	
Monroe, James M		Oct. 14, 1900	67	
Morgan, Wm. G		Nov. 29, 1900	89	
Morrison, Freelove R		May 9, 1901	70	
Mowry, Mary		April 11, 1901	71	
Newman, Frederick		June 1, 1900	83	
Newman, Lucy Ann		Feb. 2, 1901	79	
Nye, Samuel		March 13, 1901	80	
Olney, Mary J		March 30, 1901	64	
Orcutt, Martha W		March 30, 1901	75	
Packard, Ira F		Aug. 2, 1900	92	
Patrick, Wm		Feb. 21, 1901	65	
Pearson, Elizabeth		April 1, 1901	75	
Peters, Anna J. M		March 30, 1901	81	
Peters, Charles F		April 9, 1901	85	
Powers, Margaret A		March 4, 1901	66	
Putnam, Sarah A		Nov. 3, 1900	63	
Ranck, Sarah		Oct. 24, 1900	76	
Randeman, Isaac		Aug. 13, 1900	86	
Rhodes, Jane F		Jan. 21, 1901	85	
Rice, Martha E		April 13, 1901	62	
Rice, Minnie		Feb. 18, 1901	78	
Rich, Geo. N		March 8, 1901	60	
Rine, John		Aug. 27, 1900	69	
Roberts, Maria		Aug. 12, 1900	83	
Roderick, Mary		June 16, 1900	87	
Rogers, George		March 4, 1901	72	
Ruggles, Fannie C		Feb. 24, 1901	84	
Rumsey, Edna		April 19, 1901	90	
Runkle, Abraham		June 12, 1900	77	
Russell, Andrew C		April 16, 1901	62	
Schall, Aaron		June 24, 1900	74	
Schellhous, Edward D		March 2, 1901	60	
Schling, Sarah Ann		June 22, 1900	79	
Shafer, Elizabeth		March 2, 1901	76	
Shaw, Emily		April 15, 1901	61	
Siggins, Philetus		July 25, 1900	72	
Simpson, Thomas		May 7, 1901	74	
Slack, John S		Feb. 25, 1901	70	

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Slote, Ashael		June —, 1900..	89	
Smith, Elizabeth		July 15, 1900..	75	
Spatch, Alonzo		June 13, 1900..	70	
Spregelman, Catherine		Nov. 21, 1900..	73	
Stamp, Frances S		Aug. 5, 1900...	68	
Start, Martha		March 18, 1901	79	
Stathers, Wm. B		July 17, 1900..	79	
Steffen, Margaret		Sept. 4, 1900 ..	82	
Stone, Bliss N		Dec. 28, 1900..	74	
Stowers, Samuel W		Feb. 7, 1901...	65	
Sturgis, Wm		April 6, 1901..	83	
Suylor, Jason B		March 4, 1901.	68	
Talbot, Lucius F		May 10, 1901 ..	65	
Thorp, John A		May 16, 1901 ..	74	
Timm, Helmuth		May 2, 1901 ...	62	
Tomlinson, Jane		Feb. 2, 1901...	76	
Travis, Deborah		May 1, 1901 ...	80	
Valentine, Abraham		Jan. 20, 1901 ..	82	
Van Buren, George		April 19, 1901.	81	
VanVleck, Abram C		Feb. 18, 1901..	85	
VanWoert, Joseph W		Feb. 11, 1901..	65	
Vetterlee, Mary Ann		June 6, 1900...	68	
Wagner, Henry		April 29, 1901.	62	
Wakeman, Adams		May 20, 1901 ..	96	
Warner, Sarah		Dec. 21, 1900..	72	
Waterson, Jane S		Feb. 23, 1901..	88	
Watkins, Thos. M		Aug. 10, 1900..	80	
Wells, Jane		July 1, 1900....	77	
Wheeler, Chas. P		April 11, 1901.	61	
Wheeler, Mary		Aug. 8, 1900...	80	
White, Agnes		March 19, 1901	77	
White, Julia Ann		Nov. 30, 1900..	72	
White, Sarah Ann		Feb. 18, 1901..	70	
Whitney, Anderson		Dec. 10, 1900..	79	
Will, William		March 30, 1901	80	
Williams, Geo. W		Sept. 24, 1900 .	70	
Woerts, Thomas		Nov. 3, 1900...	83	

SHIAWASSEE COUNTY.

BY A. H. OWENS.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Ackerson, Peter	Caledonia	Jan. —, 1901	69	
Burpee, Martin	Woodhull	Feb. —, 1901	85	
Caldwell, Wm	Lennon	Feb. —, 1901	77	
Chaffee, Wm	Burns	Feb. —, 1901	88	
Colt, Col. Geo	Owosso	Sept. —, 1900	93	
Colt, Mrs. Kimble	Owosso	Oct. —, 1900	72	
Fuller, Alonzo C	Laingsburg	Jan. —, 1901	69	
Gale, Curtis I	Corunna	June —, 1900	73	
Goodhue, Chas. L	Owosso	Feb. —, 1901	84	
Grant, Mrs. Sarah Clayton		May 30, 1901	92	Came to Michigan in 1838.
Gulick, Nicholas	Byron	Dec. —, 1900	82	
Hanna, Mrs. Cynthia M		May 30, 1901	84	Came to Michigan in 1860.
Hopkins, Lorin	Owosso	June —, 1900	74	
Huff, Aaron	Vernon	Feb. —, 1901	80	
Main, Mrs. Sophia D	Owosso	Feb. —, 1901	70	
McCurdy, Mrs. S. R	Caledonia	Feb. —, 1901	47	
McLean, Guerdon W	Owosso	Feb. —, 1901	54	
Potter, Mrs. Carlotte	Caledonia	Feb. —, 1901	73	
Rogers, John	Owosso	June —, 1900	70	
Skutt, A. L	Rush	May —, 1901	86	
Stone, Solon	Vernon	April —, 1901	48	
Strong, Newton	Vernon	Sept. —, 1900	47	
Wallace, Harry	Shiawassee tp	Feb. —, 1901	103	

It will be seen by the table that six were above 70 years of age, six were above 80, one above 90 and one reached the extreme of 103 years.

Ten died during the month of February.

TUSCOLA COUNTY.

BY W. A. HEARTT.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Ames, Joseph R	Almer	Feb. 2, 1901	72	
Belmer, Edward	Caro	Jan. 5, 1901	81	
Burns, Hannah M	Vassar	Feb. 4, 1901	83	
Burtis, Richard H	Juniata	Jan. 17, 1901	76	
Chapman, Harriet A	Juniata	Dec. 8, 1900	82	
Clough, Helen M	Millington	Nov. 30, 1900	65	
Coleman, Nancy A	Juniata	Jan. 30, 1901	61	
Ellew, Sheridan	Fairgrove	June 10, 1900	69	
Gallup, Josephine	Wells	Jan. 11, 1901	56	
Gould, Asa S	Vassar	Jan. 14, 1901	67	
Gray, George	Elkland	Feb. 25, 1901	79	
Hack, Henry	Kingston	Sept. 28, 1900	83	
Hall, Jane	Dayton	Sept. 18, 1900	86	
Hinson, Harriet	Fairgrove	Feb. 4, 1901	86	
Hodge, Catherine	Dayton	Feb. 20, 1901	73	
Huston, Benj. W	Vassar	Nov. 16, 1900	70	
Jarvis, Nathan	Dayton	Sept. —, 1900	84	
King, Mary A	Vassar	Dec. 8, 1900	79	
Knight, James A	Akron	Feb. 8, 1901	71	
McAlpin, John C	Denmark	Dec. 25, 1900	66	
McAvoy, ———	Almer	Feb. 9, 1901	66	
McGilvary, James B	Cass City	Oct. 1, 1900	51	
Miller, Chas. H	Juniata	Jan. 10, 1901	64	
Montague, Horace	Wells	May 30, 1900	74	
Morgan, Ira J	Vassar	Feb. 12, 1901	68	
Nettleton, Helen M	Juniata	Feb. 8, 1901	70	
Orr, Robert G	Cass City	Dec. 11, 1900	56	
Phelps, Nelson D	Dayton	July 13, 1900	78	
Shaver, Harry	Juniata	May 19, 1900	78	
Sherman, Henry	Indian Fields	Jan. 16, 1901	70	
Sifleet, Mary	Kingston	Feb. 24, 1901	74	
Sifleet, Wm	Kingston	July 19, 1900	71	
Simpson, Mary E	Juniata	Jan. 26, 1901	68	
Trisch, John H	Wells	Oct. 20, 1900	81	
Wean, Amanda W	Caro	Nov. 3, 1900	62	
White, George S	Reese	April 9, 1901	78	
Wilber, Eleanor	Juniata	Oct. 6, 1900	73	
Wilsey, L. V	Caro	July 10, 1900	59	

WASHTENAW COUNTY.

FAIRFIELD.—Rev. M. W. Fairfield died at his home in Ypsilanti June 6, 1901, aged 78 years.

Mr. Fairfield was born in Parkersburg, W. Va., in 1823. He was one of the early graduates of Oberlin College, completing both the literary and theological courses. While in college he married Miss Emily F. Fairchild, a sister of President Fairchild of Oberlin, who, with three children, Prof. Frederick Fairfield of Howard University, Washington, D. C., Mrs. Alice Hough of Los Angeles, Cal., and Charles H. Fairfield of Menominee, survive him. Mr. Fairfield entered the Congregational ministry in 1847, preaching in Ohio, Iowa, Illinois and Wisconsin, and then holding pastorates at Lansing, Romeo, Muskegon and Ypsilanti in this State, and later for a brief time at Ormond-on-the-Halifax, Fla. For two years he served as president of Olivet College. His brother, Rev. E. B. Fairfield, was also for a long time president of Hillsdale College. For the past ten years Mr. Fairfield has resided in Ypsilanti.

HISTORY OF BENZIE COUNTY BY HISTORIANS OF EACH TOWNSHIP.

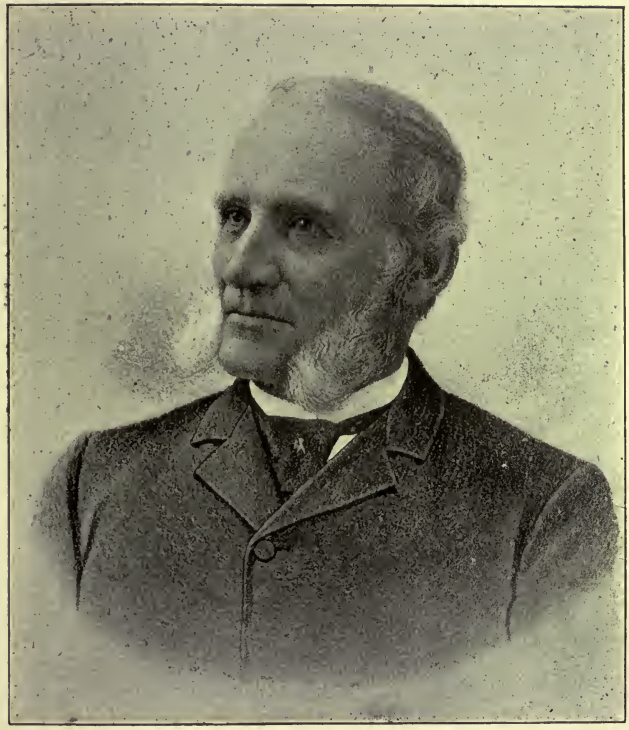
(Prepared for the Benzie County Pioneer Society in August, 1897.)

BY N. A. PARKER.

Benzie county, as it is now constituted, is bounded on the north by Leelanau county, on the east by Grand Traverse, on the south by Manistee and on the west by Lake Michigan; and is composed of twelve (12) townships, viz. Almira, Benzonia, Blaine, Crystal Lake, Colfax, Gilmore, Homestead, Inland, Lake, Platte, and Weldon.

Before the defining of the boundaries of Benzie as a county by the state legislature in 1863, by an act entitled, "An act to organize the county of Leelanau and to define the (boundaries of the) county of Benzie" (see Act No. 48 of the Session Laws of 1863 page 58), the territory embraced within its present limits formed a part of Leelanau county. By section seven of that act which is as follows:

"All that part of the county of Leelanau which is south of the south line of the township twenty-eight (28) north, shall be and remain the



Yours Truly
L. D. Watkins

county of Benzie, and the several townships thereof shall be attached for civil and municipal purposes to the county of Grand Traverse," it appears that the county of Benzie had in fact, no existence as a county except in name and defined territory, but in reality was by that act made a part of Grand Traverse county. After that act went into effect the supervisors of Crystal Lake (that being the only organized township in Benzie at first) met and sat with the board of supervisors of Grand Traverse county; inspectors of the election board made their returns to said county; all deeds and conveyances of land in Benzie county were recorded with the register of deeds for Grand Traverse county, and the township treasurer returned the taxes collected for the state and county to the treasurer of Grand Traverse county until 1869, when by Act No. 385 of the Session Laws of that year (see Vol. 3 page 1083) entitled "An act to organize the county of Benzie," the legislature declared in section one (1) of said act, that "The people of the state of Michigan enact, that the county of Benzie, consisting of the territory embraced by the present county of Benzie, be and the same is hereby organized into a separate county by the name of Benzie; and the inhabitants thereof shall be entitled to all the privileges, powers and immunities to which by the laws, the inhabitants of other organized counties in the state are entitled."

The other seven sections of the act provide for the election of county officers, fixing a time and place of holding the same, the canvass of the votes and making return thereof; and of an election to determine the location for the county seat; designating Frankfort, Benzonia, and the S. E. ¼ of N. E. ¼ of Sec. 28, town 26 N., R. 14 West (that site being in what is now Homestead township) as three sites to be voted for; the site receiving a majority of all votes cast to be declared the county seat; but in event neither place received a majority, then a second election was to be held, and only the two places receiving the largest number of votes at such first election to be voted for.

The first election to vote upon that question was held July 1, 1869, which did not result in a selection, and as the place designated by the supervisors by the subdivision of a section (Homestead) received the least number of votes, at the second election held by the provisions of that act, on the first Monday of October following, only the names of Frankfort and Benzonia appeared upon the ballots, and the result of this second election was favorable to Frankfort.

The first county officers were elected by authority of Section 2, of

said Act No. 385 at the spring election in April, 1869—and were as follows:

Sheriff, Addison P. Wheelock, of Almira, who appointed John H. King, his deputy; Clerk and Register, Theodore C. Walker of Benzonia, who appointed Eugene B. Frost of Frankfort, deputy clerk; and N. Augustus Parker, Attorney-at-Law (who came from Ann Arbor that spring with his family and settled in and has since resided in Frankfort) deputy register of deeds; Rowland O. Crispin of Gilmore, treasurer, who failed to qualify, and in October following the board of supervisors declared the office vacant and elected Jacob E. Voorheis of Frankfort, to fill the unexpired term.

James B. Delbrige, prosecuting attorney and circuit court commissioner, who, it was afterward discovered, was not admitted to practice law in this state, and the said office was declared vacant and N. West Nelson, attorney at Frankfort, appointed to fill the unexpired term; Digby B. Butler, judge of probate; George E. Steele, surveyor; and Dr. Alonzo J. Slyfield of Frankfort and Lysander Kinney of Inland, coroners.

The first board of supervisors were also elected that spring and held their first meeting in the school house in Benzonia, on the 22d of April, electing Silas F. Judson of Benzonia, as chairman; the other nine supervisors, as then there were only ten townships in the county, were as follows:

Almira, M. D. Campbell; Crystal Lake, Henry Woodward; Gilmore, Benjamin Hopkins; Homestead, William Palmer; Inland, Nathan Jaquish; Joyfield, George Dair; Platte, A. B. Crittenden; Weldon, Arthur T. Case.

They elected the following as the first board of superintendents of the poor: Albert Kent of Inland, William Steele of Homestead, and Smith E. Crandall of Gilmore.

The second meeting of the board, held after the county seat had been fixed at Frankfort, convened on the 11th of October and held its first session in Victory Saterlee's hotel (a two story frame building on corner Third and Main St. where the "National Hotel" now is) and afterwards adjourned to the two story frame building designated and prepared for county purposes, situate on the corner of Main and Second St., the same that was erected by the Doaby Bros. in 1858, which is still standing and occupied as a tenement house and at this date is known as the "Old Court House building."

In this building the first term of circuit court for the county was held in November, 1869, presiding judge, Hon. Jonathan G. Ramsdall, who still resides in Traverse City.

At the annual township meeting in 1872, the electors were given another opportunity to vote upon a proposition, submitted to them by the board of supervisors, to remove the county seat from Frankfort to Benzonia.

The result of the election was largely in favor of Frankfort if the entire vote cast in the several townships had been counted and declared by the county board of canvassers; but by reason of a claim by a majority of the members of the board of some irregularities in election proceedings in Crystal Lake township, the entire vote of that town was thrown out, or not counted, by the canvassing board; and the result was the county seat was declared removed to Benzonia. This action or determination by the canvassing board was for a time contested in the courts, but finally acquiesced in, and the county seat remained undisturbed in Benzonia until 1895, when the question of removal from Benzonia to Frankfort was again submitted to the people, and at the annual township meeting in April of that year, the vote taken upon that proposition which again resulted favorably to Frankfort; and without opposition on the 4th of June following, the county offices, records and property were removed to Frankfort, where they remain in commodious buildings and on grounds prepared and contributed to the county for that purpose, by the township of Crystal Lake.

Benzie with Leelenau and Grand Traverse counties constitute a district for the election of a representative to the state legislature; and is also one of the counties of the 27th senatorial district; and a part of the 11th congressional, and of the 28th judicial district of this state.

By the census returns of 1894, the population of the county was 8,063, 4,461 males, 3,602 females; 6,471 are native born, and 4,242 of these were born in Michigan; there are no Indians and only 77 colored people in the county. The estimated population of the county at this date (1897) is 9,500, as near as may be.

TOWNSHIP HISTORY OF ALMIRA IN BENZIE COUNTY.

PREPARED BY HON. C. S. LINKLETTER.

This township is located on the northeast corner of the county; being T. 27 N., R. 13 W., and in extent is a full geographical township of six miles square, and is on the high lands between Grand Traverse bay on the east, and Lake Michigan on the west.

The surface is rolling; soil from light sand to gravel and clay loam, in places quite stony; limestone and boulders predominate.

The township is well watered, there being thirty-seven or thirty-eight distinct bodies of water in the form of small lakes, Pearl lake near the northwest corner, and Lake Ann near the southeast corner being the largest. The Platte river forming the outlet of the latter flows in a northwesterly direction through the southwest corner of the town. The advantages for manufacturing are consequently good.

The lakes and streams abound with fish in great variety, viz., the speckled trout, pickerel, several varieties of bass, sunfish or as some call them blue gills, perch, suckers, etc.

Fruit raising forms a feature of the farming industry, the climate being well adapted to all but the more tender varieties. Peach growing has not been a success as yet, although a few are grown.

This township was formally organized in the spring of 1864, and while the county was still attached to Grand Traverse county for judicial purposes. The first town meeting was held at the residence of Addison P. Wheelock, at which meeting Harris Abbe was elected supervisor and A. P. Wheelock town clerk and D. C. Bryan, Andrew Rosa and Hiram Bowen acted as inspectors of election. Politically the township has always been republican, in at least the ratio of two to one; the other parties have, however, for the greater part of the time at least kept up an organization. The draft of 1864 took from the town three of its citizens in the person of Zimariah Pratt, Alfred Willard and Hiram Bowen. Mr. Bowen was the only one of the three who came back; the two former dying of disease on the field, and the latter dying in a few months after his return, from disease contracted while on the field. They were all married men with families, of from one to four children each. There are several ex-soldiers at present residing in the town, and the observance of Memorial day forms a part of each year's history. The ex-sol-

diers have maintained for some years a G. A. R. organization; but I think the organization is at present extinct. Aside from the organization just mentioned, there was during the war period of our history, a society known as the "Union League," a branch of which was organized, and had an existence until after the close of the war. Later on other societies were formed, which are in active existence at the present time, such as the "Knights of the Maccabees," "Odd Fellows," "Ladies of the Maccabees," &c., also various literary and benevolent organizations from time to time. I recall an incident that took place on one occasion during the discussion of some (probably weighty topic) in a literary society that was organized here in a very early day. One young man arose, with earnestness and exasperation unmistakably depicted on his countenance, to refute some argument advanced by his opponent; and with all the force at his command, shouted "I deny the fact;" of course he was drowned with applause.

Evidence is not lacking that somewhere in the dim past this town was the abode of the red man, so far back as to leave no doubt that it was peopled by the race before civilization had reached this part of the continent, as numerous relics, such as stone tomahawks, flint arrow-heads, &c., are constantly being found and preserved, and several mounds have been opened in which beads and other relics were found.

A weekly mail was carried on foot by an Indian over a trail from Traverse City to Glen Arbor, a distance of about thirty-five miles, that went from east to west nearly along the section line between the first two tiers of sections in the northern part of the town; this with a few blazed trails from one part of the town to another, constituted the first roads in the township; officially laid roads, however, were the among the first acts after the organization of the town in 1864. The town was traversed by its first railroad in the year 1892, the Manistee & Northeastern being constructed through the eastern part of the town. Our only trading point for a good many years was Traverse City, distant about fourteen or more miles, according to what part of the town you were located in, the road there of course being full of roots and small stumps where it was necessary to cut timber out. There was one especially bad place on the town line east, known then and now as Cedar Run, that took years to get anything like a decently passable road, it being apparently a bottomless mud hole. I recall going there (some four miles from home), every day for a week at a time, together with nearly the whole population of the town, to try and get it so it could be

safely crossed, and this was purely volunteer labor, as it was before any highway labor was assessed; in fact there was no property upon which to assess any highway tax, as our homesteads were not liable to taxation until after they were proved up on, and the government patents were issued, and there wasn't personal property enough in the town, not exempt from tax, to purchase a teakettle with. I remember we cut one day the longest slim pole we could find (a tamarack), probably from 40 to 50 feet in length, with which to sound the mud hole, and let it down its full length, and then gave it a vigorous push. Down it went out of sight and remained down for some time and finally came up again. The road in the worst places was constructed by a heavy coat of brush on which a log crossing was laid and then finally covered with dirt.

There seems to be some question as to who was the first settler or settlers in Almira, as at least two or three have laid claim to the honor; but from the best obtainable evidence to the writer, two brothers, named respectively John and Alec Heather, some time in the year 1862, and previous to the homestead law taking effect, each entered a quarter section of land on section three in the township under the pre-emption laws, which they subsequently re-entered under the homestead act. They came to Traverse City from Canada in a small boat, bringing their effects with them, which presumably were not great. It seems they loaded their whole belongings on an old wagon and with a yoke of oxen started for their future home, some fourteen or fifteen miles into the then unbroken wilderness, parting company with any of the signs of civilization about three and a half miles after leaving Traverse City, at what was then known as the "old Scotchman's place;" (their names were Gilmour), cutting their road as they went, and "camping out" whenever and wherever night overtook them. Somewhere between two and three weeks were consumed in their march before they reached what to them was the land of promise. About the same time, in fact so nearly so that he set up his claim of being "*The first settler*" and argued it with such force as to apparently convince some at least that his claim was good, and (as it seems to the writer sometimes) to almost make himself believe it, came A. P. Wheelock and settled on the beautiful shore of Lake Ann, the lake being named for his most estimable wife.

The village of Lake Ann now occupies the premises originally owned by Mr. Wheelock, or at least a portion of it.

Early in the spring of 1863 the tide of immigration commenced to pour into this general region, and the township of Almira received a liberal share. Quite a large colony of people from Steuben county, state of New York, settled in this town, among whom I recall A. J. Burrell and family (the town was named after his wife), Wm. Roora and Andrew Roora and their families, James B. Manwarring and family, Harris Abbe and family, George Ayres and family (a large one), D. C. Bryan and family, Calvin Linkletter and family, all of whom I think came in the spring and summer of 1863. Later others from the same neighborhood in Steuben came with their families; we mention Perry Graves, Newman Harding, Wm. R. Brownell, Isaac Chapman and others. About the same time also a large colony from St. Lawrence county, New York, settled here. Their names as far as can be recalled were George Fuller, A. C. Gray, Elijah Pratt, Stephen Pratt (a brother), quite old people; Uncle Steve as he was familiarly called died soon after he came. These two were patriarchs and had quite large families, grown to manhood and womanhood. Uncle Steve's family consisted of Stephen Pratt, Jr., A. J. Pratt and Horace Pratt; Uncle Lige's of Zimariah, Lafayette and Linden; he also had several daughters, some with families when they came, and others who married here. There was also the Mansfield family, consisting of Uncle Amasa, his wife, his son Amasa, and several married daughters, among whom were Mrs. Geo. Fuller, Mrs. Phebe Pettis (a widow with quite a large family), and Mrs. James Fuller, more commonly known as "Aunt Sally Fuller," with several children; also Amasa and Daniel Mansfield, nephews. There were also others from St. Lawrence county, the Hoxies and Conklins, and probably others not now remembered. Among those who figured as pioneers that came from various other states (some known to the writer, and others not), were E. A. Hathaway from Vermont, Addison White, who was I think from the same state, Hiram Bowen, Sylvester Cole (from Steuben county), Morton D. Campbell, Denison F. Holden (who owns and resides on the original Morton D. Campbell place), Phylander Palmer, Hart and Joseph Marden, brothers, who were St. Lawrence county people, Hiram Hallett, a New York man, and many others could be mentioned, but for the most part their stay was short; and perhaps last, but not least, was Ned Farr, who was a great character, to say the least. He came to the town in an early day and presented the appearance of a man in early middle life—quite stylish, and rather good looking. Among his striking characteristics, he was a great

wag, and the most inveterate stutterer that I have ever known; this impediment was, however, no apparent embarrassment to him; he seemed rather to take pride in the fact that he was notorious in this respect. He had a very beautiful head of hair that he seemed to take great pride in, always having it arranged very nicely. He was a great favorite at gatherings of people—of which there were a great many in those days, as house and barn raising was a matter of almost daily occurrence, and it was on one of those occasions that he very greatly surprised and amused the people, when in the course of telling one of his funny stories, of which he seemed to possess an inexhaustible fund he removed his hat, by way of giving point, and at the same time removed his *wig*, and exposed a head as innocent of hair as an ostrich's egg. But perhaps the most remarkable incident of his history while he lived here was his courtship and marriage, for he was a bachelor. With him to think was to act; so one Sunday morning he started out with visions of matrimony coursing through his aforesaid head, so devoid of natural adornment, and hied himself to the place of abode of a comely widow, living some seven or eight miles distant, a lady with whom he had had no previous acquaintance, or at least only a speaking acquaintance, as she had only been in the country a few months, having lost her husband after coming to this town,—went through the gamut of courtship,—proposed,—and was accepted—took his lady by the hand and led her back to the residence of Mr. Bowen, where Mr. Crumb, a Congregational minister of Traverse City was holding forth, and blandly inquired of the good man if he could be engaged to marry a couple. The reverend gentleman replied that he supposed he could, at the same time inquiring with some surprise who wished his services in that direction; to which the man of the shining head and percussion qualities as a swain replied,—his impediment of speech being demonstrated to an unusual degree,—that he-e-e sup-p-p-posed he-e-e-e was one of the vic-c-tims; it is only just however to say, that notwithstanding the abruptness of the transaction the union proved to be in every respect agreeable and satisfactory.

But I have rather wandered from my theme. Besides those already mentioned and among those who are entitled to be classed as pioneers were L. A. Jenne, George Valleau, Fitch Brooks and Azelius Mattice, residents of the northeastern part of the town, William Beswick who built the first sawmill on what was afterwards known as the Ransome Mill creek, the Ransome Bros. who rebuilt the sawmill, in nearly the same place, and also a gristmill, and Gardner Severence and son Charles. There

were also Samuel Ward, and the Hooker family, consisting of an old lady and her two sons, John and William,—a son-in-law by the name of Robertson, and two daughters who afterward became Mrs. William Fowle, of Traverse City, and Mrs. Samuel Ward, respectively. Then in the northwestern part of the town were the Brooks family, John Kenion, Mr. Stone, Mr. Davis, the Mowers family, Mr. Stata and Morris D. Spaford. I have unintentionally omitted to mention Mr. Samuel Burnett and family, which consisted, besides himself and wife, of his two sons—Mathew and Samuel, or as he was familiarly called S. S., and three daughters, the youngest dying in early womanhood, the other two becoming in time Mrs. Elihu Linkletter and Mrs. M. E. Thurston, of the township of Platte.

The inhabitants recognizing the importance of religious and educational privileges, took early measures to set up and establish institutions of this character, the history of which I will treat separately.

There is some uncertainty in my mind as to who was the first to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation to the people here, but I think it was the Rev. George Thompson, a person who needs no introduction to the people of the Grand Traverse region. Through his efforts a little church was formed in the year 1864, composed of Christians of several denominations which was practically Congregational in character, although it did not assume that name at its organization, if in fact it were christened at all. I have forgotten its name, but it seems to me it was simply called the First Church of Almira. I think it was instituted with nine members. Their names as I remember them were Mr. and Mrs. James B. Manwarring, Mr. and Mrs. George W. Fuller, Mr. and Mrs. Calvin Linkletter, Mr. Bushnell and wife, and Elijah Pratt. A little later the Methodist Episcopalians began work, and subsequently organized a class, a part of those who joined the first organization leaving it and joining the Methodists. Some years later the First Church reorganized as a Congregational Church, and Elihu Linkletter was ordained and installed as its pastor, which relation existed for several years. Religious meetings were held in private houses, at various places in the town, notably for the First Church at J. B. Manwarring's and Calvin Linkletter's and for the Methodists at George Fuller's. I think V. F. Thurston, a local preacher from the town of Platte was the first emissary of the Methodist people, and following him was Rev. Charles Williams, residing in the town of Kasson. Rev. Williams endeared himself to the whole population and his name is held in grateful remembrance still by all those who had the privilege of his acquaintance. The First Church was

ministered to at different times by Rev. Geo. Thompson, Rev. E. E. Kirkland and others; Rev. Kirkland, without doubt being held in most kindly esteem, especially by those who were the young folks of that period. He, with the aid of a few, organized a singing school which he maintained throughout his whole pastorate of two years, which had the effect of greatly improving the society among the young people, although the parents with marriageable daughters looked upon it as a well contrived scheme to deprive them of the aforesaid daughters; and as a matter of fact, it undoubtedly had that effect in a great number of cases. With the exception of the Seventh Day Adventists, who effected an organization about six or seven years ago, the Congregationalists and Methodists have occupied the ground religiously. The old First Congregational Church is, however, at present defunct, having merged itself into the First Congregational Church of Lake Ann.

Mrs. Elihu Linkletter (nee Burnett), taught the first term of school, which was held in the bachelor's hall of the writer, a log house about 12x16 feet inside. The furniture being very primitive, a writing desk was constructed by boring holes into the side of the house and inserting a couple of long pins, finishing by putting a wide board on top. This was in front of the one window, and the scholars were allowed to take turns in writing. The present Rev. E——. was one of her scholars. I think the district organization had been formed, and the schoolhouse was in process of construction while the aforesaid term of school was in session. This was school district No. 1, and was popularly known as the Hathaway or the Black school district. Other district organizations followed rapidly, as nearly all parts of the township were settled by thrifty and intelligent citizens. The township was quite early laid out into school districts by the proper authorities. There have been five organized school districts, in each of which have been maintained, for a period of twenty or twenty-five years, regular terms of school, no district since its organization having failed to keep the statutory amount of school in each year, thus keeping themselves entitled to the benefits of public funds. There are at present five school districts which own six school buildings, worth in the aggregate including grounds, $7,000 or $8,000, to which should be added at least $1,000 more for apparatus in the way of aids to instruction, such as globes, dictionaries, geographical and physiological charts, etc. School District No. 1 is operated as a graded school, and employes four teachers in its several departments and owns one of the best, if not the best, com-

mon school buildings in the county, it being a four room, two-story building finished in an elegant manner, and furnished with the best of modern furniture. When we consider the provision for education made during the first few years of the history of this township, we honor the fathers for their faith, their patriotism, their courage, and liberality, even more than for the largeness of their views and the sagacity of their plans.

The history of the early settlement of this town would compare, no doubt, similarly to that of other places in this general region and to those that remain who took active part in the trials and harships of those times very little need be said, except by way of comparing notes, and keeping alive in memory some of the incidents that were either amusing or taught useful lessons of fortitude, etc., but a few scenes and incidents may not be out of place. The society of the place was of a very cordial, and for the most part at least, of a very jolly character. Social gatherings of various kinds were a matter of frequent occurrence; sometimes it was a logging bee, or raising (for the people both old and young were inclined to combine *pleasure* with business), which usually ended with a dance or an old-fashioned play party, or it may have been a watermelon party when, as was sometimes the case, some settler (mossback) had an abundance of that luscious fruit, but if my memory serves me right, most of the watermelon parties were of a very select character, composed of a few graceless scamps who would attend on their own invitation, and preferred that the host should be absent or safely locked in the arms of Morpheus, when they would proceed to ravish the patch, and were not content until they had (in the vernacular of the times) "stacked the old d—l's vines," one apparently very high-toned thief on one occasion having the cheek to leave his card in the patch (probably an accident). Spelling schools and singing schools were also very popular. One very amusing incident occurred once in a party of young people going home from one of these gatherings. The school ma'am of the district school where the entertainment had been held, was a general favorite with the young men, and was very impartial in bestowing her favors upon them, so it turned out that the fellow that succeeded in asking for her company first was generally the favored one, for that evening at least. It happened on this occasion that one who had never been known to wait on her before secured the privilege, and after seeing them fairly started for her boarding place the young people of the home and several others who

were visiting there walked on ahead and arrived home before the aforesaid couple put in their appearance; when they did come it seemed as though that the folks had retired, which made the situation a little embarrassing. They held a whispered consultation, of which only a part could be heard by those in "waiting," but they heard the young man say, "it was a half mile north and a half mile east," which they understood to mean an invitation for her to accompany him home, as that was the direction to his house. After a short delay, however, she seemed to decide on a plan of action, which she put into effect by sitting down and removing her shoes, and then very carefully opening the door and walking toward her bed room when, *presto!* a light was suddenly struck, and there sat a roomful of young people. The expression "a half mile north and a half mile east" was frequently quoted for their benefit and it would provoke an audible smile in which they in time were forced to join. The gentleman, a very young man then, a grandfather now, will blush like a school girl yet, if he hears it quoted.

One more instance will perhaps sufficiently illustrate the rollicking and somewhat lawless fun that was engaged in, in those days. A young married man was employed as laborer in the lumbering business by a gentleman, and as it was near the winter holidays, he took it into his head to get up a grand dinner on Christmas, and invited his employer and the neighbors generally to partake of his hospitality on that occasion, adding that they expected to have roast *goose* as the principal table attraction. In due time the guests assembled and were invited to "sit by;" at the same time the host expressing regret that they had nothing better than chicken, and giving as the reason (and here he addressed himself particularly to his aforesaid employer), that every time, just about as he was going to *grab* a goose, some of them would come to the door and spoil his fun, so he had finally to give up the goose, and take chickens instead. As a matter of fact, both the goose and the chickens were the property of the employer.

The guests all entered into the joke with great zest, and none more so than the victim, as such escapades were looked upon as rich, and excusable amusements, and were always accepted with the best of grace, this being only one of several similar incidents.

Probably a majority of the men that came to this region brought some kind of firearms, quite naturally supposing that game of the larger kinds would be very abundant, but unlike any other wild country that I ever knew of, game was found to be conspicuous mainly by its absence, except perhaps, ruffed grouse or partridge, which were quite

plentiful. Fish, however, were very plentiful and easily caught, and furnished both a luxury and quite an important article of food, that and "*boughten*" pork being the principal flesh foods for the settlers. There were, however, an occasional deer and bear to be seen, and a few of the former were killed,—one man distinguishing himself by killing one with a revolver while hunting cattle.

I do not remember that a bear has ever been killed in the town; two or three general bear hunts have been had; the bear in each case making his escape, so far at least as is known to the writer. A very sad accident happened on one of these occasions; one of the hunters mistaking one of the others for the bear, shot with fatal results, the man living long enough however to exonerate the man who did the act from blame. The above accident happened, I think, in the month of February, 1866 or 1867. The name of the man who was killed was Schell. During the thirty years that I have lived here I have seen only six of the animals, and but three of them in my own town; the larger kinds of game have become more abundant as the country has improved.

It was not an uncommon thing here, when the country was very new, for people to get lost; indeed it seems very wonderful that there were not more, as the whole country for miles in every direction was an unbroken wilderness with only here and there the small clearings of the settlers. A young lady, on one occasion, in attempting to go from where the family were living with a neighbor's family, to where her father had taken up a place, got lost, and though a searching party was got up in short order and in fact she was found within three or four hours from the time she was lost, she was so nearly crazed from fright that when the rescuers came in sight of her she attempted to run away from them. The writer himself once spent a long and chilly night in the wilds of the township; having to admit to himself that if he was not lost, at least his shanty was. It was deemed advisable then to institute some systematic course to pursue on such occasions, and the plan adopted was, that if anyone's friends were lost, it should be reported at once at Mr. Burrell's place, he having a very large conch-shell of peculiar sound and great power, and that a certain number of blasts from that was to be the signal for a general gathering to search for the lost one. (The place referred to is now owned and occupied by C. F. Sauercunk, Esq.)

While I do not think that the hardships endured among the pioneers of this country would compare with those of the colonists that first settled the continent, still that they were very great cannot be gainsaid. Some idea may be gained of the situation when it is known that it was

in war times, when commodities of all kinds were very high in price, as for instance,—flour $14 to $15 per barrel, pork $50, common prints twenty-five cents per yard, and other things accordingly. Then again it was from twelve to eighteen miles from Traverse City to different points in our town, and everything had to be brought from that point, either on foot or by wagon road, and that in places almost impassable. Instances are plenty where men, after working through the week at Traverse City and sometimes farther yet, have loaded themselves up with from fifty to one hundred pounds and carried it home on their backs that distance. One case in particular that I have in mind was that of a man who was too penurious to pay fifty cents per hundred for hauling (the regular price), who has been known repeatedly to carry a hundred pound bag of flour from town to his home, a distance of at least eighteen miles. Ladies have even been known to travel the distance on foot; and one in particular is deserving of special mention. The lady in question carried a load that would have put many a man to his mettle to have accomplished; it consisted of somewhere from forty to fifty pounds and was carried the whole distance of at least thirteen or fourteen miles, making the trip in less than a day. The same lady is still alive, and is the wife of one of the prominent citizens of Traverse City. But I think the greatest feat I have ever known to be accomplished was performed by Hart Marden (before referred to as among the first settlers). He started from Glen Haven in the morning at the same time that the men employed started out to begin the day's work; walked to Traverse City, a distance of over thirty miles, in the month of February or March, 1864, when the snow was over four feet deep, and no other road from this town to Glen Haven than that made by the mail carrier, who made his trips once each week, on snow shoes. He did his business there, which consisted, in part at least, of purchasing his load to take back (of over fifty pounds) and got to the place from where he started before nine o'clock in the evening of the same day, and he was then very far from being used up, for as he bounded into the room where his companions were seated, he threw his pack from his shoulders and jumping into the air, cracked his feet together twice, very distinctly, before striking the floor. I am well aware that the above incident will be likely to tax human credulity severely, but I am willing to stake my reputation as a man on the facts as stated, and there is at least one resident still living here besides myself, that can bear testimony to the same. The fact was, we could hardly believe that he had been to Traverse City ourselves; and but for the fact of our knowing that he could not have

procured the articles he brought back anywhere else, it is very doubtful if he could have convinced even us. Such feats as those above related abundantly prove that the material from which true pioneers are made was not all exhausted when our forefathers first settled the new world.

It would probably be too much to say that the hopes and anticipations of the first settlers have been fully realized in the matter of the development of the country and the acquisition of wealth; but, when we take a retrospective view of all the circumstances, I think we may well congratulate ourselves upon the success attained. Then an unbroken and heavily timbered wilderness challenged the would-be settlers to many months, nay years of hard toil before it held out promise of any material returns. Now we see on every hand broad fields of waving grain, valuable buildings scattered all over the land or grouped into flourishing and busy cities and villages, where the hum of machinery and the steam whistle are heard instead of the dismal hooting of the owl, and the weird scream of the loon.

Then the principal method of locomotion and transit was on foot or with ox teams; now the inhabitants are riding either in railway trains or in their own carriages after well bred horses.

Then the dwellers were content to live in rudely constructed hovels, in many instances covered with the bark stripped from the trees; now the landscape is adorned with many costly and finely finished dwellings, comfortably, if not elegantly furnished. Then the pioneer's children attended school in log school houses or the abandoned home of some weak-kneed settler,—on seats split, or hewn, from a friendly log; now they seek the road to future usefulness and fame in well built, well painted and elegantly furnished school houses, under the instruction of well trained and highly educated teachers. Then the community attended public worship in the rude homes, or log school houses of the country; now we may worship God in the stately church edifices builded and dedicated expressly for that purpose. Then only the primeval forest met the eye on every hand; now the apple, the peach, the plum, the pear, and fruitful vine reward the husbandman for his years of toil and labor. Surely our lines have been cast in pleasant places.

A HISTORY OF THE EARLY SETTLEMENT OF THE TOWNSHIP OF BENZONIA AND THE FOUNDING OF GRAND TRAVERSE COLLEGE.

BY WILLIAM A. BETTS.

The township of Benzonia originally embraced all of the territory in Benzie county east of a line two miles east of the range line between ranges fifteen and sixteen west. From this territory was afterwards organized the townships of Platte, Almira, Inland, Weldon, Joyfield and Homestead.

Benzonia proper extends five miles east and west and seven miles north and south. Quite an amount is covered by Crystal lake in the center, and by Platte lake on the north. The surface is quite rolling; this, with the influence of Lake Michigan and Crystal lake, makes it one of the best locations for fruit in the whole region. The River Aux Berries, familiarly called Betsey river, flows through the south part of the town, and the Platte river in the north, with several spring brooks in the center. The timber is mostly maple and hemlock with considerable elm, basswood, cedar, ash, birch and pine. The soil is mostly sandy, underlayed with clay, which in some places comes to the surface. The first settlers landed on the bank of Betsey river about one and one-quarter miles west of the present center. The company consisted of Charles and John Bailey, Horace Burr and a Mr. Wolcot, with their families, followed in about a year by Deacon John R. Barr and Mr. Edward Neil with their families; in the spring of 1861 Deacon Lucius W. Case came with his family, and the number was frequently increased, mostly from northern Ohio. The first township election was held on the first day of January, 1860. The officers elected were: supervisor, Wm. Steele; clerk, W. S. Hubbell; treasurer, George E. Steele; justice of the peace, John Bailey. The first marriage was Mr. Hugh Marsh to Miss Emily Burr. The first child born was Anna Carver, followed by Jessie Neil, George Risley, Helen Barr, James Case, May Hubbell, Lucy Burr, Charles Marsh, John Bailey, Dwight Bailey, etc. The first death was Allan Risley.

Politically the township has always been republican, although all other parties have been represented. Eight young men went into the Union Army in the war and all returned alive. Of the five soldiers' graves in the

cemetery none of them were Benzonia boys. The first church organized was Congregational; after several years, a Methodist Chuch was formed. The building of the Frankfort & Southeastern railroad, now a part of the Toledo & Ann Arbor railroad, and the establishment of a station at Crystal Lake, formed a nucleus of a new settlement and opening of a beautiful resort for health and pleasure seekers, which has grown rapidly and in good taste, and promises at no distant day to join hands with her sister on the hill.

How to bring the advantages of a higher education within the reach of the poor and to establish a Christian school in a new region, and so take possession of the ground in advance of evil influences, was a question, the solution of which was the founding of Grand Traverse College and the settlement of Benzonia. This had become an absorbing idea in the mind of the projector and leader in the enterprise, Rev. Charles E. Bailey, at that time pastor of a Congregational Church at Weymouth in Medina county, Ohio. From his own experience he knew the difficulties in the way of a young person of limited means obtaining a liberal education, having worked his own way through a collegiate and theological course at Auburn, and was also acquainted in early life with the founder of Knox College in Illinois, and with the principles on which that institution was founded, and their practical working which resulted in the endowment and equipment of that now strong and influential and practically independent institution. These principles which, planted in the rich and easily subdued prairie brought forth fruit so soon and so abundantly, although just as sound and just as sure, could not develop so fast in a region where it required almost the labor of a generation to carve out a home and a bare subsistence.

To obtain control and possession of a large tract of government land at the best advantage and to make the advance in value furnish an endowment for the school, and at the same time to remunerate the stockholders for their outlay was the plan. The articles of association were not drawn up until Mr. Bailey had removed to Ontario, near Galesburgh, Illinois. The majority of the original stockholders were members of Mr. Bailey's family, two of them by marriage, the other was a Mr. Burr from Belleview, Ohio. The articles provided that the stock should be invested in government land in the best manner possible. A plat was made covering four quarter sections with avenues 100 feet wide crossing each other in the center.

On two of these corners was situated the college campus containing fourteen acres. Lots were donated for a church, a parsonage, a district school, and four parks one quarter mile from the center containing three acres each. The remainder was divided into lots for business and residences, small at the center and increasing in size as they receded; also farther out, ten acres for a cemetery. Of these lots, the article gave the college every fourth lot, also one-fourth of all the out lands, and the stockholders were each to give an eighty acre lot (the best) for a first college building.

A company was formed to select a location. They provided themselves with a team, wagon, and camp equipage and traveled extensively in the west, but although they found some desirable locations, they found that in those states the land was withdrawn from market on account of the large grants made to the railroads, which had not been selected, and they returned without making any decision. The company consisted of the two brothers, Charles and John Bailey, and Rev. M. W. Fairfield, who represented some large capitalists who would join the association if a location was secured. Not finding a site in the prairie region, Mr. Fairfield withdrew, knowing that his employers would not invest in a timber country.

Their attention having been attracted by some articles in the New York Tribune, to the Grand Traverse region, they examined the country about Traverse Bay and west to Lake Michigan, finally stopping at Glen Arbor. Here some purchases were made and some houses built, and here one of the brothers, Horace Bailey, who had been suffering with consumption for some time, died. About this time an accident occurred which came near putting an end to the project. Mr. Burr with his two sons and a Mr. Wolcot who had purchased a part of Mr. Burr's interest, and John Bailey, Charles Bailey and his wife and little son, were in Chicago en route for Glen Arbor. The steamer Galena was one of two boats that would land passengers on this shore. The party had engaged their passage, and with the exception of Mr. Bailey's family were on board. The boat starting a little before her time found Mr. Bailey and family on the swing bridge and the bridge open. He hailed the captain, who stopped at a dock lower down, outside of three other boats. Hurrying across with a heavy satchel in each hand, in the darkness Mr. Bailey stepped into an open hatch and fell to the bottom of the hold striking on a heap of stove coal, which would have killed him if the satchels had not been under him; although severely injured he succeeded in

getting up and assisted his family to the boat, and then sank away helpless.

After reaching Glen Arbor it was decided to look farther, and the party shouldered their knapsacks and with the section lines and their compass for their guide they traveled through the forest (Mr. Bailey being obliged to walk with two canes). After a long tramp they fixed upon a location about one mile south and two miles east of the present site; here they made a camp and cut a few trees. The party then returned to Glen Arbor. On a subsequent visit, the two brothers coming in from the lake shore by the Crystal lake, on the way to the camping place, they came to the place where the village now stands; the beauty of the spot with the proximity to Crystal lake decided the location. While looking up the lands an incident occurred which showed the firmness of principle of these men. Brother John, as he was familiarly called, found himself on Saturday too far from Glen Arbor to reach home without traveling on the Sabbath, so he spent Sunday all alone in the snow rather than break the Sabbath by going to see his family. For firmness, perseverance, mechanical genius and skill he had few superiors; these traits combined made him equal to almost any emergency.

At one time when the two brothers and the writer were coming up the river with a boat load of goods, the brothers poling and the writer at the helm, as we were coming round a sharp bend where the water was very deep and the current very strong, suddenly Brother John disappeared; he had set his pole on a slippery log in the bottom; it slipped off and let him in; he remained under water, as it seemed to us, a long time, and we were consulting what to do when he came up all right, puffing and blowing, and said, "my pole got fast down there and I did not want to lose it so I stayed down to get it loose.

On one occasion it seemed necessary for Brother Charles to go to Lansing to attend the land sales. He took a small sail vessel at Frankfort for Grand Haven; the wind was light and contrary, and at that rate of progress Mr. Bailey found that he would be too late for the sale, so he persuaded the captain to run as near land as he dared, when Mr. Bailey jumped overboard and swam ashore, and making the best use of his strength and time, he reached Lansing in season.

We had in our colony quite a number of ministers, good men who were not afraid to take off the broadcloth and put on the denim. A party of these gentlemen were bringing up a load on the boat and enlivening

their toil with joke and story when good Brother Thompson opened his mouth for a good hearty laugh and lost his teeth in the river.

The bears sometimes came rather too near for pleasure; one day a good brother came to the writer in great haste for his rifle; he had just seen three bears and wanted to get them; there was a little snow and he took their track and followed in the wrong direction; as you may suppose the bears were safe and so was he. These and many other incidents were interesting to us, but perhaps out of place here.

On the twenty-eighth day of October, 1858, the first party of settlers landed on the bank of the river about one and one-quarter miles west of the present center. The party consisted of Rev. Charles E. Bailey, his wife, Mrs. L. A. C. Bailey, and Charles C., their son, John Bailey, Mrs. Emily S. Bailey, their children, James S. and Clara Bailey, Horace Burr, Mrs. Betty Burr, and Mr. Wolcot and his wife. They built some cabins on the bank of the river, but so small that the men were obliged to go out to let the ladies retire and then blow out the lights and go to bed in the dark.

The lumber for the first houses was brought mostly from Glen Arbor to Frankfort and then up the river in the boat. About this time the Frankfort Land Company under the management of George S. Frost of Detroit, built some piers at the old river bed; these were made by driving piles and filling between with logs; this was short lived, for in a few years the sea washed them all out, but they built a good sawmill which was a great benefit to the whole region.

The articles provided for the restraint of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors and tobacco, except for medicinal or mechanical purposes, first by a clause in the deeds forbidding, afterwards by a clause making it a forfeiture. For the sake of the reputation of some members of the colony, it is to be hoped that the contention growing out of this subject will forever remain an unwritten history.

Late in the spring of 1868, the Steamer Rocket, Captain Gaylord, landed at Frankfort a large number of passengers. She had been chartered by Rev. J. B. Walker, who had been chosen president; he had become a stockholder by purchasing the stock of Mr. Wolcot, and also by making investments of his own capital. Of this number those who settled at that time in Benzonia were Rev. J. B. Walker, Rev. Reuben Hatch, Rev. J. R. Wright, Deacon Henry Chapin, Mr. Frank Child, Col. Horace Johnson with their families; the balance of the number, fifty-five in all, had come, some to take advantage of the new homestead law, and who settled in the vicinity; others on a tour of investigation.

The college school, during the summer was under the charge of Rev. Reuben Hatch, who was also pastor of the church, and whose memory will long be cherished by the people. On the seventh of September following, the Steamer Buffalo landed another goodly number (78), some of whom were returning from a visit to their old homes, others to settle about in the country, quite a number of new settlers for Benzonia; these were: Mr. Silas F. Judson, Mr. Lyman P. Judson, Mr. W. A. Betts and their families, Mr. W. S. Hubbell, who had been here before and built a small log gristmill; he had left his two sons, L. C. Hubbell, late of Traverse City, now of Springfield, Mo., and J. J. Hubbell, now chief engineer of the Manistee & Northeastern railroad, while he went for the rest of his family, and returned on the Buffalo. Many of the other passengers although not living in, were identified in feeling and interest with Benzonia. Some time previous to the trip of the Rocket a company arrived from Sandusky City, Ohio, who had been landed at Glen Arbor, and came in a sail boat and were capsized at the mouth of the river, at the entrance of the harbor, and their goods and themselves thrown into the water. They had a supply of groceries as well as other goods, and they made a cup of tea, not very strong, and sweetened it, not very sweet, in Betsey lake. Some of their goods were saved in a damaged condition by the French people there who wanted more for salvage than the first cost. This company consisted of Mr. John R. Barr and family, one of the first deacons of the church and who has held his place ever since; (may his shadow never grow less and his term of office cease only with his life); Mr. Edward Neil and family, most beloved by those who knew them best. Other additions were made from time to time, among whom were Deacon L. W. Case and family; Rev. Alonzo Barnard, a retired Indian missionary, and family; Arthur T. Case, since a member of the house of representatives; his brother Morris, afterwards sheriff of Benzie county; H. E. Steward, to whom more than any other one man the county is indebted for opening the roads in all directions; many others whose influence, if not their names, will go down to posterity as having contributed toward founding a model community for intelligence as well as integrity. A gentleman from Sandusky City, Ohio, who was present writes to a Chicago paper as follows:

"In company with a small party of friends from Ohio we recently visited Benzonia and were present at the dedication of the church and college grounds. On Sabbath the third of July, 1859, the familes on the ground, with their friends from Ohio, proceeded to dedicate the church

and college grounds, yet an unbroken forest. The company formed a procession on the road near the elevation chosen for the church building. Preceded by Mr. Bailey, singing the 122d psalm to the tune of Old Dalston, they reached the ground designated as the church site. The day was pleasant and amidst the tall old forest trees a jural staff was detached from the compass and set in the ground surmounted by a board for a pulpit. Rev. C. E. Bailey read the scriptures, Rev. A. D. Barber preached the sermon and Rev. C. E. Bailey in behalf of the company and the future colonists, dedicated the grounds to God as the site of a Congregational Church.

"In the afternoon the company proceeded to the site designated for college buildings. After prayer and singing, Rev. J. B. Walker gave his views of the aims and principles which should actuate the founders of a christian colony and college, and the benefits which such an institution, rightly managed, would be to the west. After the discourse, Mr. Walker offered a dedicatory prayer, and the services in the forest were closed by singing the following original hymn, which indicates the animus of the discourse and the aim of the projectors of the institution.

Almighty God in Christ revealed
As Father, Son and Holy Ghost,
Whose love to erring man was sealed
By blood and suffering for the lost.

Beneath this blue-o'er-arching sky,
Amid this tall extending grove,
We consecrate these grounds to thee
For moral culture—light and love.

Here may sweet charity control
In every effort—every plan,
Until the heart sense of each soul
Resists whatever injures man.

DOXOLOGY.

To God the Father, God the Son
And God the Spirit—three in one,
Revealed in Christ—be glory given
By souls on earth made meet for heaven.

"We returned from Benzonia with a hopeful impression of its future growth and usefulness."

About the twenty-fifth of November, 1863, the ground was broken for the first college building with appropriate religious services, Mr. Charles E. Bailey breaking the ground. The work of building progressed slowly, but everything was done in the best manner and with the best materials

that could be obtained. The building was 44x64 feet with a tower and spire on the southeast corner, the lower story was ten feet high with hall, stairways, and library and recitation rooms. The upper room was eighteen feet high and finished for an audience room. The college got the house enclosed and a portion of the lower part finished when the people finished the upper room for a church. Thus the people and the college were well fixed, but in an evil hour and in an unaccountable way it took fire and was destroyed with all its contents. Measures were immediately taken to rebuild, and a good quantity of brick were made, but for reasons not necessary to give it was not then accomplished. In this extremity Mr. Bailey came to the rescue; he purchased a building well situated and well suited to the purpose for about four thousand dollars, donating one-half to the college, and with the other paying a debt due the college. Thus the college was accommodated without the expense of building. The school has been in operation, excepting two years, with as good success as could be expected from the number and the means of the community with which it is surrounded. Its alumni will compare favorably with any institution of its age and means and surroundings. Among them may be found three foreign missionaries, several preachers, one ex-circuit judge, many teachers who have stood high in their profession, others filling different positions in life with credit to themselves, their friends and the institution.

When the first party of settlers landed at Frankfort they found the river very much obstructed by fallen timber and trees that were leaning over the river so that the limbs almost touched the water, and these obstructions must be removed, at least in part, before the river could be used. The company them procured two schooner's yawls that would carry about two tons; one was named Benzonia, used on Crystal lake, the other, Fremont, on the river. The Fremont not being large enough for the business, John Bailey (the man for any emergency) built a large skiff of about the same tonnage; this proving a dull sailor was named the Old Tub. These boats answered the purpose for several years, until they were used up, then Mr. Bailey built a scow boat just adapted to the river, forty-two feet long, about nine feet wide, with good walks on each side and about six feet deck at each end. This was just the thing; two or three on each side to pole and one to steer made a crew.

The first trip she made, the Frankfort boys named her the Hallelujah. It came pretty near infant baptism and it stuck just as well—the first trip was made late in the fall. We were belated in the morning which made us late in getting loaded, and as we had to go along the shore

of the lake to be in shallow water, it took us until dark to get around to the mouth of the river. It was so dark we could not find the opening; having failed a good many times, Mr. Bailey divested himself of his pantaloons and jumped into the water to try by wading, but in this he failed, so we were obliged to go back to the only house on that side, and it was full of men who had come to work on the new piers so we had to pass about the most uncomfortable night we ever saw, in the barn. The next morning found our boat and cargo covered with snow. The reader may imagine what a nice time Mr. Bailey had wading around to find the river.

All of the goods, lumber, lime, and most of the people were obliged to come into the settlement by means of these boats, and the early settlers spent a great many days on the river, helping each other and their friends who had come to settle or to look. This state of things continued until roads were made and the lumber business monopolized the river.

The first public building erected was a house for meetings and a district school. It was neatly built of hewn pine logs, was 14x24, and was used until it would no longer contain the congregation. It was enlarged by sawing it in two perpendicularly from the peak of the roof and sliding it apart fourteen feet, and building up the space, making a room 24x28 feet; the roof was extended to meet in the center. It was afterward plastered; the lath was split from hemlock, and the lime was burned some limestone picked up from the land on a large log heap. The Rocket brought in a bell donated by the Congregational Church of Mansfield, Ohio, as a testimonial to the Rev. J. B. Walker, a former pastor. It was a carving bell from Seneca Falls, New York, and weighed about 400 pounds; it was placed upon the little church, but when it was enlarged the roof was not substantial enough to sustain it, so it was placed upon a large hemlock stump, where it obtained an almost national reputation as the bell on the stump. It had a bad habit of ringing sometimes in the night and other uncanny hours. The college built a small rough building near the southwest corner of the east lot which was used for school until the new building was ready; it was afterward moved near the new building and burned with it. When the spire of the new house was ready to receive it, a new bell weighing 900 pounds was presented by the Blymer Bell Co., of Cincinnati, Mr. Blymer having been a former member of the Mansfield church and a warm friend of Mr. Walker. This bell was ruined in the fire,

the first bell was cracked and both were sold towards the present college bell.

There being no physician in Benzonia, the people were obliged to depend upon their own good common sense and skill as nurses, and were wonderfully successful; but in severe cases, and cases of surgery, help was called from Manistee or Traverse City. Mrs. Neil had prepared herself by some instruction in obstetrics before leaving Sandusky, so she was a great boon to her sisters in their peculiar troubles, and was universally successful. Samuel Metcalf, a young man from Illinois, who was here at school, one day while at work contracted a severe hernia which immediately became strangulated, and no one in the colony was able to reduce it. Dr. Ellis of Manistee was called who at length supposed he had succeeded, but after he left it was discovered that he was mistaken. He was recalled, also Dr. Ashton of Traverse City; an operation was decided on; during the operation the intestine was either cut or ruptured; the orifice being on the outside, the natural discharges were through it. Everyone supposed it must be fatal and we watched him day and night to see him die, but one night nature demonstrated that she was equal to the emergency, and proclaimed that she had effected a cure, by the movements becoming natural, to the wonderful surprise and joy of the whole community.

The early history of Benzonia would not be complete without a chapter about the recreations and amusements. A community of people who would leave their homes in an old settled country, with its privileges and pleasures, and go into a dense wilderness to establish an educational institution, would of course carry with them their intellectual tastes, as well as their habits of industry and economy and thrift. As a consequence they very soon established a farmer's club where were discussed the best crops to raise in this untried soil and climate, the best way to clear the land, the best way to make maple sugar, the fruits best adapted to the climate. One of these meetings was called to discuss the question of raising wheat. The first few crops of wheat were so filled with smut as to be almost useless for flour and worthless as a crop. Mr. Hubbell, our miller, as well as others made every effort to find a remedy for the evil. An old gentleman, a surveyor from Traverse county, took part in the discussion and got the laugh on himself by saying that where he came from they had the same trouble, but since he came away they had no more smut, leaving the people to draw their own inference; a remedy was found and the evil disappeared.

As would naturally be supposed, after the Rocket and the Buffalo had left their reinforcements of settlers and cargoes, the next year the people must have a fair, and a stranger would have been surprised to see the amount and variety on exhibition, a beet weighing twenty-four pounds, potatoes, carrots, parsnips, beans, peas, bread, butter, pies, cakes, canned berries, maple sugar and syrup, a large plant of purslane that would have covered a large table, a stalk of elder about ten feet long and about five inches in diameter, a pair of antlers found in Crystal lake that had belonged to an elk; at one fair Mr. Barnard brought five squashes grown from one seed, the largest weighing 116 pounds, the others over 100 each. There were no gate fees and, of course, the premiums were honorary; this was kept up till the county agricultural society was formed and incorporated according to law.

As the evenings began to lengthen the question came up of something for amusement and was finally settled by the organization of a literary society. Mr. Hatch, the pastor and teacher, was the prime mover, and at his suggestion the constitution was made as short and simple as possible, the officers being elected at every meeting—a chairman, a committee on program and one on music. The exercises were a lecture and a paper; two editors were chosen, a lady and a gentleman, by the meeting. We had a number of ministers in the settlement, Mr. Walker and Mr. Hatch who were always loaded; Mr. Bailey, Mr. Wright, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Barnard, Mr. Kirkland, who only required a little time to load just as heavy and shoot just as surely as the others; then in Joyfield was Mr. Joy, and in Pleasanton were Mr. Austin, Mr. Millard and Mr. Pierce, Mr. Leach in Traverse City who were all laid under contribution; and once as there was an inveterate story teller in the place he was pressed into service, his efforts not coming in competition with the old lecturers pleased the youngsters, while the old ones had to grin and bear it. We had a good many musicians who would have been appreciated anywhere and who made the meetings of the society very pleasant; there were also a few older singers who remembered and loved the old fashioned tunes of our fathers, and for variety they were sometimes invited to furnish the music, and the grand and harmonious chords of Old Sherberne, and Bristol, and Lenox, and Majesty, and New Jerusalem, and Easter Anthem sounded out loud and full, and the different parts chased each other to the edification of the old and the amusement of the young. One good sister said that she could think of nothing but playing "snap and catch 'em." The meetings were always held on the Friday evening nearest to the full moon, and many have noticed that in

the three or four years the society lived we had not more than one or two stormy evenings. The society was known far and near and many came from other towns, sometimes ten or fifteen miles to attend the meetings.

We had also a little choir of five little girls eight or ten years old, with a little girl organist to match, of whom their leader was justly very proud. The words and music were adapted to their age and capacity and the occasion, and their sweet voices and bright faces and ladylike manners added greatly to the interest and pleasure of any gathering where their services were desired.

EARLY HISTORY OF GILLMORE AND SOUTH FRANKFORT.

BY JOHN S. PERRY.

The first reliable information that we have of any white settlers at this place is in the spring of 1854 when Joseph Oliver landed here from a small sail boat with his Indian wife. He was looking for a place to make a home and was so well satisfied with the country that this has been his abiding place for most of the time since. His son, known as little Joe, was the first white child born in this county; he now lives at Ludington and is a captain on the lakes. In the spring of 1855, John Greenwood and Frank Martin located homes here. In the fall of the same year Joseph Robar and John B. Dory came here, and Mr. Robar located the place on which most of South Frankfort stands now. Mr. Robar built the first frame house in this county. It stood on the bank of Lake Betsey, in front of where August Coddens' store now stands. In this house was celebrated the first wedding in this county, the contracting parties being Miss Philis Robar and Mr. George Greenwood. Mr. John B. Dory still lives here.

In 1857 Mrs. Hiram Gage settled on the place now owned by A. S. Dow. In 1858 John Hadsel located on the place where Mr. Crispen now lives. In 1860 B. W. Perry came and shortly after built a small distillery for the distillation of balsam, cedar, hemlock, wintergreen and juniper oils. He also taught the first school. Some of his scholars were Amy Morgan now Mrs. A. L. White, Alice Morgan now Mrs. Marshall Wiltse, Jane Robar now Mrs. Buchanan, Matilda and Mary Dory, Fannie Ball, Egbert Morgan, George and Eugene Greenwood. The school was taught

in a cedar log house which stood on the ground now occupied by the American House. He was the first supervisor of the township and in 1867 helped to build a small steamboat named the Russian Domain, at A. S. Dow's shipyard.

One of the early settlers of this town was Mr. Isaac Carver who has also lived in Benzonia but now resides here. Mr. Carver has started more homes than any other man in Benzie county. He lost his oldest son in the War of the Rebellion.

In the year 1866 congress appropriated $90,000 for the new piers, and the next year Messrs. Hubbel and Whitwood commenced the construction of them. Shortly after the light house was built and about this time population began to increase rapidly.

In the spring of 1867 George A. Douglas built the first store and in it he kept the first postoffice. In February of the same year a town plat was recorded of the village of Frankfort City on the south shore of Betsey lake by George M. Cartwright and subsequent additions by Henry Day of New York, and E. G. Chambers of Bucyrus, Ohio. The postoffice was named South Frankfort.

In 1869 the Frankfort Furnace Company was organized, under the management of Albert Ives, president; Silas Fuller, secretary and treasurer; T. E. Anderson, superintendent, and John Desmond, ironmaster, who secured spacious grounds and dockage and erected the works at a cost of nearly $200,000. The furnace commenced operations in July, 1870. It was supposed to turn out forty tons of iron every twenty-four hours and burn 15,000 cords of wood yearly, causing a disbursement of $45,000 annually. Mr. Crispen furnished the first wood. It run in good order until Mr. Fuller died when, under new management, it soon played out and was closed. The property has since passed into the hands of the Toledo & Ann Arbor railroad company and the old furnace building is used for a round house and machine shop, and the grounds for switches and a depot.

In 1870 the schoolhouse was built in which the ward school is now taught.

In 1871 a machine shop was built on the ground where the Eagle Hotel now stands; Robert Blacklock was master mechanic. It burned down a few years afterwards. In the same year John Bates built the store which, when he died, changed into the hands of the Furnace Company and then into the possession of the Frankfort Lumber Company. It has since been torn down to make way for the railroad.

In 1872, Frank Wright built the Frankfort House, which was burned down about four years afterwards. It stood back of where Glarum & Closson's store now stands.

In 1873 S. E. Crandall came to Frankfort from his homestead near Herring lake and built a meat market, which was afterwards changed into a general store by his son Almeron.

In 1873 E. B. Fletcher erected a general merchandise store, which has since passed into the hands of August Coddens, who added to it a pool and billiard room and saloon.

In the spring of 1884 James Gillmore established the South Frankfort Times, which he controlled about three months and then sold to Mr. Kern, of Frankfort.

The Methodist church was built in 1884. Two other churches have been built in the east part of the township.

Some of the early settlers are still with us, among whom are Mr. Hollywood, Peter Mattison, Charles Kibby and Mr. Ehman.

One of the drawbacks which the first settlers had to contend with from this place to Saginaw was the thieving depredations of the Mormons who were situated on the Beaver Islands, under the leadership of Strang. They used to go out on their raids and steal everything they could get hold of that belonged to Gentiles. They would coast along the shore in their boats until they came to some fishermen's shanties where there was a lot of fish put up in barrels, steal the fish and all the nets they could get hold of, and sometimes their boats, then burn the fish houses and depart for new fields of plunder. Gillmore's early settlers had a taste of them also. The first man who felt their gentle presence was Mr. Joseph Robar. He was coming from Manistee along the beach of Lake Michigan with a yoke of oxen and four cows; he also had three young men with him. When opposite Herring lake they saw a Mackinaw sail boat pass out about one mile and disappear to the north, as they supposed, around Point Betsie. They got to Frankfort with the cattle a little before noon and let them feed in the woods around their shanty while the men ate their dinner. After dinner Mr. Robar told one of the men he had better go out and look after the cattle and see that they did not stray away too far. He soon reported that one of the oxen and one of the cows were gone. They immediately began search and found they had gone north through the woods. They followed them about two miles north of Frankfort when the trail turned towards the beach of Lake Michigan again. As they neared the beach they came upon the ox's head, and when they got in sight of the water an interesting scene burst upon their view. The boat that

passed them proved to be a Mormon boat. They had gone ashore north of Frankfort, and some of the men had come back through the woods, and while Robar was at dinner stole the ox and cow, drove them off, killed the ox and carried the meat and hide aboard the boat. But the cow was a good one and was giving a nice mess of milk and they thought how good some of it would go in Beaver Island coffee, so they tied her feet together, put some plank from the beach to the edge of their boat, and when Robar and his men appeared in sight of the beach they were just rolling her aboard of the boat. They made a rush for them but there was a fair land breeze and they shoved off and left without calling on the custom house officer for clearance papers. The cow was identified on Beaver Island afterwards but Mr. Robar never put in his claim to King Strang for her, so I suppose she lived and died an Island cow.

A. S. Dow is the veteran mill-wright of Gillmore and of this part of the country. He had charge of the building of the first sawmill on Lake Betsie, which was built on the north side of the lake. Mr. Dow lately told the writer that although he came here in 1859 and had been through the woods about as much as any man in the country he had never seen a live bear in the woods; but his wife had a different experience. In 1863 she went out to hunt the cows and as she was going through the woods she climbed upon a large log and a huge bear jumped up on the other side of the log and stood looking at her. It was hard to tell which was more surprised, Mrs. Dow or the bear, but she thought that distance between her and the bear was of more interest to her than hunting; she turned and fled through the woods at a rapid rate until she came to a clearing where a Mr. Pearse lived, and he took his gun and they went to the place where the surprise happened, and bruin's life was the forfeit he paid for interrupting Mrs. Dow's cow hunt; history does not say if she ever found the cows or not.

We have a large number of foreign-born people in Gillmore; but unlike many other towns which claim to have had trouble with their foreign element, we have always got along well with them. As a rule they are honest, hard working, industrious people, who pay their debts and taxes. Prominent among them is Neils Glarum, who came to this country in 1872, commencing his career here as a wood chopper; then several years at jobbing and shanty life; then master of the Furnace Company wood yards until a few years ago, when he went into the mercantile business, in which he has been successful. Mr. Glarum is a man of strong convictions, who believes in America and American institutions and American protection, and takes a strong interest in all educational matters, and there is no

better firm in Benzie county than Mr. Glarum and his gentlemanly co-partner, Mr. Classons.

Another unique character among us is in the person of Edward Goethals, more commonly known as Kaiser, who came to this country in 1869 and commenced working at the Furnace. He carried the first piece of pig iron that was taken from the Furnace to the dock. He says that working at the Furnace in those days was like working on the tower of Babel, as there were people from thirteen different nations at work there; and that he remembers working one day with seven men who were all of different nationalities and could not understand a word that each other said, but worked by signs. Mr. Goethals has filled various positions of trust in town, such as constable, township treasurer, district treasurer, overseer of highways, clerk for August Coddens, the Frankfort Lumber Company and Crane Lumber Company.

The children of the foreign element are among our best scholars, and some of them have developed into good school teachers.

The veteran lumberman of this country is L. W. Crane. He has been connected with the lumber interests of this county most of the time since he was a boy. He has seen more of the surface of Benzie county than any other living man excepting Joseph Oliver. He can look clear through a saw log without any X-rays and tell you what there is in it. In 1872 Mr. Crane built a sawmill in Gillmore of 90,000 feet capacity; he ran it about fifteen years and then built the present mill,which is owned by the Crane Lumber Company, of which L. W. Crane is president. This mill is styled a double mill and has a capacity of 125,000 feet.

John B. Dory was the first man to establish a transportation route by land between Frankfort and Manistee. This he did by the use of a dog train. He had a rig made like a toboggan fourteen feet long and eighteen inches wide and he drove three dogs on it in tandem. In the winter time he used to go to Manistee, a distance of thirty miles, in one day, put on a load of ten hundred, and return the next day. There was no road at that time and he had to go on the beach of Lake Michigan over ice banks and snow drifts, and he used to have some pretty hard times to make his trips, but he always got through all right. It is very interesting to hear Mr. Dory tell about those times and how well he had his dogs trained.

The first supervisor was B. W. Perry; the present supervisor is John Lyberg. The village of South Frankfort was incorporated March 17, 1894, on the south shore of Lake Betsie, with the following officers: A. L. White, president; A. L. Edenburn, John Westburg, F. O. Smith, L. P.

Classons, George Edwards, Charles Luxford, councilmen; W. R. Thomas, clerk.

The present officers, 1896, are as follows: J. S. Perry, president; L. P. Classons, Charles Luxford, F. O. Smith, John Guedimoos, George McMannus, A. R. Lowder, councilmen; W. R. Thomas, clerk.

The business houses of Gillmore and South Frankfort are as follows: Glarum & Classons, general merchandise; L. E. Griser, general merchandise; W. R. Thomas, groceries, hardware and furniture; T. O. Smith, family supplies; August Coddens, general merchandise, pool room and saloon; F. C. Vilas, drug store, also physician; George McMannus, hotel, American House; Joseph Trumbley, hotel, Eagle House; E. Tall, barber; A. Rust, barber; Charles Luxford, saloon; William Walker, blacksmith shop; J. B. Dory, shoe shop.

As to the geographical surface of Gillmore, we have hills and valleys, sand and water. The high lands are well adapted to fruit raising, and there are some fine peach orchards in town. Our means of transportation are very good, we being able to ship both by rail and boat. Gillmore has arrived at her present history without anything very exciting ever happening within her borders. We never sent anyone to congress. We tried to send a man to the legislature once and got beat so we stepped out of politics. We have a good graded school, with a corps of four efficient teachers, and two district schools. We have a good and well conducted Sabbath school. We also have in town two saloons and three churches, which I think goes to show that the Lord has got the start of the Devil a little in Gillmore.

A BIRDSEYE HISTORY OF THE TOWNSHIP OF HOMESTEAD.

PREPARED BY CAMDEN JOHNSON.

The first location of lands in the township for actual settlement was made in 1862, by E. E. Kirkland, who immediately commenced erecting a house and making improvements.

In 1863, quite a number, principally from Benzonia, located homesteads: Wm. Steele, D. Piper, Wm. Weston, D. Spencer, A. T. and Morris Case, H. Averill, Hugh Marsh, Daniel Carter, Geo. St. Clair and perhaps some others, all of whom moved into town, built houses, and

commenced making improvements. In 1864 the writer remembers his entrance into the place. Influenced by the glowing discription of the beauties and richness of the Grand Traverse region, we left our home in old Ashtabula county, Ohio, about the first of June, 1864. We had a very pleasant and uneventful journey until we arrived at Traverse City. We found that our only way to get to Benzonia was the primitive one of walking.

We started early on the morning of the 9th of June, a hot sultry morning. Nearly all the way was through a dense wilderness with but a simple trail, and even now it makes me shudder to think of the myriads of mosquitoes that constantly swarmed around us. All things have an end, and about nine p. m. we came to an opening and saw a house, which was a glad sight. It was the residence of H. Averill. They kindly took us in and a sorrier and more forlorn fellow you never saw; my feet were blistered badly, but I survived all the discomforts and the next day I made my way to where our old neighbor, Deacon Steele, and Geo. E. Steele were at work upon their homestead, building a house. We were greatly pleased with the general appearance of the country. The next day I went with them to Benzonia, where we found several of our old acquaintances. I commenced almost immediately to work on the sawmill south of town.

I will only take the time to relate an incident or two that will illustrate some of the discomforts of the first settlers of the country.

The only way to obtain any lumber in this whole country was to pole it up on a boat from Frankfort. In the course of the summer I helped Mr. Steele run some logs down to Frankfort. The river being so crooked and full of snags, only a small raft could be run. The Deacon, G. E. and myself started out, and for quite a distance we ran with our three rafts fastened together, but soon we came to a bad bend and had to detach them and each took a piece. The deacon was ahead, and we each guided our rafts as we could with our poles; soon we saw that the deacon was having trouble in getting around a snag; he was pushing with all his might, and when he went to take in his pole it was stuck in the mud and would not come. I saw that if he held on to it, he would surely fall into the river, and I told him to let go as I could easily get it for him, but he was bound to hold on, and in a twinkling he was in the river; when he got righted up the water came up to his chin. In less time than it takes me to tell it we came along side of him and helped him on board my raft, and as it was a warm day he suffered no particular inconvenience. The people that now

come into this county but little realize what the first settlers had to endure.

During the summer of 1864 a township organization was effected, embracing the territory now known as Homestead, Inland, Weldon and Colfax. The first supervisor elected was Wm. Steele; clerk, D. B. Spencer; treasurer, G. H. Smith; school inspectors, E. E. Kirkland and A. T. Case. In 1866 the township of Inland was organized, and during the next year Colfax and Weldon were organized, leaving the township of Homestead as it now is.

In the matter of highways the township of Homestead stands second to none in the county. The first settlers went at it with a will—laid out a system of roads as required for the public good, and then opened them up. The people of the present day who grumble and find fault with the high highway taxes, but little realize the burdens of the first settlers; we not only levied all the taxes the law allowed us and worked them out, but donated twice the amount.

The first year of the township organization a school district was organized, and in the spring of 1865 a schoolhouse was built. The patrons of the school turned out and split out pine "shakes," erected a frame out of poles, and covered the walls and roof with the "shakes." Elm bark was peeled and used for the floor, and a few boards and slabs were wrought into desks and seats. The structure answered quite well for a summer school, but it was found to be impossible to make it comfortable for winter. The house was used for three years, having spring summer and fall terms. Meantime settlers continued to arrive, new district were organized, until now we have three full, and three fractional districts, and five fair schoolhouses in town.

At the time of the organization the township was solidly republican. Very soon, however, people of different political affiliations came in and the various political parties have had their ups and downs. In our township matters for the first twelve or fifteen years party politics were unknown. Since then it has been a kind of see-saw, first one party then the other gaining the ascendency.

In 1864 some of the first settlers met at the residence of Rev. E. E. Kirkland and formed a Congregational Church, and chose Mr. Kirkland as pastor. Services were held at the residence of the pastor every Lord's day for some years. A Sunday school was at once organized and has been maintained up to this time. It was found to be very inconvenient to hold meetings at private houses and Pastor Kirkland, Deacon Steele and the writer, concluded to build a house that would

answer the purpose. The little church on the corner was erected and was used for church meetings; also for township meetings, until the present church was built.

The Methodist Episcopalians have a church in the north part of town and quite a nice place of worship. In 1896 a Congregational Church was organized at Honor, with some twenty members. There are now three pretty well sustained Sunday schools in the township.

The township of Homestead is admirably adapted for farming purposes, being mostly hardwood land. The Platte river runs through the town from east to west. At an early day D. C. and S. K. Carter built a sawmill upon the Carter creek, that greatly helped in building up the town. Although the town has not been settled as rapidly as some of our western towns, yet the increase of settlers has been steady, and now the entire township is pretty well settled. One great drawback in the development of the town has been the location of so much land by speculators and lumbermen; large tracts have been stripped of all valuable timber and left to grow up to bushes; true, the business has brought a good deal of money into the town.

In 1895 a large manufacturing plant was started on the Platte river, some two miles west of the state road.

PREPARED BY F. OTIS.

The village of Honor was first located November, 1894, by E. T. Henry, at that time foreman for the Guelph Patent Cask Company, and Geo. Briggs, of Wolverine, Michigan. The land upon which it stands was bought of Robert Buckans.

About the first of April, 1895, E. T. Henry arrived on the grounds with a crew of men and a small portable sawmill, and began to clear a place for a set of camps, which were run by our genial friend, Charles H. Giles, of Wolverine, Michigan. After making his fortune, Mr. Giles retired from the business to his farm in Cheboygan county.

Mr. L. F. Lane was the first one to start a general merchandise store, moving his stock from Lake Ann. Since building his store he has had it enlarged, so that now its dimensions are fifty by one hundred twenty feet.

The Case Mercantile Company were second to put in a stock of general merchandise; they were afterwards succeeded by J. L. Crane, who has enlarged both stock and store. There are at present two general stores, one hardware, one bazar store, one blacksmith shop, a barber shop and three boarding houses.

The township board deserves great credit for the valiant fight and the success which they have attained in keeping out a licensed saloon. Considerable headway is being made in improvements on our streets and great credit is due our worthy path master, Henry Ryan, for the able manner in which he conducted the work. We believe we have the nucleus of a thriving village.

The Guelph Patent Cask Company has spent considerable money in erecting its plants, and clearing land, and it is here to stay.

Wolverine is one of the liveliest towns on the Michigan Central railroad north of Bay City, and the company is desirous of making a good town of Honor.

The surrounding land is of good soil and can be made into beautiful farms, which will yield an abundance of fruit, and farm produce of various kinds.

A twenty-five hundred dollar schoolhouse is being erected, which will be ready for school by the first Monday in September, 1896, and we hope to give the boys and girls the invaluable advantage of good schooling.

A church organization has been formed with three auxiliaries, Sunday school, Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

Church services are held every other Sunday at three o'clock p. m. the alternate Sundays at seven o'clock p. m. at Case's hall, pastor, Rev. O. M. Snider, Homestead, Michigan.

Mr. J. A. Gifford, general manager for the Guelph Patent Cask Company, has donated two of the best lots in town for a church site, and it is hoped in the near future a church building may be erected.

The name of our town was selected in honor of Mr. Gifford's baby daughter.

August 7, 1896.

HISTORY OF INLAND.

The township of North Climax, which was originally a part of Homestead, was formed by vote of the supervisors of Grand Traverse county on the 10th of April, 1867. January 23, 1869, the name was changed to Inland.

A few years previous to this it had been one unbroken forest. No human footstep disturbed the profound stillness except that of the

Indian in pursuit of game. Its sparkling waters rippled and danced under the leafy canopy overhead. Cool breezes sighed through the evergreen trees and maple leaves rustled musically in bright sunlight; flowers and ferns lifted themselves skyward; shy, wild creatures roamed fearlessly, and birds carolled their merriest notes.

But civilization brought changes. Then forest fires were unknown, and the ring of the woodman's ax never heard; the tramp, tramp of progress began, and today Inland echoes with her sturdy tread.

Most of the northern half of this township was hardwood land with varying strengths of soil, ranging from that of a light sandy nature to clay loam.

In the central portion, and for a short distance south of that, was a valuable tract of pine, while in the southern part was a strip of hardwood, with better soil than that in the center. The northern portion is well watered by the Platte river, a clean, pebbly bottomed stream, and a fine system of tributary creeks, whose banks were covered with a dense growth of hemlock and cedar, interspersed with birch, ash and grand old pines, some of which towered like giants above the surrounding forest one hundred and fifty feet high.

The township is not hilly except where the creeks cut through the surface to lower levels. There are but two or three lakes in the whole township. These are well stocked with fish, and Platte river and all the smaller streams emptying into it are full of speckled trout.

There are traces of Indians in many places. A lady has in her possession two stones found lying side by side on section six and she was informed by an Indian living at Northport that they were probably left by the Mohawks two or three hundred years ago, and that others have been found lying in piles on the banks of different lakes; they were used to remove the skins from their slaughtered game.

The first settlers came in the fall of 1863.

Daniel Sherman started from the state of New York, and passing through Traverse City came by a narrow trail to the township of Inland. He selected a homestead on the northeast quarter of section thirteen and entered it the 27th of November, 1863. By the aid of Messrs. Cleveland, Boland and McIntyre, who accompanied him here, and an old carpenter by the name of Gravel, a house was built. The floor was made from slabs split from basswood logs, smoothed off with an adz; the roof was of the same material. Mr. Sherman returned to New York but came back the same fall accompanied by Mrs. Slarrow and her son Horace. They started from Traverse City with a pair of ponies at eight o'clock in the

morning, getting to their destination at nine o'clock that night, a distance of sixteen miles. The road had to be underbrushed for the last seven miles. The sleigh box was an old wood rack.

Provisions were very high, the nearest trading point being at Traverse City. Their first potatoes came from the potato balls of two years before; they cost one dollar and a half, and were obtained at Benzonia, fifteen miles away. One hundred dollars was paid for their first cow. Mrs. Slarrow was here two and one-half years before she saw a white woman. Neighbors at first were seven miles one way and twelve the other. Once in a while an Indian would come to trade fish for bread. Mr. McIntyre took a homestead where Eugene Barnard now resides.

Cleveland located in Grand Traverse county; Boland also took a homestead; Ben Williams came the same fall and settled on the place owned by the late Victor T. Gardner.

The nearest postoffice was Traverse City, and the mail was brought on horseback.

One of the deprivations of that section was lack of water, and Horace Slarrow looks back to those days, grateful that he does not have to carry it a mile as he did then.

Mr. Sherman drove the first team through to Manistee; he had a stage line and carried several soldiers to the latter place; the horses were driven one ahead of the other.

A preacher by the name of Caukins delivered the first sermon in the township at Sherman's house. He is now a member of the Michigan M. E. Conference. A Sunday school was organized and a library purchased. Quite a quantity of those books are yet in existence.

D. R. Latham, superannuate of M. E. Conference at present, came to Mr. Sherman's and preached once or twice. Mr. Isaac Barnard came in the spring of 1864, selected a homestead on section fifteen and entered it April 26, 1864. He owned the first cow. His daughter, Etta May Barnard, was the first child born in the township. Both Mr. and Mrs. Barnard have passed away. Quite a number of settlers soon settled in other localities.

A man by the name of Henry Rufend homesteaded the place afterwards secured by Joel A. Gardner; Brooks the Aplin farm; Charlie Rufend the Kent farm, and Reuben Rufend the William Morris place; Clark Barton the place that was afterwards owned by Nathan Jaquish; William Reed had a homestead south of Mr. Moon's; the Old Central House was once owned by a man by the name of Call; James Williams located on the tract of land known as the Platte estate.

A man by the name of Summers owned the Moon place. One of his little children sickened and died, and was buried in the woods. There is nothing to mark the spot except the little mound. For many years the swaying trees have flung their branches above its resting place; storms have swept over its little form, all unheaded, while it quietly awaits the summons from the lips of the Father above to come forth. Perhaps somewhere in the world is an aged mother whose thoughts often turn to that lonely little grave in the wilderness.

Mr. Richards located just across the road from the Simmons place; he was a stone-mason by trade.

Uncle Joe Eastman, an excentric old character, entered a homestead May 10, 1864. He lived by himself and seemed to have an utter disregard for the ladies, not welcoming them to his domicile. His habits were very slovenly and his "den" a veritable museum. His bed was a trough dug out of a hollow log filled with brush and nothing but an old blanket for a covering. He claimed that when Sherman came here in 1863 he was already here as a trapper, and that he gave a war whoop on discovering him; but there is no proof of this.

Mr. Sherman's two sons, Elmer and Clark, came from New York during the summer in company with a family seeking a home.

Judson Andrus moved here in the fall of 1864, bringing a yoke of oxen and a cow; his son, "Dry" Andrus, entered as a homestead the farm now owned by Albert Kent. Mr. Kent came from the south part of the State in 1865 and settled upon the land "Dry" Andrus had first taken. He has the largest farm in the township, having 160 acres under a good state of cultivation. He has five acres of orchard, and is proprietor of a store at Bendon station, and is postmaster there. When he first came here pork was twenty cents a pound and sugar eighteen to twenty cents.

Henry Herron also came the fall of 1865 and settled on the northwest quarter of section eleven. Mr. Herron had but a short time before returned from the arduous duties of a soldier, having served his country in Co. A 189th New York Volunteers. He is still living on his farm, and is a member of the G. A. R.

Wm. McCormick was another pioneer of this date. He settled one mile south of the section where Mr. Sherman located, on the east town line. A sad accident occurred at this place; Mr. Wm. Barden's little child was drowned in the swamp near the farm.

Jack Barton and family were among the earlier settlers. He took as a homestead the southeast quarter of section eleven, but sold it to Levi

Simmons. One-half of this is now owned by Mrs. Simmons, formerly Mrs. E. P. Aplin, and the remainder by Chandler Adams.

Mr. Barton kept the first hotel, and was also the first overseer of highways. His wife died very suddenly with heart disease a few years after they moved here. His oldest son and Maria Jennings were the first couple united in marriage in the township. Mr. Barton, with two or three men, among whom was a colored man by the name of Hayes from Homestead, were fishing from a raft in Green lake, when they discovered a monster sturgeon, five or six feet long lying in about four feet of water. The "darkey" immediately sprang from the raft and with a knife cut the throat of the fish. He was rewarded for his bravery by securing the prize as his own.

Mr. Barton also had quite an experience with some wild animals that was not so agreeable. He was coming from Long lake, in Grand Traverse county, on his way to Round lake, when he heard something scream like a woman. He answered it, but soon mistrusting it was a panther or lynx, he started to run, and for four miles the creature followed him; near Round lake it left him. Mr. Barton's strength was nearly exhausted.

Victor T. Gardiner came in the fall of 1865 and chose for his home the southwest quarter of section twelve, near Daniel Sherman's. He was elected the first supervisor after the township was organized, but being obliged to return to the south part of the State for a while, Henry Downs, a Methodist minister, acted as supervisor the rest of the year. Mr. Gardiner was of a literary turn of mind and wrote a great many original poems; he also taught school. His father, Joel A. Gardiner, located a homestead on sections thirteen and fourteen, but did not live long. He was the man who drew up the petition to have the town organized. His widow afterwards married a man by the name of Johnson. This farm is now owned by Elmer Bowman, who married Mr. Gardiner's daughter. Mr. Michael Murrel, a native of England, came in about three years after Mr. Sherman did, and took a homestead that had been abandoned by Thomas Fisdal; he was the first man elected director. He lived a long life, dying at the age of ninety-one.

Mr. Mason came about the same time, taking a farm that had once been occupied by Mr. Alexander.

Asa Adams and family from Pennsylvania located on the southeast quarter of section eight in 1866. Mr. Adams died about ten years ago; his widow is now the wife of Chandler Adams.

Rienzi Rowley came the same year as the latter, and homesteaded the farm now owned by John Jarret; he lived on it thirteen years and cleared thirteen acres.

John Bradshaw, who enlisted in the army from Jonesville, Hillsdale county, Michigan, serving until the close of the war, came here also in 1866, seeking a home and located on the southeast quarter of section fourteen. He has been quite prominent in the offices of the township, having served many terms in an official capacity. He is a member of the G. A. R.

Quite a little excitement was created by a circumstance that occurred about this time. A man by the name of Ely entered a homestead on section nine. For some reason he removed, with his wife and children, to Bass lake, Grand Traverse county, from which place he suddenly disappeared with all his family, and no trace of them has ever been discovered. Suspicion fell upon a man who lived with them, and who afterwards took a deed to the property to the county register's office for record but without signature. He also claimed all the personal property by purchase.

In August, 1866, Mrs. Dexter, a widow from Indiana, came to this region accompanied by her two children. Although they located in Grand Traverse county, all their interests were in Inland. Miss Alice Dexter, now Mrs. Robert Carpenter, was a charter member of the first Sabbath school established by the Methodists, and also taught the second term of school in town. Mrs. Carpenter remembers when a spool of thread cost 25 cents; mess pork 23 cents per pound, and a yard of print 50 cents.

In speaking of the scarcity of water in the east part of the township in those early days, Mrs. Carpenter exclaims "who of the old settlers will ever forget the old trough at the back of the house with its puncheon shake cover, and the indispensable cloth lying on the end, by which we could separate the water from the 'wigglers.'" Mrs. Carpenter's mother was the possessor of two cows, and the first year after coming here their only team was those two cows, well broken to drive. Here occurred the first death in the settlement. Mrs. Mark McMichael was taken ill and passed away January, 1867. Mrs. Carpenter and Aunt Hannah Rowley, mother of Rienzi Rowley, assisted in preparing her for the grave; it must have been a sad burial, isolated as they were.

The northwestern portion of the township was yet a wilderness. The Platte river ran through it, a shallow stream so choked with timber and brush that it was not possible for a person to walk down its bed.

Early in the fall of 1866, Mark Allyn came from Ohio, and landing at Glen Arbor, he made his way to section six seeking a homestead where there was water. He had purchased two sections of land in Manistee county, but finding no practicable route from Glen Arbor, where he had shipped his outfit, he selected the valley of the Platte, and finding a beautiful spring near the river, he decided to locate there although it was not on the section line. He hired a road cut to his chosen home, and in a short time had a little spot cleared of brush and logs, sufficient to erect his first dwelling, a shanty covered with shakes split from the trees of the forest and this sufficed for a shelter until he could cut logs for a small house, twelve feet square.

The nearest sawmill was seven or eight miles distant. All of his furniture was made from material split from pine logs. His wife and child did not come until the next spring.

Almon Vaughan and wife, also O. W. Clark, son of Mrs. Vaughan, by a former marriage, from the same locality in Ohio, were the next settlers. Mr. Vaughan took a homestead lying just north of Mr. Allyn's, and occupied it until four or five years ago, when he died at the age of eighty-two. His widow is now living with her son, although she still retains the homestead. O. W. Clark was only fourteen years of age when he came here. He married a young lady by the name of Passmore from Homestead.

George Davis and his brother Will, soon followed their uncle, Mr. Vaughan. George entered a forty-acre homestead, also on section six, but soon abandoned it and returned to Ohio with the story that grass would not grow in this country even in the door yards.

Wm. Davis purchased a quarter section of his uncle in the northwest corner of the town.

The south side of the river was still in its wild state, but in the fall of 1868 a man appeared on the south bank of the river, and announced himself as Isaac Doughtery, who had taken a homestead on what is now known as the Roxbury farm, on section eight. He built a log house, and cleared a little, but like many others of the first settlers, soon drifted to other climes.

Mr. C. Roxbury, a son-in-law of Mr. Vaughan, then purchased the farm in 1873 and is occupying it at the present time; his wife died during the present year. John Martin, another son-in-law of Mr. Vaughan purchased the Geo. Davis homestead, but sold it and is now living in Petoskey; Mr. Bishop, the present owner, is a French-Canadian well-known in this county.

Dexter and Chester Albright were early settlers in this part of the township, but have moved away.

Mrs. Mark Allyn, who, after the death of her husband, married Horace B. Pratt, of Almira township, taught the first two terms of school in this district.

This part of the town had also its excentric character in the person of Wm. Curtiss, who purchased two or three hundred acres of land near the river. He built a small house, but did not occupy it long. He is now in the Soldier's Home in Ohio.

New settlers were still pouring into the eastern part of the township, in what was called the Sherman settlement, and a meeting was called at the house of Nathaniel Barrows, a new settler located on section fifteen, who was also the first postmaster. The object of this meeting was to perfect the organization of the township.

Victor T. Gardner was elected supervisor, Nathaniel Barrows, clerk; Nathan Jaquish and James Reynolds, justices, and Henry Helm, commissioner of highways.

The next step was to organize a school district. A meeting was held August 17, 1867, at the house of Jackson Barton, Henry Helm acting as chairman, and Mr. Barnes as clerk. Henry Helm was elected as moderator, N. Barnes, assessor, and Michael Murrell, director. These all failed to qualify, and the inspectors appointed N. Jaquish, moderator; Levi Simmons, assessor, and Charles Howe, director. A special meeting was shortly called to select a site, and raise funds to erect a suitable building for school purposes. The names signed to the call were Richard Reynolds, E. P. Wilcox, J. P. Reynolds, D. Sherman and Lennan Case.

The first schoolhouse was built of logs, but before it was completed fire destroyed it.

Miss Martha Smith, of Benzonia, was hired as teacher and school was held in V. T. Gardiner's house in 1868. Elmer Sherman, Horace Slarrow, and also Nellie Jaquish, now Mrs. Gilbert Reynolds, were among the scholars.

In the summer of 1869, the old frame school was built on the northeast corner of section fourteen; but that has given place to a large and commodious building, located on the same site and well supplied with everything needful in the way of apparatus, for the advancement of the scholars.

One could scarcely imagine that people could be transplanted from comfortable homes, and all the elements of social and domestic happi-

ness, into a vast wilderness like the country was at this time, and find pleasure in a life so remote from the old associations to which they had been accustomed from childhood. Some of these old pioneers, on being questioned as to what was their earliest amusement, replied that it was the gathering of the young people, in a merry group around the huge log heaps, in the soft summer evenings and amid those wild surroundings was enacted many a drama that blossomed into a lifetime of mutual happiness.

There was a friendliness and warmth in those good old days; everybody was a neighbor in the true sense of the word, no matter if miles lay between. It was akin to a new world; the air seemed so pure and bracing, laden with the spicy odors of the pine and fragrant cedar, the waters so clear and sparkling, and the hopes that reached out into the future of well-tilled fields, and comfortable surroundings, caused the pulses to thrill with anticipation.

Who can forget the great bubbling kettles of sugar that came from the grand old maple trees. Did sugar ever taste so good?

When a new settler needed a house to shelter him, willing hands were ready to assist, and the huge logs of which it was usually constructed were rolled together with a hearty good will; at such times those who desired it, would indulge in dancing to the music of Abner Johnson's or Uncle Jack Barton's fiddles.

In the spring of 1868, Lysander Kenney from Illinois, came to Manistee by boat, and from there followed the old trail through Joyfield, where he spent one night with Mr. Joy, of that town. After arriving at Inland, he selected a homestead on section eighteen and purchased other lands, in all two hundred acres. His wife and children soon followed him arriving the 15th of May.

He rented Henry Herron's house the first six months, moving on his homestead the following October. Mr. Kenney was a Methodist, and was present when the first class was formed. The late George Yonker preached that day. A man by the name of Aldrich was the preacher in charge, but the next year a man by the name of Gilbert was made pastor.

In two and a half years Mr. Kenney was called by the fourth quarterly conference to preach and was granted a license. V. G. Boynton was the presiding elder. Mr. Kenney's first sermon was delivered at the house of Almon Vaughan; a class was formed and prayer meetings established which were well attended. He has since been appointed by conference to several charges, staying at one five years. The first couple he united in marriage were R. B. Reynolds and Miss Clara Jaquish. The

first funeral sermon he preached was for an old gentleman by the name of Yonker. He was a delegate to the first county convention; has held the office of coroner three times, justice of the peace several times; also superintendent of the poor. His wife, always his helpmeet, taught six terms of school, and has held the office of school inspector.

Henry Helm entered a homestead on section ten in 1867, but sickness soon came and he was called to a better country. His widow still lives in the south part of the State. His daughter is a resident of Inland, being the wife of Oscar Kenney.

Nathan Jaquish removed from Calhoun county in this State, in April 1867. He purchased the homestead held by Clark Barton on section eleven, and much to the surprise of the seller, paid him with a five hundred dollar bill. Mr. Jaquish was supervisor all but two years of his life after coming here. He had two sons and four daughters who are upright men and women. Both Mr. and Mrs. Jaquish are dead.

Luman Case came from West Leroy, Calhoun county, at the same time that Nathan Jaquish did, and bought the southwest quarter of section twelve of a man by the name of Phelps.

When Case was coming in on the trail, he found some money in the path and stopping to pick it up said to Mr. Jaquish, "Jake look here." The latter exclaimed, "come on, come on, let us go on where it is thicker."

Mrs. Murphy was riding with Luman Case from Traverse City, with an ox team, over the rough corduroy roads when she caught her arm around him exclaiming, "Mr. Case it is not the love I have for ye but its the fear of falling out."

Henry Downs settled upon the farm now occupied by M. S. Stiles. He was the man who held the office when V. F. Gardner resigned. He was a Methodist minister and his wife taught school. After his death his widow removed to the south part of the State where she died suddenly.

We next reach the history of Richard Reynolds and family. They removed from Rhode Island in the fall of 1868 and purchased the homestead right of Nathaniel Barrows. Mr. Reynolds also purchased one hundred acres adjoining. He was a very careful business man and of that stirling integrity of character that commands the respect of everyone who knew him. He was a Quaker by birth, but for many years was identified with the Methodist church, holding the office of class leader until his death. "Uncle Richard" and "Aunt Katy," as they were familiarly called, were known all over the country for their generous hospitality. In them the poor found friends, and the sick could testify

to many tender remembrances, while the church received substantial aid from their hands.

Mr. Reynolds died in 1896, the same day that his youngest son, Gilbert, was laid to rest. Both father and son have been instrumental in building up the business interests of this town and are sorely missed.

R. B. Reynolds, his remaining son has held many offices of trust, and is at present the clerk of Benzie county.

Edward Payson Aplin came the same fall as Richard Reynolds and took a homestead near Mr. Moon's, but shortly afterwards traded it to Levi Simmons in exchange for his place on section eleven, paying nine hundred dollars besides. Mr. Simmons had been keeping hotel and Mr. Aplin continued the business until his health failed. He was deputy sheriff for several years besides holding various offices in town; but it will be when death enters the homes of the people that he will be most lamented, for he was often called upon to take charge of the last sad rites for departed friends. He died at the age of fifty. His widow has been united in marriage with Levi Simmons.

Mrs. Amidon, now Mrs. Wm. Brundage, came with her children from the state of New York, and took a homestead on section nine, that "Hack" Johnson had entered previously, paying him one hundred dollars for his claim; the farm is now owned by her son, Elisha Amidon.

Mr. Lansing was one of the early pioneers, and opened up a farm on section three, now the property of Mr. Weiss. He also built a sawmill on the Platte river. Both he and his wife have passed away.

During the summer of 1869, an accident occurred that saddened the whole community: three children were passing along the street during a severe windstorm, and when near Richard Reynold's place, a dry stub fell, instantly killing a little girl eleven years of age, the daughter of Henry Yonker, who lived in the adjoining town. Sarah Helm and Johnnie Yonker were with her at the time. The boy saw the tree coming and caught his sister's hand, but in her alarm and confusion she pulled away and thus met her fate.

D. C. Brundage came in the fall of 1869 from Eaton county, and settled on section seventeen. Mr. Brundage knew how to work, and although he had a large family of children, he managed so well that he was in comfortable circumstances at his death, which occurred in 1896, two years after the death of his wife. He and his sons built a shingle mill about eighteen years ago.

There is an old clearing on section three that is called the Abdel homestead. Its former owner used to teach singing school in the early days, but shortly after removed from the town.

Cyrus Helm once owned the farm now known as the Hostetter place.

Away over in the southwestern part of the township, Cyrus Maybean was the first to make for himself a home in the wilderness; others have followed his example and the forest has been cleared away by the hand of progress.

Thomas Luther came to Michigan from the state of New York, removing to Inland in 1874. He took a homestead on section nine and was the first man to strike a blow on the street on which he lives. Mr. Luther is now seventy-eight years of age.

Vincent Jarrett came here in 1878. He was a native of Virginia and the father of thirteen children, all living at the present time. He was active in church work and being a fine singer, he added much to the interest of meetings which he usually attended. He died nine years ago, but his widow still survives him.

The railroads in town are the Chicago & West Michigan, running through the southwest corner, with a station called Bendon; also a branch by way of Turtle Lake to the new town of Honor in Homestead.

The Manistee & Northeastern passes through the northeastern corner, with a projected branch down the Platte river to Honor, and also to Empire.

The Toledo & Ann Arbor runs a short distance to the southwest of the township, thus giving good railroad facilities.

There are three postoffices, two or three stores also saw and shingle mills. The first settler in the southeastern corner near Bendon station was an Irishman named Murphy. He was digging a well and had gone down about forty feet, when it showed sign of caving in upon him. His wife, who was watching the proceedings, exclaimed with vigor: "Faith and be jabers, if it *should* come on ye, you'd hould your homestead *sure*."

A little village has sprung up at the Bendon station; there are two or three stores, postoffice, express offices, telegraph and saw and shingle mill.

"Turtle Lake," in the center of a large tract of pine, has been a busy little place, with saw and shingle mill, also store and postoffice.

There are seven school districts in the township, and all are well equipped with apparatus. District No. 3 has an organ.

The Methodist Church has held an organization nearly ever since the town was settled. The church society owns a parsonage and is making plans to build a house of worship.

There are two Epworth Leagues, Women's Christian Temperance Union, and their Juvenile Society, the Loyal Temperance Legion, Patrons of Husbandry, and Independent Order of Good Templars.

The last two societies have a "hall" together for their meetings. The Odd Fellows and Maccabees also have societies in the southwest part of town. A branch of the Mormon Church, "The Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints," has held an organization for the last two or three years, and is collecting material to erect a church.

Inland has always been republican in sentiment. Every new "ism" has found followers, but only in a limited degree.

Quite a number of old soldiers are living in Inland: Robert Osborne, Robert Carpenter, A. D. Clary, John Bradshaw, Mr. Blaisdell, Corwin Roxbury, George Anness, John Hogle, Henry Herron, Charles Barton, Mr. Williams, Mr. Wilson and William Sherman. Mr. Platte lies buried in the graveyard. A. D. Clary was only seventeen years old when he enlisted in 1861.

Inland is dotted all over with fruit orchards, and everything but grapes seem to succeed. When the country was new, and before the forests were cut away, peach trees would winter kill, but of late, the trees seem vigorous and produce a fine quality of peaches. The Reynolds farm has six acres in orchard, and the fruit commands the highest admiration of all who see it.

JOYFIELD TOWNSHIP.

PREPARED BY WM. A. JOY.

Joyfield township is one of the southern tier of townships in Benzie county, and is bounded on the north by Benzonia township, on the east by Weldon, on the south by Pleasanton (Manistee county), and on the west by the township of Blaine; in size it is four miles wide, east and west, and five miles long, north and south, and contains twenty sections of land, and is a part of town twenty-five north, range fifteen west, of the original government survey. It is well watered by numerous spring brooks, the soil mostly a rich, sandy loam, is high and rolling and well

adapted to farming and fruit raising; it contains some of the largest and finest farms and orchards in the county.

The first homestead entry was made July 11, 1863, by Rev. A. Joy; on the same day homesteads were entered by a Mr. Hall and Wm. A. Joy. Mr. Joy, Sr., and Mr. Hall commenced at once to put up log cabins with the intentions of making their homesteads permanent homes. Mr. Hall got only the body of his cabin up and then went back to Ohio and never returned. I acquired my right to take up a homestead from having served in the army, and also being a minor. I did not build a house till two years later, when the authorities at Washington said that I must "live on and cultivate" my land in order to get a title to it. We put up an eight by ten pole shanty, which we covered with bark for a temporary stopping place till we could get our house in condition to live in. We found that our roof was rather a leaky affair, as during the first hard rainstorm we had to pile our things up in the corner and sit on them till the rain was over; we made slow progress with our house, as there was no lumber to be had for love or money; we succeeded in getting just enough lumber for one door and casing for one window, which we put in the front side of the house for the sake of looks, and for the back door split out elm shakes; for our floors we split basswood and hemlock puncheons. Mrs. Joy arrived with our household goods the latter part of September, she being the first woman to make her home in what was then an unbroken wilderness. We lived about a year with our nearest neighbor, four miles away; ours being the only house for a long distance, it was a general stopping place for travelers, and as many as eighteen persons found lodging there in one night. The old log house is standing yet, and many were the happy and pleasant hours spent in it.

Homesteads were taken up later in the season by Mr. Noah Fuller, Wm. Davis, Gordon T. Johnson and P. W. Brooks, but they did not move on their places till the next year. In the fall of 1864 Wm. McBain, Joseph Davis and Frank Johnson took up homesteads, and commenced to make improvements; during the year 1865, Norman Steele, David Matteson, Solomon Powers, Bushrod and John Perry, Hiram McKay, Joel Finch, Lyman Madison, and Joseph W. Rhodes entered a quarter section of land each, and put up log cabins and started to hew out farms in the woods. In the year 1866, homesteads were located by A. P. Jaquays, Hiram N. Stanley, Mathew Gordon, Silas Gordon, Ira Gordon, Mr. John Frost, Thomas Dair, George Dair, Wm. Halstead and Mr. Scramling; during the year 1867 by Wm. Peoples, R. S. G. Carhartt, Wm.

Bryan, Levi Bush and Mr. Charles H. Parker; Mr. Wilson Reed bought out Mr. Scramling's homestead right this year. In 1868 Rev. A. Barnard located the old homestead, entered and vacated by Mr. Hall. In 1863 Mr. Parker commenced clearing up his place with the intention of making a fruit farm, and well he succeeded, and to-day there is not a finer orchard in Benzie county than the one started by the industry and intelligence of Mr. Parker, but he did not live to reap the full benefits of his labors, dying April 11, 1885, and his place has passed into other hands.

Mr. Levi Bush came with the intentions of putting up a sawmill on the Betsie river, but after spending his entire fortune in getting machinery and trying to dam the river, he gave up his place and went west to Idaho, and died there. I will not make mention of those who settled later in Joyfield, as they are not in the pioneer class, with the exceptions of the two Spaulding brothers, who, I think, settled there about the year 1868.

In the early part of 1864, Mr. Joy, Sr., succeeded in getting a post-office established, he being appointed postmaster. The office was given the name of Joyfield at the suggestion of Rev. Charles E. Bailey. As Mr. Joy's family were the only residents in the township for about a year, the revenue of the office was not very large. Mr. Joy was post-master twenty years, when, on account of poor health he resigned, and Wm. A. Joy was appointed. He held the office some time and then re-signed, and G. T. Johnson was appointed to fill his place, who held the office till 1889, when R. J. Reed succeeded him and still serves (1897). Joyfield was the second office to be established in the county. In 1868 the town was organized as a township, taking the same name as the postoffice. George Dair was the first supervisor elected, W. P. Kibby, clerk, and J. W. Rhodes, treasurer; said election being held the spring of 1869. The township is now divided into four school districts. Each district has a good frame schoolhouse, and are all well supplied with the necessary maps, and other fixtures needed in well regulated schools. Mrs. Milo Halstead was the first teacher in the township; she taught school in what is now district No. 1, in a little log schoolhouse which stood on "Joy's" corners, where the Methodist Episco-pal Church now stands.

The first meetings were held at the residence of Rev. A. Joy, in the spring of 1865. A Sunday school was organized with Mrs. Joy as superin-tendent. Meetings were kept up by Mr. Joy till Mr. Barnard moved into town, when he assisted him, preaching on alternate Sundays. A few years

later a Methodist Episcopal Church was organized, and is the only church organization in the township now.

The first wedding occurred in 1866, when Mr. Frank Harmon and Leora Jaquays were married by Rev. A. Joy.

The first death occurred December, 1864, Mr. Noah Fuller dying at that time. Of the old pioneers who settled in Joyfield previous to 1866, but two are alive at this time, viz., Joseph Davis and Wm. A. Joy. Rev. A. Joy died February 11, 1890; his wife, Mrs. L. D. Joy, September 13, 1886; Wm. Davis, December 4, 1881; his wife, Mildred Ann, December 17, 1895; Gordon Johnson, August 25, 1892; Joseph W. Rhodes, December 29, 1879; Margaret Fuller, wife of Noah Fuller, November 4, 1883; B. W. Perry, October 3, 1890; and Wm. McBain in 1894.

The first child born in the township was Horace B. Davis, who is married and with his two children still lives in the township.

The vast forest that covered the township in 1863 has mostly disappeared, and in its place we see farms with large clearings, good buildings and fine orchards. Joyfield is destined to be one of the best, if not the best, township in the county.

HISTORY OF THE TOWNSHIP OF PLATTE.

BY M. E. THURSTON.

The township of Platte, in Benzie county, Michigan, was first settled in the year 1864. In the month of March of that year, my father, V. F. Thurston, with Le Roy Morgan and Jonas E. Helmer came to Traverse City, and thence to what is now the township of Platte, in search of government land for the purpose of taking homesteads. On the fifth of April they returned to the land office,—then in Traverse City—and selected lands for homes, and then returned to their places of residence for their families, V. F. Thurston to Wisconsin, Le Roy Morgan to Illinois and J. E. Helmer to the south part of this State.

Mr. Thurston returned with his family in April, to begin the building of a home, Mr. Morgan and Mr. Helmer returning with their families in September or October of the same year, living for a time in cabins constructed of brush, bark, and a few pieces of lumber picked up on the beach of Lake Michigan, until more substantial homes could be built of logs, using bark for a roof. In the fall of the same year

Calvin Peck removed with his family from Illinois to the township, and in the summer of 1865 several other families came.

For the first two years the settlers labored under the disadvantage of lack of roads, making use of the beach of Lake Michigan as a thoroughfare and using skiffs and yawl boats as a means of conveying their household goods and supplies to the nearest point on the shore, and packing them from there to their homes.

In the year 1866 or 1867, a road was opened to Glen Haven, also one via Almira to Traverse City.

About this time other settlers came into the new settlement, and in 1867, the township of Platte was organized, from territory formerly belonging to the township of Crystal Lake, and the first township meeting was held in April of that year; V. F. Thurston was elected supervisor, F. B. Van Patten clerk, L. R. Morgan was elected chairman of the board of highway commissioners, and justice of the peace, which latter office he continued to hold for many years.

In the spring of 1867, the first school district was organized, and school was held in one room of Mr. Thurston's house, with Miss Emma E. B. Carrier as teacher. In the spring of 1868 a log schoolhouse was built in district No. 1, by voluntary contribution of labor and material by the inhabitants of the district, and Miss Jennie M. Burnette now Mrs. M. E. Thurston, was employed to instruct the young pioneers.

In the year 1868, the Manistee and Leland state road was surveyed from Manistee to Leland, via Frankfort, Platte, Empire and Glen Haven by the local state road commissioner, V. F. Thurston, and in the summers of 1869 and 1870 the road was completed, thereby opening a good thoroughfare through the township, and affording the people a means of egress and ingress to and from various trading points along the shore.

The Platte postoffice was established about 1868 or 1869, and Abel Briggs was appointed postmaster. Mr. Briggs held the office about one year, when he resigned in favor of John Griffin, where the office remained but a few months, when L. R. Morgan was appointed postmaster, a position which he has held continuously to the present time (except a part of each of the two administrations of President Cleveland), each time receiving a reappointment soon after a change in the administration.

There are now two postoffices in the township, Platte and Osborn, the former being now a money order office.

For several years the settlers suffered many hardships, but always with much cheerfulness and fortitude, happy in the thought that in a few years the land once covered by an unbroken forest would be dotted with

comfortable homes, fine farms, good roads, commodious schoolhouses, and in the place of forest trees, others laden with the choicest kinds of fruits. All this has come to pass, and well may the people of this township look with pride upon what has been accomplished toward making this the banner town of the county.

While many of the old pioneers have removed to other homes, and some have laid down the burden of life, and passed to the beautiful home prepared for them by their heavenly Father, still some remain to enjoy the blessings derived from their many days of toil and hardships.

Of these who first came to the township there remain Mr. and Mrs. L. R. Morgan, Mr. and Mrs. Calvin Peck, Mr. and Mrs. M. E. Thurston, and a number who came to the township a little later, while it is with sorrow we have to record the loss of Mrs. Olive Thurston, wife of V. F. Thurston, who died July 1, 1874; also Mrs. Sophia Helmer, wife of J. E. Helmer, who passed away a few years later, and recently the decease of Mr. J. E. Helmer.

Those that were among our youthful pioneers who have passed away, are Mrs. Mary Culver, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Helmer, Mrs. Mary Goffarr, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Calvin Peck and Mrs. Ida M. McCormick, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. L. R. Morgan.

Mr. V. F. Thurston, now a man of nearly four score years, resides with a widowed daughter in Charlevoix.

As we look at the fine farms upon which herds of sleek horses and cattle feed, the handsome dwellings and commodious barns, orchards with their delicious fruits, fine roads, neat frame schoolhouses, and the many changes that have been wrought upon the ground which was covered with an unbroken forest in the spring of 1864, we are led to exclaim: 'what a wonderful change has man wrought by his untiring efforts, and what a monument stands before the rising generation to teach them what may be accomplished through industry, perseverance and courage to meet and overcome difficulties, such as were confronted by the pioneers and first settlers of our beautiful township.'

Many incidents of interest relative to the first settlement of the township of Platte, of hardships endured, and obstacles overcome by the first settlers while struggling to build themselves homes, and at the same time keep the wolf from the door by chopping cordwood and engaging in various other occupations to earn an honest dollar with which to pay for the necessaries of life, might be related, but the shortness of time before the annual meeting of the pioneers of Benzie county, August 14, 1901, prevents.

OAKLAND COUNTY—ITS BENCH AND BAR PRIOR TO 1840.

BY AUG. C. BALDWIN.

The time has arrived when it is all important that the history of the various individuals belonging to the different professions, residents of this State at an early day, have a brief recital of their acts prepared and filed with this society as matter for future reference. A sketch of the early clergymen and the members of the medical profession, however brief it might be, would be invaluable, as well as afford very interesting reading matter; and I trust that some persons connected with those professions will assume the task, and thus preserve the names of their brethren in the archives of this society. With this view of a person's duty, for the purpose of preserving the names of the pioneer lawyers of Oakland county, I have assumed the self-imposed task of presenting those practicing therein prior to 1840. Time will not permit entering very fully into detail of their various histories, but the brief sketch that I present will, at least, preserve their names in their professional capacity.

Oakland county's history is not of very ancient origin. Though Detroit was settled in 1701, and the southeastern bounds of Oakland county were only ten miles distant from the city hall of Detroit, yet we have no record of a white man's entrance into Oakland county for the purpose of settlement until the 17th of March, 1817, when James Graham and others settled in the township of what is now Avon. A settlement was made at Pontiac by the Pontiac Company in 1818, and in the autumn of the same year settlements were made at Royal Oak, Birmingham, Troy and Waterford.

On the 12th of January, 1819, Governor Cass issued a proclamation organizing certain territory into the county of Oakland, and fixing the seat of justice of the county at Pontiac.

It is impossible to state at this time what the population was; no accessible records of the census of 1820 can now be found in the county; that there were numerous families scattered about Oakland county in 1819 is clearly inferable from what is known of the settlers' families existing at that time. From the first settlements in 1817 there was a constant influx of immigrants into the county, and the inference is irre-

sistible that at the perfection of the county's organization the population must have been several hundred.

October 24, 1815, the Governor and Judges passed an act creating county courts in the various counties of the territory, consisting of one chief justice and two associate justices; all to be appointed by the Governor.

June 13, 1818, chancery jurisdiction was extended to county courts. March 30, 1820, the terms of the court were fixed for Oakland county for the second Monday of February and the third Monday of July, and on the 17th day of July, 1820, the first court of record,—the Oakland county court was duly opened, and legal proceedings were thereafter supposed to be properly conducted. Hon. William Thompson was chief justice, and Amasa Bagley and Daniel Bronson associate justices. William Morris was sheriff, and Sidney Dole was the clerk.

At the time when General Cass, the territorial Governor, was making selections to fill the various judicial offices, he was confronted with the fact that there was not an attorney resident in the county. Necessity compelled him to go outside of the legal profession, and subsequent events showed that his selections were judiciously made.

The appointee for chief justice was a practicing physician residing near Pontiac, Dr. William Thompson; he was born January 15, 1786, in Lenox, Massachusetts. He attended the district school and the academy; at fourteen he was fitted for college. In 1810 he took his degree from the College of Physicians and Surgeons in the city of New York; and about 1815 he emigrated to the territory of Michigan, and first began the practice of his profession at Mount Clemens, and subsequently removed to Pontiac. After his appointment as chief justice he practiced his profession while performing his official duties. Of course his legal duties did not encroach very greatly upon his time, and he held the office of chief justice for some eight years, giving excellent satisfaction. After his retirement from the judgeship he continued his medical practice for some time, and then retired to a farm near Pontiac, where he died honored and respected July 10, 1867.

Amasa Bagley, one of the associate justices, was born near Boston, in Massachusetts, and left his home for Michigan in the winter of 1818, arriving in Michigan in the spring of 1818. He afterwards settled at Bloomfield Center, and he resided there about ten years, when he removed to Pontiac, where he continued to reside until his death. He was appointed associate judge upon the organization of the county court,

assuming his duties in July, 1820, and remaining in that office until the admission of Michigan as a State. Judge Bagley was a farmer and practical business man, and in no sense a lawyer, yet he satisfactorily performed his judicial duties.

On Monday, July 17, 1820, the county court of Oakland county was duly opened by proclamation of the sheriff. After impaneling of the grand jury Spencer Coleman, an attorney of Detroit, on his own motion was admitted to practice.

On his application Daniel Le Roy satisfied the court that he was licensed to practice in the supreme court of New York and was admitted as an attorney of this court. Mr. Le Roy for many succeeding years occupied a prominent position in the history of Oakland county, as well as in the State of Michigan. He was born in Poughkeepsie, New York, on the 17th of May, 1775. After due preparation and study he was admitted to practice in the supreme court in April, 1800. He was afterwards admitted to the court of common pleas of Tioga county, and in 1801 established himself in Binghampton and commenced practice. He also took an active part in political, educational and military matters. In 1817, when the influx of travel from the east was tending westward, he followed with his family to Detroit, and there commenced laboring in his profession. His record shows that he had business relations with Macomb county, filling there the office of judge of probate.

Prior to 1820 the Pontiac Company had erected a mill at Pontiac, and the county seat having been established at that place, and Mr. Le Roy having made Pontiac his home, he was the first resident lawyer admitted to the court.

It cannot be supposed that business could be very extensive or lucrative; but the county was rapidly filling up; new settlers were continually arriving, and to a discriminating mind it must have been evident that Oakland county would soon furnish adequate support for an industrious lawyer.

Mr. Le Roy was appointed the first prosecuting attorney for the county. He was also justice of the peace, and in 1822 postmaster. In 1831 he was appointed United States attorney for the territory of Michigan.

Mr. Le Roy was chief justice of the county court of Oakland county, and held the office for two years, and in 1833 one of the judges of the county for the term of three years.

In November, 1835, Governor Mason, acting Governor, appointed him one of the commissioners to settle the boundary dispute between Michigan and Ohio. He was a member as early as 1830 and 1831 of the terri-

torial council. Upon the organization of the Territory as a State, Mr. Le Roy was appointed in July, 1836, the first Attorney General of the new State.

The foregoing brief synopsis shows that Judge Le Roy took a very active and prominent part in our history. The important offices that he held is most convincing evidence of his popularity and ability. About 1850 he left Pontiac and removed to Fenton, where some of his children resided, and where he died at a ripe old age February 11, 1858.

For several years after the organization of the county Mr. Le Roy was the sole resident lawyer. The court was attended, however, by many Detroit lawyers; among them Geo. A. O'Keefe, John Hunt, Benjamin F. H. Witherell, Charles Larned, William A. Fletcher, Henry Chipman, William Woodbridge and others; all men who subsequently became prominent not only in their profession but in the State's early history.

William F. Moseley was admitted as a practitioner on the 14th of February, 1825. He was the next person admitted after Mr. Le Roy, as the records of the court show, who resided in the county of Oakland. Where he previously resided, or where he was educated, I have been unable to learn. The records show that he was a prominent practitioner while a resident of the county. An anecdote that I heard related of him about sixty years ago I think will bear repetition. He was defending some boys for some trivial offense before a justice in a neighboring town. In the course of his argument before the justice he said: "May it please your honor, these boys being arrested for a criminal offense, it is necessary for the prosecution to prove the offense charged beyond a reasonable doubt; for it is a principal of law that every man is presumed innocent until he is proven guilty." "Stop, sir," said the justice, who was an old school presbyterian, "you are mistaken, Mr. Moseley, the rule is, mankind is naturally depraved." Mr. Moseley resided in Oakland county about twelve years, when he removed to Genesee or Shiawassee county. Mr. Moseley was a representative of Oakland county in the legislative council in 1826.

The next succeeding attorneys who settled in Oakland county were Thomas J. Drake and Origen D. Richardson. They came into the county as early as 1825 or 1826, the precise date at this time being very difficult to determine.

Mr. Drake was born April 18, 1797, in Scipio, Cayuga county, New York, and was educated in the schools of that vicinity. From the records I should judge he came to Oakland county in 1824, and at that time was not admitted to practice law here, but in March following he

entered a plea in a case for the defendant by previously filing letters of attorney, authorizing him to appear. From this time on Mr. Drake took a very active part in legal and civic affairs in Oakland county until near the time of his death.

Prior to the admission of Michigan to statehood he was a member of the territorial council; was register of probate; captain and lieutenant colonel of the militia, and one of the commissioners to locate the county seat of Saginaw county. After the admission of the State, Mr. Drake was elected to the Senate, and was made president pro tem. of that body. He was elected prosecuting attorney for Oakland county, holding that office two years. About 1837 Mr. Drake removed from Pontiac to Flint, where he resided a few years, when he returned to his prior home, and there continued to live until his death. He was appointed by President Lincoln as one of the associate justices of Utah, which office he continued to hold for many years. He had an intense prejudice against Mormonism, and his nature would not permit him to conceal his views, consequently his judicial life was not as pleasant as it would have been if he had possessed a more yielding nature. His health became somewhat impaired and he resigned his judgeship two months prior to the expiration of the term. He was an unyielding lawyer, indefatigably zealous in the interests of his clients. He possessed strong personal traits, and during his earlier days had many devoted friends and followers. Mr. Drake died in Pontiac on the 20th of April, 1875.

Gideon O. Whittemore was in active practice in Oakland county in 1836 and continued in practice for about fifteen years. The record shows that on the 13th of February, 1826, he was appointed prosecuting attorney for the term. He served one term as Secretary of State, and was a member of the Board of Regents and the Board of Education of the State. Soon after this he removed from Pontiac to Tawas, Iosco county, where he died.

There has been some discrepancy as to the time when Origen D. Richardson took up his residence in the county of Oakland. The court records first show his active participation in legal proceedings on the 20th day of July, 1826. Mr. Richardson was born in Woodstock, Vermont, July 20, 1795. He studied his profession there; and while a student in the office of his cousin, Israel B. Richardson, his patriotism induced him to join the army. He was present and participated in the battle of Plattsburg. He continued in practice in Vermont until 1826, then he removed to Pontiac, Michigan. He was a patient, painstaking practitioner, and took a deep interest in the affairs of his adopted state. For twenty years,

after Mr. Richardson settled in Pontiac, his counsel was widely sought, and his legal opinion had almost the affect of statutory law. He was cautious in giving his advice. In his intercourse with his fellow citizens he was not effusive, but was conservative, careful and courteous. He seldom had an altercation with his associate attorneys, and was ever ready to lend a helping hand in case of emergency. The result was that there was a kindly feeling toward him, which added greatly to his popularity. Mr. Richardson was a member of the first convention of assent, relating to the admission of Michigan into the Union, held at Ann Arbor in September, 1836. He was also a member of the first legislature, which convened at Detroit, November, 1835, and was also a member of the sixth legislature, which convened at Detroit, January 4, 1841.

In the fall of 1841, at the time that John S. Barry was first elected Governor, Mr. Richardson was on the ticket with him for Lieutenant Governor, and was elected to the office. He was re-elected in 1843. At the termination of his office he returned to Pontiac and resumed the duties of his profession until the fall of the year 1854, when he went to Omaha, Nebraska. Soon after his arrival there he was elected to the upper house of the first legislature, and was subsequently re-elected for the ensuing term. He was appointed one of the commissioners to revise and codify the laws. Though nominally residing in Nebraska and holding official positions there his family remained in Pontiac, and continued there until 1874, when they removed with Mr. Richardson to Omaha. Mr. Richardson, after his final removal to Omaha, survived only two years, dying November 30, 1876. Mr. and Mrs. Richardson had lived together nearly fifty years in the most happy relations, and at his demise she was so stricken with grief that she survived him but three days, and they were buried at the same time.

Robert P. Eldredge was admitted to the bar in Oakland county, November, 1828. He read law with Gov. Richardson, and soon after his admission to the bar he removed to Mt. Clemens, where he located and resided until the time of his death.

Seth A. L. Warner, one of the old and prominent attorneys of Oakland county, was born in Saybrook, Ct. After pursuing the preliminary studies in the common schools of the country, he perfected his education at Cambridge, Massachusetts. He afterwards located in Tompkins county (now Schuyler), New York. He came to Michigan in 1825 and settled in what was over two years later organized into the township of Farmington, and in March, 1830, he was admitted to practice his profession of law in the courts of Oakland county. His location in

Farmington at that time was not remarkably favorable for a very extensive practice, yet, being a well educated and well read lawyer, he secured his share of business. Mr. Warner, after more than twenty years residence in the county, and being over sixty years of age, died in Farmington on the fifth of March, 1846, honored and respected.

Isaac Stetson, a lawyer who had practiced in Indiana and other states, was admitted in 1830. Nothing more is known of him here.

In October, 1832, John Goodrich was admitted, and he died in September, 1838.

In October, 1833, Henry S. Cole, was admitted, but nothing further appears relative to him.

Randolph Manning was born in Plainfield, New Jersey, May 19, 1804. He studied the profession of law in the city of New York, and in 1832 he came to Michigan and commenced the practice of his chosen profession in Pontiac. He was careful and studious, persistent and energetic, and his ability at once gave him a standing of the first rank among the attorneys of Michigan. He was prominent in all the undertakings for the improvement and advancement of his selected residence, and for over thirty years after coming to Michigan he filled some of the most important judicial positions. We first ascertain that in 1835, when the question of the admission of Michigan into the Union was being agitated, he was elected one of the delegates to the convention at Ann Arbor to form the constitution and was placed upon the judiciary committee. Among his associates were such men as Ross Wilkins, William Woodbridge, Isaac E. Crary and Robert McClelland, historic characters. Mr. Manning was elected a senator from the county of Oakland and the territory attached, embracing the upper peninsula, holding the office for only one session. February, 1838, he was appointed Secretary of State, an office he held for two years. The judiciary system under the constitution of 1835 embraced a court of chancery. Mr. Manning was appointed chancellor in 1842, an office which he resigned in 1846.

Walker's Chancery Reports contain Chancellor Manning's opinions while holding his office, and they are a fitting memorial of his capacity, industry and conscientiousness; and although nearly sixty years have elapsed since those opinions were given, they are still cited with great approbation. As chancellor he was ex-officio a member of the Board of Regents. Mr. Manning was a reporter of the decisions of the supreme court, commencing with the January term of 1847, and ending with October, 1850. He was also a member of the State Board of Education in 1849. When the present supreme court was organized in 1857 Mr.

Manning was elected one of the judges, taking his seat January 1, 1858, and when the respective judges drew for their term Mr. Manning's was for four years. He was re-elected in 1861 for a second term of eight years. For several years before his death he was a sufferer from heart disease, but his condition was not considered precarious. On the 31st of August, 1864, he spent most of the afternoon with one of his associates, the venerable Judge Christiancy. Judge Manning was in his usual health, and after returning home spent the evening with his family. About nine o'clock in the evening his elder daughter left the room knowing nothing of any danger, and returning immediately, found her father unconscious; he survived but a few moments, passing away without previous warning and without pain. Thus passed away an able and upright judge. On April 3, 1889, an oil portrait of Judge Manning was presented to the supreme court by his children. Judge Campbell in accepting the portrait in behalf of the court said: "Such men when they die do not lose their influence, and I believe the time never can come when the name of Chancellor Manning or Judge Manning will be separated from the legal reforms of the State or from the rules of justice that he did so much to establish. He was worthy of veneration and his name and memory will always be cherished. We accept the portrait with great pleasure, and it will be preserved on the walls of the court room."

At the October term, 1833, at Pontiac, William Draper was admitted to practice. He was born in Marlborough, Massachusetts, February 12, 1780, and was educated at Harvard University. He studied law and practiced his profession near Boston. Some of his early acquaintances had removed to Pontiac, Michigan. Meeting them afterwards he decided to make a visit and came to Pontiac in the spring of 1833. Pleased with the country and with the location of Pontiac, he decided to remain and practice his profession here. Mr. Draper was a thoroughly equipped lawyer, and at once entered into an extensive practice. At the time he came to Michigan the question of the admission of Michigan as a State was being agitated, which continued for several years. A convention was held to adopt a constitution, and one was formed.

Congress was in favor of releasing a portion of the southern boundary of Michigan to Ohio, and giving to Michigan the upper peninsula in lieu of such territory. Among others Mr. Draper took an active part against surrendering any territory to Ohio. When the convention was called to meet at Ann Arbor to oppose the scheme Mr. Draper was elected one of the delegates from Oakland county, and he was selected as the pre-

siding officer of the convention. After Mr. Draper came to Michigan he had a large practice for about twenty years. Part of this time he was in partnership with his son Charles and his nephew, Rufus Hosmer. About 1850 his health began to fail and continued to fail until 1858, when, hoping for improvement, in July of that year he took a trip to Mackinac, where he soon after died. He was a quaint, peculiar man. He had his own notions of legal ethics, was a strict disciplinarian, and could hardly tolerate some of the simple pleasantries of a country bar, but his brother attorneys all respected him, and "Father Draper," as he was called by almost all of his brethren, did not have an enemy among them. During his latter years he surrendered his practice and spent his time with his fishing rod among the numerous lakes surrounding Pontiac.

Morgan L. Drake was born in Scipio, Cayuga county, N. Y., October 18, 1813. He was educated in the common schools of that vicinity; lived in Perry, N. Y., studied law, and came to Michigan. He was admitted to the bar in Oakland county in July, 1835. He devoted himself to his professional duties until 1836, when he was elected register of deeds for the county of Oakland, which office he held for two years. In his profession he made equity and equity practice a specialty, and in equity cases he was more at home than in any other branch of his profession. As a speaker he was extremely prolix. While Mr. Drake devoted much of his time to his professional duties he was also engaged in many other matters tending to develop and improve the country. He was one of the active promoters of the Flint & Pere Marquette railroad. While he was giving his chief attention in his practice to equity, he was fairly well read in the various branches of the law. On one occasion while engaged in a suit pertaining to a mill dam ownership, about two o'clock in the afternoon an important witness for Mr. Drake's client was called. The fact was first made known that the witness had gone to Detroit. Then there were no telephones, telegraphs or railroads, nothing but the dirt road to travel. The witness had not been subpœnaed but had promised to attend; forgetting his promise he had left without notifying the party engaging him. Mr. Drake appealed to the court to have the case continued until the following morning, stating his position. The court, Judge Whipple presiding, informed him it was his duty to have properly subpœnaed the witness, and denied the application. Mr. Drake, not disheartened, then made a motion for continuance. On rising he said: "Your honor, this being an important matter, contrary to my usual custom, I shall have to discuss it at considerable length." The court, knowing Mr. Drake's prolixity, was bewildered. He saw in his mind's eye an afternoon's task

before him, and he turned to the crier and said: "Mr. Crier, adjourn the court until tomorrow morning at nine o'clock." Drake's object was accomplished. He died in Pontiac in 1865.

Rufus Hosmer was of Massachusetts origin, and was educated at Harvard University. He came to Michigan soon after his uncle, William Draper, and was admitted to practice in Oakland county. He was more addicted to fun than to the dry technicalities of the law. Soon after his admission he practiced with his uncle, William Draper, and after Charles Draper was admitted the three practiced together. Subsequently he entered into partnership with George W. and Moses Wisner. He continued with them until George W. Wisner went to Detroit to take charge of the Detroit Advertiser, and after his death Mr. Hosmer succeeded him in the charge of that paper. He afterwards removed to Lansing; was state printer for a time, and was connected with the Lansing Republican. He was a ready wit, a fine genius, a companionable and popular man. He was appointed consul to the Netherlands, but death took him before he departed for that post of duty.

Phillip A. McOmber was admitted to practice as an attorney in the state of New York, and coming to Michigan was admitted to practice here in 1825. He afterwards removed to one of the counties west of Oakland.

John T. Raynor came to the State and was admitted to the practice of law in 1835. He located near Franklin. He was a prosecuting attorney in 1835; was elected county clerk for the county in 18—, and held that office for four years. After this Mr. Raynor had an official position in Washington for a short time; on his return from Washington he removed to Lansing, where he died. He was a pleasant, agreeable man; one who was most careful about saying anything to wound the feelings of another. He was a good lawyer, but his extreme amiability and timidity were not conducive to his general success in his profession.

Edward Pratt Harris was born in Ashburnham, Mass., November 17, 1802. After passing from the common schools he was prepared for college at Phillips Academy in Exeter, N. H., and at Atkinson, N. H., Academy, and finally graduated at Dartmouth College in 1826. For a time he was principal of an academy at Bradford, Vt., and also at Chesterfield, N. H. Mr. Harris studied law in Hartford, Vt., and after his admission to the bar he practiced for a short time at White River Junction, Vt. The business of the legal profession in staid New England did not satisfy the ambitious young man. He gathered his worldly pos-

sessions and wended his way westward, coming to Michigan in 1836, and settling in Rochester, Oakland county, commencing there the practice of his profession. He was postmaster during Fillmore's administration, and circuit court commissioner from 1859 to 1862, and a delegate to the constitutional convention in 1867. He was devoted to his profession, and had a reasonably fair practice in the locality where he resided. He attended most strictly to the interests of his clients and omitted nothing that would have a tendency to protect them. Of course this location was not such as to give him a large or varied assortment of cases, but such as he had were attended satisfactorily to his clients. After his location at Rochester in 1836 he continued his residence in that place until his death, which occurred in March, 1868.

Alfred Treadway came to Michigan about 1835 or 1836, and soon after was admitted to the bar.

After the organization of the State, one session of the supreme court and one session of the court of chancery were held annually in Pontiac.

Soon after Mr. Treadway's admission he was appointed clerk of the supreme court and register in the court of chancery, which offices he held until the change in the judicial system. He was also an injunction master for the county. At the session of the legislature in 1844 an act was passed empowering the judges of the supreme court to appoint a suitable person to revise the laws of the State. Sanford M. Green was appointed by the judges for that purpose, and he selected Mr. Treadway as his chief clerk, and from that time until the session of the legislature in 1846 Mr. Green and his assistants were continuously employed in their laborious duties, and Mr. Treadway copied and wrote during the time the entire Green Code of 1846. Mr. Treadway was afterwards a document clerk in the United States senate, and subsequently was an employe in one of the departments in Washington. He did not return to Pontiac to reside, but removed to Rhode Island, near Providence, where he afterward died. He was an ardent Mason, and took a lively interest in the resuscitation of the Masonic lodge in Pontiac.

George A. C. Luce was admitted to practice law in Oakland county May 2, 1837. He was a well educated man, thoroughly versed in his profession. After his admission he settled in Troy. Mr. Luce was in feeble health and died at the place of his residence.

John P. Richardson was born in Woodstock, Vt., August 23, 1792. He was graduated at Dartmouth College in 1816, and read law with Israel P. Richardson and Judge Aldis, of St. Albans, and afterward with Heman Alton, of Milton, Vt. After his admission to the bar he practiced

law for some years in Burlington, Vt. In 1837 he removed to Pontiac, Michigan, where he was admitted to practice on the 9th of November of that year. He continued to practice in Pontiac until 1845, when he was appointed in the land office at Sault Ste. Marie, in which office he continued until 1848. He also acted as prosecuting attorney during the time he was in Chippewa county. While a resident of Oakland county he was master in chancery. He removed from Pontiac to Leavenworth, Kansas, where he resided until his death, September 8, 1866. He was a kind and genial man, but was rather singular in some of his opinions. He was a sincere friend of the laboring classes of the community, planning and scheming to elevate their condition. As a lawyer Mr. Richardson was well prepared for his professional duties, but he was not a ready speaker. He was extremely cynical in his remarks before a court or jury. In his intercourse with his fellow men he was just and upright in all his dealings.

Charles Draper was born in Marlborough, Mass., in November, 1811. After pursuing the requisite studies necessary to enter college, he entered Cambridge University and graduated therefrom in June, 1833, taking a degree of bachelor of arts. In November of that year he came to Michigan to meet his father, William Draper, who had about six months previously removed to Pontiac. Mr. Charles Draper taught school about one year in the old academy in Pontiac; at the same time he was reading law under the direction of his father. He was elected county clerk in 1836 on what was called the State's rights ticket, and held the office for two years. After pursuing the necessary studies he was admitted to the bar of Oakland county November 27, 1838. After Mr. Draper's admission to practice law he remained in his father's office and practiced with him for many years. He was fortunate in having a large office experience, his father being a lawyer of long standing in Massachusetts. Mr. Draper was well versed in the preparation of legal papers, and after his commencement of practice in Oakland county the knowledge he had thus acquired became extremely useful to him. I think it can truly be said of him that there were few attorneys in Michigan that excelled him in celerity of drafting or in the correctness of his legal papers. He was elected for several terms as prosecuting attorney of Oakland county, and always most satisfactorily performed the duties of the office. In 1868 Mr. Draper was elected to the senate of the State of Michigan, and held the office for one term. He was an intense partisan and had no sympathy for, or patience with, any principles adverse to what he himself believed. During the Civil War, and for twenty years after,

any person disagreeing with Mr. Draper's political views was a "copper head," but notwithstanding the intensity of his zeal upon political subjects he was a man of the most genial disposition, and in twenty minutes all excitement would be over and the political feelings of the past forgotten. He was a true and devoted friend, and I can most cheerfully say, after over thirty years association with him in legal business, that a kindlier, more helpful or more upright individual could not be found. Excitable and intense as he was in his convictions there was nothing revengeful in his disposition, and if any person had any ill feeling on account of a remark that Mr. Draper made he was always ready to make the fullest acknowledgments. In the prime of his life Mr. Draper was a most excellent lawyer, and had an extensive practice. In 1884 he was stricken with apoplexy, and was compelled to retire from business. He partially recovered, but on April 23, 1900, he died at Midland, being at the time one of the oldest lawyers in the State. Through all his eccentricities, and the intensity of his political feelings, I do not believe that he had a personal enemy.

George W. Wisner was born near Auburn, N. Y., in 1812. Prior to 1835 he had been prominently connected with, and owned a half interest in the New York Sun. He disposed of his interest, and in September of that year removed to Pontiac. Shortly after his arrival he commenced the study of law with William Draper. While in Pontiac he took an active interest in politics, and in 1837 he was elected to the legislature. After this he was admitted to the practice of law in 1839, and soon after formed a partnership with Alfred Treadway. Succeeding the partnership with Mr. Treadway a new one was formed with Moses Wisner and Rufus Hosmer, which continued until he removed to Detroit. In the fall of 1847 Mr. Wisner, in connection with others, purchased the Detroit Daily Advertiser, which he creditably managed until his death. He was an intense whig, and never let an opportunity pass without giving his opponents a castigation. He was a fluent speaker, and indulged freely in sarcasm. In 1842 he was a candidate for congress in the Oakland district, extending to Mackinac, thence through the upper peninsula; after a severe and bitter contest Mr. Wisner was defeated. In the practice of his profession Mr. Wisner was very happy and pertinent in his remarks. On account of his tact he would carry the jury with him. On one occasion he was trying a man for setting fire to his own barn. Hon. Jacob M. Howard, then considered one of the ablest attorneys in Michigan, was the defendant's attorney. Mr. Howard attempted to show that the fire was the result of spontaneous combustion, and made an eloquent

appeal to the jury to sustain his theory. The case was one that caused much excitement. Mr. Wisner in prosecuting the case entered into it with all his professional zeal, and in replying to Mr. Howard's theory of spontaneous combustion (the evidence showed that there were tracks around the stack where the fire originated, which was situated close to the barn), Mr. Wisner said: "Gentlemen of the jury, did you ever hear of a case where Providence came down to earth on a dark stormy night, put on a pair of old boots, sneaked around a straw stack and applied a match to the stack for the purpose of getting the insurance on the barn and its contents?" Suffice to say the jury had not heard of such an occurrence, and when they retired to the jury room they promptly found the defendant guilty.

Mr. Wisner died in Detroit in September, 1849, and was buried in Pontiac. He was the father of Oscar F. Wisner and Henry C. Wisner, two prominent lawyers, the first in Saginaw, the latter in Detroit, and both now deceased.

Alfred H. Hanscom was born in Rochester, N. Y., and at an early period of his life he came with his family to Macomb county, Michigan. He was educated in New York prior to his removal. From Macomb county he moved to Troy, in Oakland county, and was admitted to the bar in Pontiac in 1838. Few persons have been more gifted as speakers than was Mr. Hanscom, and it was said of him that he was one of the most eloquent advocates in the country. He was appointed prosecuting attorney for Oakland county in 1850, and held the office for two years. He was elected a member of the Michigan house of representatives for 1842, and was re-elected for the session of 1845, of which house he was elected speaker. While Mr. Hanscom was in practice in Pontiac, on account of his forensic ability and tact he was employed in all the most important criminal cases. He afterwards removed to Ontonagon; while there he made a visit to Pontiac and died on board the vessel as he was returning to his northern home. Mr. Hanscom was a member of the convention of 1850, which convention formed the present constitution of Michigan.

Samuel G. Watson was admitted to the practice of law before he took up his residence in Pontiac. He was prosecuting attorney for a time. While in Pontiac he formed a partnership with James B. Hunt. He was an educated and prominent lawyer. He afterward removed to Detroit, entered into practice there, and subsequently died.

Henry C. Knight was born in Washington county, Pa. After his admission to the bar he came to Pontiac and entered into partnership with Origen D. Richardson. He was a well educated man and well

equipped in his profession. While in Pontiac he gave his whole attention to legal business, and he was a valuable accession to Mr. Richardson's office. Subsequently he removed to Detroit, where he continued the practice of law until his death.

James B. Hunt's father was a citizen of Westchester county, N. Y., and went to Demarara, South America, to reside. During his residence there he was married, and James B. Hunt, his second child, was born in that place. When he was four years old his father returned with him to New York. Mr. Hunt attended the academy at Fairfield, Herkimer county, where he completed his classical studies and then he entered the office of Michael Hoffman to prepare himself for the practice of law. He was admitted as an attorney of the supreme court of New York, February 22, 1824, and as counselor in 1837. He was prosecuting attorney for the county of Herkimer for two terms. In 1835 he was inspector general with the rank of colonel in the New York militia. In the summer of 1835, on account of a lung difficulty Mr. Hunt was ordered by his physician to go west, settle on a farm and work out of doors. He came to Michigan in that year and settled on the bank of Elizabeth lake, near Pontiac, in Oakland county. In March, 1837, Mr. Hunt was appointed one of the commissioners of internal improvement by Governor Mason. As such commissioner he had charge of the construction of the Michigan Central railroad from Detroit to Ann Arbor; the construction of that portion of the Clinton and Kalamazoo canal from Mt. Clemens to Rochester, and other works of internal improvement. After he was admitted to practice law in Oakland county he opened an office in Pontiac, and continued practice in that place until he was elected to congress in 1842. He remained in congress for four years, and in January, 1848, he was appointed register of the land office at Sault Ste. Marie, which office he held until June, 1849. After that he returned to Pontiac, holding the office of circuit court commissioner of Oakland county until he removed to Washington, D. C., where he died in August, 1857.

Ransom R. Belding was born in Fabius, N. Y. He came to Michigan and taught district school for some time. His education was acquired principally from the common schools of Michigan and New York. In 1836 he entered the office of O. D. Richardson, of Pontiac, as a student of law. After studying the required period of three years he was admitted to practice in 1839. He was a diligent student, and became well versed in his profession. For some time he was clerk of the circuit court. In the fall of 1840 he was elected register of deeds for the county

of Oakland, which office he held for four years. For a time, in 1840 and 1842, Mr. Belding edited the Pontiac Jacksonian, a democratic newspaper, published in Pontiac. He took a great interest in the cause of education, and contributed many articles relative to the improvement of our schools. He had little or no taste for the practice of law, and devoted the most of his time to more congenial matters, notably, politics. He died in 1846, in Birmingham, Oakland county.

Moses Wisner, in his day one of the most noted and promising lawyers of Oakland county, was born in Springport, Cayuga county, New York, June 3, 1815. His education was acquired in the common schools of the country, such as they were in his boyhood days. He was brought up a farmer. In 1837 he left his native place, and emigrated to Michigan. He soon purchased a piece of land in Lapeer county, and commenced clearing it for a home. The task was uncongenial, and he decided to abandon it, and try his fortune in a different location. He came to Pontiac, and entered his brother's office as a student of law. After his admission to the bar Mr. Wisner first removed to the village of Lapeer, and was appointed prosecuting attorney by Gov. Woodbridge. He remained in Lapeer but a short time and then returned to Pontiac, and entered the firm of Wisner & Hosmer, and engaged in the active practice of the law. He devoted himself assiduously to his profession. It was only a short time before he was recognized as one of the rising lawyers of the country. His partner, Hosmer, was naturally indolent; his brother George was deeply immersed in politics, and the real, hard labor of the office devolved upon Moses. The firm possessed, for that time, a fine library of books and to these Mr. Wisner gave much attention, preparing himself as much as his circumstances would admit for the trial of his cases. In his intercourse with his fellow lawyers he was fair and courteous, never treating them with coarse invective but as professional equals. He had great taste for farming and gardening, and was an ardent lover of flowers, and during the latter years of his life he had a great profusion of them around his residence. On his homestead he planted a small forest of pine trees, which still remain after many long years, a monument of his arboreal tastes. Mr. Wisner during his professional career in Pontiac very regularly attended the terms of court in Genesee and Lapeer counties, and there was very rarely an important case in either of those counties in which he was not engaged. As an attorney he was popular and had a large clientage. He gave great care to the preparation of his cases for trial, and if his life had been spared, and he had continued in his profession, very few would have excelled him

as a trial lawyer. After Mr. Wisner came to Michigan he connected himself with the whig party; and upon the formation of the republican party he joined that, and was quite ultra in his views relative to the questions advocated by his associates. In 1858 he was nominated for Governor by the republican party, and was elected. He assumed the duties of his office, and performed them conscientiously and honorably, and, as was supposed, to the full satisfaction of the people.

John McKinney was elected State Treasurer on the ticket with Mr. Wisner. At the time of his election there was not a doubt or suspicion of McKinney's honesty and integrity; everyone had the greatest respect for him. The Treasurer of Michigan has the control of the State's moneys, and the Governor could not at that time remove him unless he was impeached; nor can the Governor himself handle, touch, or control, of his volition, one cent of that money. During McKinney's administration rumors arose that matters were not all correct in his office. His friends could not believe there was any dishonesty in his actions, and they attempted to combat the charges that were hinted against him. Mr. Wisner was among his friends, and believed him to be honest, and he said: "McKinney is as honest a man as ever lived." Time passed and McKinney proved to be a defaulter. The time for the nominating convention of 1860 approached. The democratic papers all over the State were rife in their charges relative to McKinney's defalcation; the republicans could not in any way justify him. They saw and heard the statement Governor Wisner had made, that "McKinney was as honest a man as ever lived," and they were compelled to drop Governor Wisner, and Governor Blair was nominated. It was a sore blow to Governor Wisner. He had made as excellent an administration as any one of his party that preceded or succeeded him; but he was the victim of circumstances over which he had no control; he had to suffer for the acts of another. If there were blame, it must lie with the people who nominated and elected John McKinney; but no blame can be attached to them for they believed him at the time, just as Governor Wisner had said. After his retirement from the office, Mr. Wisner resumed the practice of his profession in Pontiac and continued until the summer of 1862. Then he conceived the necessity of raising troops for the Civil War. The regiment was raised in the counties of Oakland, Lapeer and Macomb, and he was commissioned its colonel, September 8, 1862. The regiment was assembled at Pontiac, on the old fair ground in that city. It was composed of as fine a body of men as could be found in the respective counties, and Mr. Wisner was untiring in his efforts to

educate them in their military duties, and make soldiers of them. At the time he lived about half a mile from the camp, and the soldiers lived in their tents. Mr. Wisner to allay all feeling left home, and took up his lodging in his tent with the soldiers. His regiment, the 22d, was sent to Kentucky, near Lexington, where Mr. Wisner was taken sick, and he died January 5, 1863.

The first circuit court held in Oakland county was begun on the 19th day of June, 1826, almost six years after the first opening of the Oakland county court. Hon. John Hunt, of Detroit, was the first presiding circuit judge; and that court lasted about four days. The next term of the court was the March term, 1828, and the Hon. Judge Chipman, of Detroit, circuit judge, presided; that court lasted one day. The third term held began on Monday the 6th day of October, 1828; Hon. William Woodbridge, and Hon. Soloman Sibley, both of Detroit, circuit judges, jointly held that term of court which lasted two days. From that time, through Michigan's territorial existence, until 1839, the circuit court was held from time to time by circuit judges residing outside of Oakland county. The first legislature that convened after Michigan became a State passed an act dividing it into four judicial circuits, Oakland county being included in the fourth. The office of circuit judge was not filled until 1839; and there was considerable effort made among the various aspirants to obtain the position. The friends of Origen D. Richardson made much effort to have him obtain the office, but they were not successful. After quite a warm contest Governor Mason decided to appoint Hon. Charles W. Whipple, of Detroit. The friends of Mr. Richardson had urged that the nominee should be taken from the judicial district, and this feeling was quite general among the profession; but they yielded gracefully, and accorded Judge Whipple a kind reception. When he came here there had been a long vacation for the want of a judge, resulting in a large docket; and Judge Whipple held his first term of court in this circuit, in the fall of 1839. The circuit extended northerly to Mackinac county, and westerly to and including Ionia county.

I have thus briefly sketched a fragmentary history of all the attorneys practicing in Oakland county, prior to 1840. Nearly all of them were more or less intimately associated with its early history; many of them with that of the State, having not only a local reputation, but a State reputation.

Almost from the first organization of the Territorial Council Oakland county was represented in that legislative body. In the various conventions relative to the constitution, Oakland county held important positions, and had its share of influence. It is well, therefore, that the names of the attorneys of Oakland county in its infantile days should be preserved. This particularly also applies to the counties older than Oakland,—Wayne, Monroe and Macomb. They have had their influential men, whose names will soon pass into oblivion unless some person, or persons, assumes the labor to preserve, even in the slightest degree, their memory.

To write such a history is no easy task. A lawyer moves into a town or city, and practices his profession there for several years; he is an able and influential man; he dies; and how long do you suppose it takes for his name to be utterly forgotten? No person thinks of inquiring into his family history, or his birthplace, or his early education; and for any one to assume the duty a half century later, with little data to aid him, and with few individuals living to whom he can apply for information is, I can assure you, no easy undertaking.

I cannot close these remarks without adverting to a few attorneys who came into Oakland county, between 1840 and 1845.

Sanford M. Green was admitted to the bar, and practiced in Rochester, N. Y. He came to Michigan, and first located in Owosso. He was elected to the State senate in 1842, and after the first session he removed to Pontiac, and entered into partnership with Gov. Richardson. In 1844 an act was passed authorizing the revision of the statutes of Michigan, by a person to be appointed by the judges of the supreme court. Mr. Green, then a member of the senate, was selected by them to perform the duty. From the time of the adjournment of the legislature in 1844 Mr. Green labored assiduously in the performance of his task, re-writing the entire body of the laws of Michigan, and had his revision ready for submission to the legislature of 1846. In 1845 he was again elected to the senate. His revision was duly reported to the legislature, and after a thorough examination by the proper committees, and the house, it was passed by both houses, with only a few changes or amendments, and became the law of this State, known as Green's Revision, to take effect January 1, 1847. Since that time there has been no revision of the laws of Michigan; and that fact of itself, is the highest commendation that could be given to Mr. Green's labors. Soon after this Mr. Green was elected circuit judge of the Oakland district and held the office in the Oakland, Genesee and Bay county districts

until very recent years. His long judicial life, exceeding that of any other person, I believe, in the State, has caused Judge Green to be more generally known than any member of the bar. Some years ago Judge Green prepared a practice for the circuit courts of this State, which has been in use for many years. As a legal worker he has been excelled by but few persons, and in his ripe old age, and after a long life of practical usefulness he passed away August 12, 1901, aged 94 years.

Hester L. Stevens was a practicing lawyer in Rochester, N. Y., for many years. In 1845 he changed his residence and located in Pontiac, opening an office there and commenced the practice of his profession. Mr. Stevens was a man of great erudition both in law and general literature. He was a thorough practitioner, and an eloquent man. Upon his coming to Pontiac he at once obtained an excellent practice. His suavity and courteous manners made him many warm friends. In 1852 Mr. Stevens was elected to Congress from the Oakland district. While he was in Congress there was a Washington birthday celebration held at Mt. Vernon, and Mr. Stevens was selected as the orator for the occasion. At the end of his congressional term, Mr. Stevens decided to continue his legal practice in Washington, where he remained until his death in 1864.

Another person who has held a most prominent part in the legal profession in Pontiac was Michael E. Crofoot. He was born March 14, 1822, in Montgomery county, New York. He was educated in the common schools, and at Temple Hill Academy, at Geneseo, N. Y. He began his study of law with General H. L. Stevens, in Rochester, N. Y., in the spring of 1843, and after General Stevens moved to Pontiac in the spring of 1845, he advised Mr. Crofoot to come to Pontiac which he did in the fall of 1845, and was admitted to the practice of law in the winter of 1846. In 1848 he was elected probate judge, and reelected in 1852, holding the office for eight years. In 1862 he was elected prosecuting attorney, and was re-elected in 1864, holding that office for four years. He took an active part in all educational matters; and in the building up, and improvement of the Oakland County Agricultural Society. He was active in having the Eastern Michigan Asylum for the Insane established at Pontiac, and was a member of the board of trustees for several years. As a trial lawyer, Mr. Crofoot was unexcelled. His practice was not only in the county of Oakland, but in the adjoining counties of Lapeer and Genesee. In his professional matters he was thorough, probing every question to the bottom. He was frank and generous, and in his personal friendships and attachments was warm and sincere.

During the last years of his life he suffered most excruciatingly from rheumatic troubles which prostrated him, and rendered him incapable of transacting business. He finally succumbed to the disease, departing this life on the 11th day of May, 1884, mourned and lamented by hosts of loving and appreciative friends.

I have in the foregoing remarks attempted to give the names of all the attorneys resident in Oakland county prior to 1840, and a brief synopsis of their professional career. In a paper of this nature a more lengthy statement could not be expected. Some of them are entitled to a much fuller account than I have given, but it would require much more research than would be possible to embody in this paper. I have not indulged in a fulsome eulogy of any of them, but have given a plain recital of such facts as were necessary to place them fairly before their successors.

It is not claimed that they were men of superhuman powers, or of extraordinary mental faculties, but they were plain, sensible persons, devoted to their professions; men of intelligence, and some of them of more than ordinary ability. They came into a land sparsely populated, knowing that it had a destiny for great improvement; and they were willing to suffer all the privations of pioneer life, believing that there was a bright prospect in the future; hoping that that future would bear fruit which would fully compensate them for their privations and trials. They anticipated success, and many of them lived to see a full fruition of all their desires.

It was my fortune to come into this State, and the county of Oakland, on the 12th day of November, 1837, where I have since resided. In the fall of 1839 I was connected with the county clerk's office, and on Judge Whipple's holding his first term in the fall of that year, I was clerk of the court. Prior to that time I had an acquaintance with most of the lawyers in Pontiac, and at the first session of the court all the lawyers in the county were present. From that time onward I became more intimate with them, and after an acquaintance of a quarter of a century, I believe they were as able, as learned, and as sober a body of men as the most of the counties can present. They were an honor to the county and their profession, and I am thankful that I have been permitted to present their names to this society, and have them enrolled upon its records, where they will remain so long as the society exists. Their deeds are part of the history of the State, and when some future historian attempts to write a detailed history of Michigan, the acts of some of these men must therein have a permanent abiding place.

Augustus C. Baldwin.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JUDGE AUG. C. BALDWIN.

After reading the sketch of the bench and bar of Oakland county, prior to 1840, it was moved that Judge Edward Cahill be requested to cause to be prepared a sketch of Aug. C. Baldwin. At the request of Judge Cahill the following has been prepared by E. E. Hymers an attorney of Pontiac:

There is no more interesting figure to citizens of this State, and of Oakland county in particular, than that of Judge Aug. C. Baldwin.

A resume of the lives of those early lawyers who composed the bar of Oakland county in the pioneer days would indeed be incomplete if it did not contain some recital of the career of one of the most active members of that early association, and the only living representative of the legal profession in the county of Oakland, whose history dates prior to 1840. The respect which Judge Baldwin commands from all individuals, the reputation which he enjoys in the judicial, legislative and social circles of this State, his legal acumen, the physical and intellectual vigor which have for years made him prominent in politics, and a commanding and potent factor in the development of the educational and social life of the State, make it eminently fitting that some attempt be made to preserve a record of his achievements in these particulars for the benefit of posterity and this society.

Augustus Carpenter Baldwin was born in Salina, now Syracuse, Onondaga county, New York, December 24, 1817. He is of old colonial descent, being sixth in direct chronological line from Henry Baldwin, of Woburn, Massachusetts, who migrated from Hertfordshire, or more probably Devonshire, England, about 1630. Henry Baldwin married Phoebe Richardson, eldest daughter of Ezekiel Richardson, who was the ancestor of Governor O. D. Richardson, of Michigan. It will be interesting to know that this remote ancestor of Judge Baldwin settled in Charlestown, Mass., which town he represented in the general court He was one of the first settlers of Woburn, and a subscriber to the "Town Orders" drawn at Charlestown for the regulation of the projected new settlement. (Nat. Cyclo. of Am. Biog., Vol. 10, 302.)

Judge Baldwin's parents were Jonathan Baldwin, of Canterbury, Conn., and Mary, daughter of Joseph Carpenter, of Lancaster, N. Y. The father was engaged in mercantile pursuits, died in 1822 leaving the family in somewhat straitened circumstances; but "lowliness is young

ambition's ladder," and the inherent strength of character bequeathed to Aug. C. Baldwin was early developed in the school of adversity. The death of his father necessitated his early entrance into the active duties of life. From 1822 to 1828 he lived with his uncle, after which he went to Lancaster, N. Y., remaining in the vicinity until the fall of 1834, when he entered the office of the "Buffalo Bulletin" as an apprentice. As a disciple of William Caxton he continued in the employ of the publisher, Horace Steele, until the paper was changed to the Buffalo Daily Star, the first daily paper of western New York, the new enterprise being conducted by James Faxon & Co. During the next few years he was variously employed, teaching in district schools and other pursuits, but ever developing and arming himself for the contests of his after career by spending his spare time in study, thus forming those habits of persistency, concentration and action which have been distinguishing characteristics throughout his busy life. During the fall and summer of 1837 he attended the academy at Plainfield, and in November of that year he came to Michigan, arriving in Oakland county, November 12, 1837, where he has since resided. For the first five years of his residence in this State he was engaged in alternate teaching and study, and in 1839 began his active preparation for admission to the bar under the tutelage of John P. Richardson, Pontiac, Mich. While pursuing his legal studies he took advantage of the opportunity of advancing and perfecting his knowledge of the branches of education embraced in the course of study required by the State University, a branch of which was at that time located at Pontiac. Subsequently he entered the office of the Hon. O. D. Richardson, where he continued until his admission to the bar, May 14, 1842, shortly after which he commenced the active practice of his profession at Milford, Oakland county. He remained in Milford until March, 1849, when he removed to the city of Pontiac, where he still resides.

Judge Baldwin early attained a position of importance in his profession, and soon commanded the ear of the judiciary and the respect of his competitors of the legal fraternity, and no account of the development of the judicial system of this State would be complete that did not acknowledge and chronicle the moulding influences on this institution of his talents and judicial ability. His legal practice during the years of his active engagement in his profession embraced every phase of procedure known to the profession in this State. The various dockets and calendars of Oakland, Lapeer and neighboring county circuits attest the numerous and important cases in which he has been employed. From

the fifth report of the Michigan supreme court, to the last compiled volume of the reports of the decisions of that body, the practitioner searching for judicial precedent will find in almost every volume some case with which Mr. Baldwin has been identified. For a period of over sixteen years, extending from February, 1884, Judge Baldwin acted as counsel for the Pontiac, Oxford & Northern Railway Company, his connection with which terminated September 30 of the present year. Lack of space forbids an extended notice of the numerous important cases in which he has been employed during more than half a century of active practice; suffice it to say that during that time he has been employed either on behalf of the people in prosecuting, or in behalf of the defense in a multitude of famous criminal cases, while many of his most famous civil victories are leading cases and recorded landmarks for the guidance of the profession in this State.

As in the legal field, so in the political arena, Judge Baldwin has since his first appearance in politics been a recognized leader of the adherents of his party. He has always been a persistent and powerful advocate of the principles of that party which demands the recognition and development of the individual, which is founded in opposition to the idea of centralization; it was impossible for him to be other than a democrat. Democratic instinct was all-powerful in him; he personifies the doctrine of "individuality," being a living exponent of what is meant and may be accomplished by the fullest development of the individual life. Although a democrat he supported the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. For the past sixty years and over no political contest, national or pertaining to this State, has failed to see him actively engaged in earnest advocacy of the principles of his political faith. Years of fierce contest over political questions on the hustings and within the walls of the State legislature and of Congress, gave him a familiarity with such issues and such a knowledge of the political growth and history of the leading public men and political parties that he has long been recognized as an authority on all questions relating to the political history of this country, and now, almost a decade and a half after he has reached the limit of the three score and ten years assigned to the lot of man it is a marvelous tribute to the mental vigor and retentive memory of this leader of men and moulder of forces that he is still able to discuss in remarkable detail all the circumstances attendant on his stormy political career. Men and measures, parties and politics of the past are reviewed by him to-day as though the circumstances which called them forth were but of yester-

day. It is only recently that he has laid off the political harness, his last public appearance on a political platform being during the national campaign of 1900 when, on the evening of October 28, 1900, he addressed a crowded meeting of the electors of this county at the village of Birmingham on the issues of that campaign. His last public appearance, however, was on February 22, 1901, when he addressed the Oakland County Pioneer Society at the court house in the city of Pontiac.

Quoting from the "Illustrated American Biography" of Chicago, the following brief resume of his life will convey in some slight degree an idea of the force Judge Baldwin has been in the community, and the honor he has been accorded by his fellow constituents:

"The first public office ever held by him was that of school inspector for the township of Bloomfield, to which position he was elected in 1840. He was elected to the Michigan House of Representatives in 1843, and again in 1845, serving during the sessions of 1844 and 1846. He was appointed brigadier general of the fifth brigade of State militia in 1846, and continued as such until 1862, when the then existing militia system was abrogated. He was prosecuting attorney of Oakland county during 1853-4, and in 1862 was elected a member of the thirty-eighth Congress from the then fifth district of Michigan, defeating the republican candidate, R. E. Trowbridge. He served on the committees on agriculture, and on expenditures in the interior department. In the issue which arose during the Congress concerning the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States abolishing slavery he voted in support of the amendment,—that is, in favor of its submission to the states for their approval. He was renominated by his party in 1864, with Mr. Trowbridge again as his opponent. The State had in the meantime enacted a statute authorizing Michigan soldiers in the army to vote in the field. The supreme court of the State declared the statute unconstitutional. Judge Baldwin received a clear majority of the home votes; nevertheless the House of Representatives upon a contest gave the seat in Congress to Mr. Trowbridge in direct defiance of the decision of Michigan's own supreme court.

"Judge Baldwin was mayor of Pontiac in 1874, and for eighteen consecutive years was a member of the board of education in that city. Within this period very important improvements in the local school system were made, largely through his influence, and the present fine school buildings were erected. He was active in securing the location of the Eastern Michigan Asylum at Pontiac, and for eighteen years was a member of its board of trustees.

"The Michigan Military Academy at Orchard Lake also owes much to him for its remarkable success, having been one of its trustees and now its president. He was for several years president of the Oakland County Agricultural Society, and of the Pioneer Society of the county. In 1875 he was elected judge of the sixth judicial circuit of Michigan for the ensuing full term of six years. For four years of the term he presided upon the bench with the ability which his eminent legal attainments would indicate, when the utter inadequacy of the salary which the State refused to increase by the requisite constitutional amendment, caused him to resign the judicial ermine and return to regular practice. He has also during the past fifty years been a frequent member and officer of State and local political conventions; he was a delegate to the national democratic conventions at Charleston and Baltimore in 1860, delegate-at-large to the national convention at Chicago in 1864, delegate to the nation peace convention at Philadelphia, in 1866, and at different times a member of the national and State central democratic committees."

In October, 1842, he was married to Isabella Churchill, who died in 1894; he has since been married to Flora E., daughter of the late Hon. F. Belding, of Bloomfield. He became a Master Mason February 21, 1851, becoming a member of Pontiac Lodge No. 21 F. and A. M. He is a member of Pontiac Commandery No. 2, being Past Eminent Commander of that body. It is less than a year since Judge Baldwin gave up the active practice of his profession. He still, however, visits his office frequently but does not pretend to attend to more than the details of his own private business. In this age of strife and wealth-seeking it is refreshing to record the career of one whose ambition was not solely engrossed with amassing a fortune. Judge Baldwin is, however, able to spend his declining years in comfort at his home on Clark street, Pontiac, where the visitor will find ample evidence of those comforts and refining influences which permit him to apply his leisure in reading and research.

In this home surrounded by a magnificent library, which it has been his life work to accumulate he may nearly always be found buried in his retreat among his books and other treasures. His library is an excellent one, comprising many volumes, treating on almost every subject which human versatility may suggest. A large portion of his library, however, was a few years ago placed at the disposal of the Orchard Lake Military Academy, of which institution he is still president and has ever

been a liberal patron. His home also contains a gallery of fine paintings collected through years of carefully cultivated artistic taste.

Of Judge Baldwin's personal characteristics it may be said that though he has long since passed the meridian of life yet he still stands before us a central figure; with a mind still active he keeps in touch with the events of the day, and his intelligent discussion of current topics shows that he still keenly sympathizes with the pulsing life of the community. If asked what is the most prominent element of his nature we would say unhesitatingly, rugged strength, vigor of intellect, unyielding determination. A strong mind in a strong body has demonstrated once more that these are necessary elements to achievement. In judicial conventions, in political and educational gatherings, in legislative halls of the State and Nation, the voice of Judge Baldwin has many times been listened to throughout his long and arduous public services, and it is in the recorded actions of such educational, political, legislative, or judicial assemblies that we must look for the most lasting record of his efforts expended in behalf of the common weal. His life has embraced practically the whole of the nineteenth century, and now in his declining years he witnesses the twentieth century well launched and wishes God speed to his fellows in the path of achievement in all things that go to the betterment of mankind.

RECOLLECTIONS AND LESSONS OF PIONEER BOYHOOD.

BY EDWARD W. BARBER.

People with migratory inclinations had commenced moving westward from the north Atlantic and middle states many years before Horace Greeley advised young men to go west and grow up with the country. It is not probable that he would have thought of giving this advice if the pioneer had not already blazed the way for civilization to the western lakes and rivers, wildernesses and prairies. Horace Greeley was not, therefore, so original in his advice as were the pioneer settlers whose movements suggested it. Realizing something of the opening opportunities the west presented he merely advised others to go and do likewise. This old northwest was indeed a region rich in undeveloped resources and opportunities.

Edward W. Barber.

An innate desire for something better than the old, familiar and tyrannical environment afforded, circulating in the blood of the decendants of the ancient Aryans who turned their faces westward from the plains of central Asia nearly forty centuries ago, influenced the oppressed people of Europe to go west, and this westward impulse finally introduced modern civilization into America; and it has been the motor of migration and settlement ever since liberty-loving and adventurous Englishmen landed at Jamestown in 1607 and at Plymouth in 1620. This migratory wave has been crossing the Atlantic ever since, and at the beginning of the fifth century since the discovery of America is still unchecked. Though immigration began early in the seventeenth century, it was very slow for a long time, and did not reach its maximum until the last half of the nineteenth century, when canals, steamboats and railroads made accessible and available the fertile lands of the great lake region and of the Mississippi valley.

Like other animals, wild and tame, men in their migratory movements follow the easiest routes of travel—those that present the fewest obstacles to surmount. Before the advent of canals, railroads and steam they took the Ohio river route into the heart of the continent. That was the easiest method of migration. A law of nature governed them. Water furrows and follows channels of least resistance. Indians made their trails along the natural highways. When white men came they built canals and railroads along the same easiest routes at first; then overcame mountain barriers and opened newer regions to settlement. Along nature's waterways the primitive pioneers pushed westward to the heart of the continent and crossing the Alleghenies to the valley of the Ohio founded the city of Marietta more than a hundred years ago on the banks of that beautiful river.

But the westward impulse needed easier facilities. Soon after the completion of the Erie canal in 1825, an artificial waterway 363 miles long, connecting the Hudson river at Albany with Lake Erie at Buffalo, and the navigation of the lakes by steamboats, migration to Michigan commenced in good earnest. This, however, was about two hundred years after the first European settlement within the limits of the State at Sault Ste. Marie, when a mission was founded by Father Marquette and others in 1668, though Detroit was visited as early as 1610, a decade prior to the landing of the pilgrims at Plymouth; but not until 1701 was the city of Detroit founded by an expedition under command of that pioneer of the lower peninsula, Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac. More than a century later DeWitt Clinton's clairvoyant mind saw the necessity

for that great public improvement, a canal from tidewater on the Hudson river to Lake Erie, and in 1817 work upon it was commenced, and prosecuted to its completion eight years later, in 1825. This made the magnificent territory bordering the great lakes of easy access to the enterprising citizens of New England and New York, who availed themselves of the opportunity to come west long before Horace Greeley gave his esteemed advice. In 1810 there were only 4,672 inhabitants in Michigan, according to the federal census; in 1820 only 8,896; and in 1830, 31,639, which brings us to the beginning of the modern era.

The Erie canal facilitated migration much better than had any of nature's waterways, as there were no mountains to cross before reaching the fertile lands of the old northwest, although the level of the canal between Lockport and Buffalo is 563 feet above the mean level of the Hudson river at Albany. "Clinton's Ditch," as the conservatives of three-quarters of a century ago derisively called his enterprise, and Lake Erie, made an easy and cheap line of communication to Michigan for the early settlers of our State, especially during the decade of 1830 to 1840—the population increasing from 31,639 to 212,267 during the ten years. The westward impulse found an easy channel along which to flow for a thousand miles. The true pioneers of Michigan antedate 1840. How few of them are left!

My father, Edward H. Barber, came west as a land-looker, with other Vermonters, in the spring of 1836, and in May of that year purchased about twelve hundred acres of government land in the present town of Vermontville. The story of the genesis and settlement of that town by a colony of New Englanders, nearly all from Vermont, is told in volume twenty-eight of the Collections of this Society, and need not be repeated. In the fall of 1839 the family moved to Vermontville—father, mother and four boys—arriving there in the evening of October 9, a moonless night, in a drizzling rain, and environed by pitchy darkness, following a lumber wagon drawn by a yoke of tired oxen and driving a brindle cow; and there and then the experiences and lessons of pioneer boyhood, at the age of eleven years, commenced. My mother died in 1838, her sickness delaying coming to Michigan for a year or two. In 1839, a short time before we moved, my father married Laura E. Root, of Orwell, Vermont, and during all the years of home life and later on to manhood, in sickness and in health, none of the nine children, four by the first and five by the second marriage, knew any difference in the mother's care, solicitude, and unselfish attention. This is one of the pleasantest of early recollections.

We started from Benson, Vermont, on Wednesday, September 18, 1839, and were twenty-two days making the journey to Vermontville, Mich. The first part of it was by wagon to Whitehall, N. Y.; the second, by the Champlain and Erie canals to Buffalo; the third, by the steamboat Lexington, Captain Root, to Detroit; the fourth, by oxen and wagon to Vermontville. The trip from Detroit occupied eight full days, with seven nights' experience in Michigan taverns and some familiarity with bedbugs and other vermin. Each day, from early morning until night, the slow-moving wheels revolved. There may have been some laughter, but none is remembered. It was a solemn journey, like going into the unknown. Now it is made in four hours. This indicates the changed facilities for travel between the pioneer past and the restless present.

My earliest clear recollection of any one anticipating Horace Greeley's advice by going west was the packing up and moving from Benson to Illinois, of an uncle, John Barber and family, in 1832, when I was four years of age. He had the "Illinois fever," and he moved before making a visit and seeing the country, but, no doubt, having heard from the lips of some Vermonter a description of the wonderful prairies, ready for the plow, and obtainable for $1.25 an acre. He went from Whitehall to Buffalo by canal, thence by the schooner Austerlitz around the lakes to the mouth of the Chicago river, where he landed, loaded his household goods on wagons, forded the south branch of the river, and located in Will county on the open prairie, some forty miles from Chicago, at a spot long known as Barber's Corners, according to information furnished me by his son, Royal E. Barber, an attorney of Joliet, Ill. United States surveyors had not then run the section lines, and subject to the earlier incoming of some other settler and squatter he had the choice of a farm in that region of country, so he turned a furrow around a tract half a mile square, squatted on it, and commenced living. When the surveyors run the lines his furrow was very near to the section and quarter lines, and then his purchase was made of the government. Land grabbing was not fierce then as it is now.

In 1835 the "Michigan fever" caught my father and he came west on a prospecting tour in the spring of 1836. He was a member of the Vermontville colony, having signed the organization papers, and in May of that year he made his purchase of land in the township. The same year he made a visit to his brother, John Barber, in Illinois. I have heard him relate their conversation. After telling about the fine timber land he had bought in Michigan, John asked this question: "Edward, why didn't you come and locate here, where the soil is rich and the land

already cleared?" Yankee like, Edward replied by asking another question: "Why, John, what are you going to do for timber?" "Buy it," John replied. "You will spend the best part of your life chopping down and burning timber in order to raise crops, while we go to work at once and raise crops to buy all the timber we need." Because men differed in their opinions as to practical questions some settled on the prairies of Illinois and others in the wilderness in Michigan.

During this same trip my father stopped for a day or two in Chicago. A man by the name of Goodrich from Benson, Vermont, had already located there. He could not have anticipated the greatness of the northwestern commercial metropolis, although he had confidence in its future. He advised my father to buy five acres of land that were for sale for five hundred dollars, located near the site of the present City Hall, I have heard him say. "Chicago is bound to grow," urged Goodrich, "and this five acres may be worth more than all of your Michigan land." No doubt it looked uninviting; the future cast no golden halo over it. "I don't want any land in a mudhole," was the reply. What has made that parcel worth millions of dollars in less than a single lifetime? Every blow struck, every furrow turned, every improvement made, every decade's increase of population throughout the northwest; the opening to settlement and civilization of the bountiful valleys of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers; the annexation of Texas and of the territory acquired from Mexico; the sailing vessels and steamers that superseded the Indian canoes; the building of railroads; uncovering the mineral wealth of the northern peninsula of Michigan and of Wisconsin and Minnesota, as well as of the western mountains; the lumber camps in the forests; the coal deposits of the prairie states; the millions of settlers who have come from Europe with wants to be supplied and labor to be expended; the live stock from millions of farms; the immense grain production to supply the inhabitants of the Old World and for home consumption—everything that has been done by the pioneers and their descendants in the vast area that constitutes two-thirds of the United States has contributed directly and indirectly to the growth and wealth of Chicago, and to the value of that "mudhole" in which my father saw no inducement to invest five hundred dollars in 1836. Cities grow and draw their wealth from the surrounding territory which is tributary to them, and who had any idea, sixty-five years ago, of the vast resources of the region whereof it is the natural commercial center! In all older countries the largest cities are in the interior, and not upon the seacoast. In the long run it may be so in this country. The unearned

increment on the five-acre plat in Chicago, which was created by the rapid development of the northwest, went to others, and it is just as well.

My father made a second and third trip to Michigan in the years 1837 and 1838. The stories that were told about the Great Lakes, about the magnificent forests, about the wonderful richness of the soil which only needed to be tickled with the hoe to yield a bounteous harvest, had a stimulating effect upon my boyish imagination. It was another life, and one could picture it as he pleased. The part of Vermont in which we lived had been settled a little more than fifty years, and had an old look; the hills had been stripped of their forests, the streams had begun to dry up, and for a number of years families had been moving away, first to western New York, then to Ohio, and next to Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin. The advantages and disadvantages, the future probabilities and possibilities of different western localities were freely discussed. The Clinton and Kalamazoo canal—from the mouth of Clinton river in Macomb county to the mouth of the Kalamazoo river on Lake Michigan—had been surveyed through Eaton county and Vermontville along the Thornapple valley, and work had been commenced on the east end of this public improvement; the Erie canal was a great success, though the west part of it had been constructed through a wilderness, and from what was known the location chosen seemed to be a very desirable one. The heads of families who came west in those years saw better opportunities for themselves and their children than at the east; they desired better land; they had ideals of religion and education; but to their children it was a journey into the unknown, a realm of imagination rather than of reality. The after-lessons were those of experience.

In September, 1839, we bade adieu to the old Vermont home. There were tears and farewells; ties were severed never again to be united on earth; hands met in a final clasp. None of the grandparents were ever seen again, and but few of the boys who had played together, fished in the brooks, or learned to read, write and cipher at school, ever saw each other thereafter. It was a wide separation. Railroads were in their infancy. The household goods were loaded upon two wagons and hauled to Whitehall, N. Y. As the head of Lake Champlain and the initial point of the canal, it was the common starting point for the emigrants from western Vermont for the west. The next day the family of six took passage on a line boat for Buffalo.

There were at least four grades of canal boats in those days. The packet carried no freight, but only passengers and ordinary luggage,

like the passenger trains on railroads today. They made fast time, some six miles an hour, and were fitted up in comfortable style, with dining room, staterooms, and other accommodations for first-class travel. The line boats were intended especially for families and their household effects. They had bunks for sleeping, a room for eating, and storage room for goods, with trunks and some boxes on the deck. Their speed was about three miles an hour and it required more than a week to make the journey to Buffalo. The freight boats and the scows made up the list of vessels for the canal. Horses and profanity were the motors; the packet horses going on the trot, and the rest at a steady walk unless there was a race to see which boat should reach a lock first. The three classes of boats named—the packets for passengers with a small amount of baggage, the line boats that were patronized chiefly by movers with their household goods, and the freight boats and scows—give a good idea of the most convenient and swiftest modes of conveyance for the pioneers of two-thirds of a century ago as they moved westward to make new homes in the wilderness and on the prairies for themselves and their children. It was a continuance of the westward movement in which our race had been engaged for centuries, for more than double the time that has elapsed since the beginning of the Christian Era. There could be no pause nor rest until the Pacific was reached in the onward march to new and untried experiences and problems. It was the ancient impulse, born of centuries of race migration when

> —"as of old
> The pilgrims crossed the sea;"

so, too, ever since, their children have moved on, as if impelled by a racial instinct, to fairer fields and broader horizons—

> "To make the West, as they the East,
> The homestead of the free.

Only a few places and events of the journey by canal across the Empire State, with its small cities and villages, are remembered. Albany, the eastern terminus, had in 1840 a population of 33,762, and has only a trifle more than doubled since then. Its early trade was largely with western New England. As the capital of the State it had some advantages, but politics do not make great cities; they grow in spite of politics and politicians. Buffalo, at the western end of the canal, had 18,213 inhabitants. The growth and development of the west have pushed it forward in sixty years to a city of nearly four hundred thousand souls. Rochester was then, as it is now, the largest city along the line of the canal, with 20,191 people, and was sending flour to feed New

Englanders at that early day, the same as Michigan was doing a decade later, and as the Dakotas and Kansas are doing now. Before 1840 the wheat crop of New England was almost a total failure, and the bread used was mostly made of rye flour and Indian meal—"rye and Indian" it was called. The Yankee migration westward was almost wholly confined to the wheat producing states. Of all the grains wheat is the best for making human brain and brawn, whatever fads the faddists may have from time to time as to substitutes for it. When the New Englanders moved from the "rye and Indian" East to the prolific wheat fields of the West, where the real "staff of life" was produced in great abundance, they made a desirable change, much better than if they had skipped the wheat fields for the region of "hog and hominy."

The locks along the canal were great curiosities for one who had never seen an engineering work more difficult than a milldam. Crossing the Hudson river at Albany in making the change from the Champlain to the Erie canal was a notable event of the journey. Besides this I have no clear recollection of anything along the route except the Palatine bridge and the Mohawk river, the Montezuma marshes, the locks at Lockport with their total lift of fifty-six feet, the three-mile cut through the solid rock just west of them, and the debarkation at the dirty end in Buffalo.

After all, though it brought about wonderful results, that canal was only a narrow ditch, a stretch for 363 miles of commercially-mudded water, connecting the Hudson river with the great lakes of the northwest. All honor to De Witt Clinton, who, seeing its necessity as far back as 1812, was able to influence his state to commence work on its construction in 1817, saw it opened in 1825, at a total cost of $7,602,000. Why, since then, the stealings by the canal ring of the state, have amounted to more in a single year than its original cost. It opened to settlement, to commerce, to enterprise, a region richer in resources and more inviting to the sturdy pioneers of three-quarters of a century ago than any other single public improvement born of the brain of genius, and worked out successfully in spite of all obstacles and the prophecies of pessimists. Its construction settled the question of the commercial supremacy of New York over any other city of the Atlantic seaboard.

The canal part of the journey consumed little over a week. We started from Benson, Vermont, on Wednesday, September 18, 1839; arrived in Whitehall, New York, that afternoon; staid over night at the house of an uncle, Hubbard N. Griswold, who later moved to Lake county, Ohio, and settled on a farm near the present village of Madison.

on Thursday the household goods were loaded on the canal boat, and by the artificial waterway, horses the motor, we started for Michigan; and on Friday morning of the next week were in Buffalo, and the transfer to the steamer Lexington, Captain Root, was made.

The Lexington had a large look to young eyes. The Illinois, at that time, was the largest steamer on Lake Erie, of 756 tons, but the Lexington was only 363 tons. After leaving Buffalo a severe storm arose, lashing the lake into destructive fury, and the captain deemed it prudent to run into the harbor at Erie, Pennsylvania, and wait until it subsided. It was a tedious and sea-sick trip. Early Sunday morning the boat entered the mouth of Detroit river; the sun shone brightly, sea-sickness disappeared, passengers thronged the upper deck. The boat stopped at Malden, Canada, for a few minutes, and a British soldier in the regulation red coat, pacing along the wharf, was the only object that left an impression. This country was not so far away from the revolutionary war and the war of 1812 then as it is now, and the soldier represented a patriotically hated nation in an enemy's country. For an old American soldier, who was with Ethan Allen at the capture of Ticonderoga, and who came regularly to the town meeting in the village of Benson, filling himself with New England rum and repeating his story every year to a listening crowd of small boys, there was vastly more youthful respect and reverence. No one seemed to regard it at all out of place for the old soldier to drink all the rum he wanted, and to vote the democratic ticket, as he remembered the battle-cry of the war of 1812, "free trade and sailors' rights," and it was natural that he should worship Andrew Jackson, the hero of New Orleans, and the first man of and from the common people who was elected President.

During that Sunday the steamboat was docked at the foot of Woodward avenue in Detroit, and the household goods, with a new lumber wagon brought from Vermont, were unloaded on the wharf, and boyhood pioneering in Michigan commenced.

We stopped at Andrews' Railroad Hotel in Detroit. I have a picture of the hotel as it looked then, which is highly prized as a souvenir of that first experience in a state which since then has been my home. The picture shows a passenger coach of the Detroit and Pontiac railroad, while nearly opposite, across Woodward avenue, near the entrance of Michigan avenue, were the station buildings and cars of the Michigan Central. Not until after the road was sold by the State to Boston capitalists was its Detroit terminal moved to the river front now used for that purpose. That was the primitive strap-rail era of railroads—

the flat rails, with holes through them for the spikes, being fastened to stringers that run lengthwise of the track, the "T" rail and cross-ties not having been invented.

Father hired two teamsters to take most of the goods from Detroit to Vermontville. He also bought a yoke of oxen out of a drove of cattle on the commons a short distance northeast of the hotel, as ox-power rather than horse-power was required for the work of making a new farm in the wilderness. In a logging field a span of horses would be as much out of place as an old fashioned stage coach in competition with a modern railway. A yoke went with the oxen, and they were driven down Woodward avenue to the wharf, the wagon was put together, a couple of trunks and a few other articles loaded into the box, and the team driven back up the avenue to the hotel; this was my pioneer ride in Detroit.

Completing these necessary arrangements for the final stage of the journey, as the star of empire moved slowly on its western course consumed two days, and early Wednesday morning, October 2, we took the territorial road out of Detroit for our destination, about one hundred and forty miles distant by the highway. It was beautiful Indian summer weather; a purple haze hung over the forests; squirrels chattered by the roadside or leaped from tree to tree; the hum of the partridge was often heard; the chirping of autumnal insects filled the air with music, and wild pigeons were abundant. Slowly we moved along, making two miles an hour, or an average of seventeen and one-half miles a day. Log taverns were frequent. The territorial road had been a great thoroughfare for immigrants, but in 1839, owing to the panic of 1837-8 and the consequent hard times, the tide of travel had slackened. The only tavern remembered is Ten Eyck's, not far from Detroit. Why does this one linger in memory? Perhaps for the reason that the name was different from any of the familiar names in New England sixty to seventy years ago, although the advent of factories has brought a mixed populaion to that region which originally was almost wholly English in blood and nomenclature. The name Ten Eyck belonged to another nationality, and we remember differences better than we do similarities. In fact, knowledge in nature consists largely in learning the differences in things. If all were alike there would be but little to learn.

Of the places between Ten Eyck's tavern and Jackson no definite recollections remain. On Sunday, October 6, about noon, we passed through Jackson as people were going home from church. Brought up

among New England Puritans, with their strict Sabbatarian ideas, by whom all work, except salting sheep—Vermont then was a sheep state—was tabooed on Sunday, even the reading of a newspaper being strictly forbidden, and not a loud smile or the least play being permitted, to be seen traveling on the Lord's Day by persons going home from the meeting house, was not in harmony with conscience as educated, and so made a lasting impression on my mind. Early habit of thought and action received a jar, just as is apt to be the case all along life's journey when confronted with changed conditions and circumstances. Now the larger tide of travel and trade ebbs and flows on Sunday the same as on other days, and we think nothing about it; conscience conforms to the new conditions.

Between Jackson and Marshall the only name that memory stored away "for keeps," as the boys play marbles these days, is "Cracker Hill," a nickname then borne by the village of Parma. Why "Cracker Hill?" It was odd, unusual, and therefore remembered; Parma would not have been retained. Of Albion as it was in October, 1839, no lingering impression exists. On Tuesday morning we were in Marshall. Perhaps some lawyer selected the name, for as Jackson bears the name of the seventh President of the United States, Marshall was named in honor of its most famous chief justice. At the east end of the village three or four men were out shooting black squirrels with rifles from the tops of oak trees. Eight years later I learned that this sport was being had in front of the house owned and occupied by John B. White, a merchant tailor. Marshall seemed quite a village then, even larger than it looks now, and the main street appeared long as we journeyed through it that morning, and turned north to Bellevue, the last station on our ox-power main traveled road, where we arrived in the evening. We were in Eaton county just a week from Detroit, and within fourteen miles of our destination.

At Bellevue an incident occurred, which was characteristic of that village in pioneer days, and has not been forgotten. Three weeks before we left the land of steady habits, where New England rum was the chief intoxicant, and had arrived in a region where the fiery beverage was Michigan corn whisky. There were distilleries in all of its southern and sparsely settled counties. Rev. John D. Pierce, a Congregational minister, the State's first, and one of its ablest superintendents of public instruction, had a gristmill and a distillery at Ceresco, in Calhoun county. In the bar room of the Bellevue hostelry were a number of persons who were drinking occasionally and talking freely.

One of the party, referring to a person who was the subject of conversation among the homespun-clad pioneers present, remarked that he was quite a clever man, but had no common sense. A boozy listener, with hair and whiskers unkempt, who was nearly floored in the struggle for existence, picked up the remark, and as if talking to himself said in a maudlin manner, "Common shense—common shense—I wonder what that is; I ought to have a good deal of it, as I have never used any, and have got all I ever had." Evidently he had not learned that, whether it be common sense, or mind and muscle, men do not have and cannot keep what they do not use.

A few miles north of Marshall father bought a brindle cow, and my brother Homer G. and myself drove her behind the wagon from there to Vermontville, some twenty-four miles. Early Wednesday morning, before the sun was up, in a clear and frosty air, the entire outfit—father and mother, four boys, the oxen and wagon, and the brindle cow—were on the road to make the last fourteen miles of the journey through a dense forest of hardwood timber. By that time the young romance of a trip to Michigan had become an unpoetic reality. With the exception of a short distance out of Detroit, the journey had been made through oak openings, with pioneer settlers scattered along the route. Here and there a breaking-up team, three to five yoke of oxen with a heavy plow that would rip through the oak grubs at a tearing rate in a field where the larger trees had been girdled to kill them, was seen, some of the land then prepared sowed to wheat and other fields being made ready for spring crops. Good crops of wheat were grown among the girdled trees. Corn, oats and potatoes were the principal spring crops. Corn fattened the pork and kept the cattle in fair condition during the winter. Fried pork, baked potatoes with cream gravy, and good wheat bread, made the best fare attainable. Fruit was not to be had. There was no farm work that could be done to advantage with horses. The ox and the cow and the pig were essential to a higher grade of living than that of the wild Indians.

North of the village of Bellevue for about a mile the trees had been cut down for the four rods width of highway; the stumps were green and stubborn; the trunks lay stretched on the ground; and the tops formed brush fences on each side of the road next to the standing timber; while the wagon track wound its tortuous way among the stumps and the butts of the fallen trees. To make a miry place passable logs had been cut, about fourteen feet long, and hauled in across the track, rolled together as closely as they would lie, and over

this primitive causeway, or "crossway," as such an improvement or betterment was called, the wagon bumped and jolted and twisted, and the oxen walked doubtingly as if fearing that their feet might slip between the logs. Such was the beginning of road-making in the heavily timbered land. Civilization requires highways for travel and traffic, and strives to get the best that circumstances will permit. The primitive logway across swamps and miry places, after the trees were cut down in the legal highway, made the impassable passable for teams and wagons, and that was about all. The evolution of the means of intercourse and interchange of products, from the ox-team and wagon, making a little over a mile an hour, to the railway and a mile a minute, tells the story of the progress of civilization from pioneer boyhood to reminiscent manhood.

After leaving the chopped-out highway a mile north of Bellevue village, the rest of the journey was through a dense forest, with here and there the underbrush and a small staddle cut away, and blazed trees on each side to indicate the driveway—scars that the axe had made on the trees at short distances for the guidance of travelers on their way in and out of their homes in the forest. The marks were needed, as the leaves had already commenced to fall, and in many places the track was not visible. When, occasionally, some settler drove out to Bellevue to the gristmill, or to buy a few necessaries at a store and call at the postoffice for the mail, was all the home travel the highway received, except that of the incoming pioneer family. It was a region of great trees, beech and maple, elm and ash, basswood and cherry, with scattered oak and black walnut, a thick undergrowth of saplings; and where the land was low by some swamp or stream wild grape vines, as if seeking the light, climbed to tall tree tops. It was near the close of Indian summer that year. No wind stirred even the topmost boughs of the giants of the forest, and scarcely a sound broke the spell of loneliness that gave to pioneering a new experience. Talking to and guiding the oxen hitched to the lumber wagon, driving the brindle cow, and watching for the scars on the trees that mutely pointed out the way, we moved steadily and deeper into the forest, at an average pace of a mile an hour. Animated nature was represented by wolves, bears, deer, wild turkeys, partridges and black squirrels along the route, rather than by human beings. Two clearings had been commenced between Bellevue and Vermontville—one by Ephraim Follet three miles from the former village, and another one by Samuel Herring, in the town of Kalamo, four or five miles farther north, wherein

log houses and a few stumpy acres indicated progress. The last six miles was unbroken woods, quite hilly and hard work to make a mile in sixty minutes. However, each forward step brought us that much nearer the prospective home. As the afternoon advanced towards sunset the woods grew gloomier. Clouds obscured the sun, changing the crystalline clearness of the morning to a somber, melancholy aspect. Twilight deepened with the tinge of evening, and we were still moving slowly along in the wilderness; save our own there were no human voices within hailing distance. We reached and crossed the dark bottom-land of the Thornapple river, the atmosphere suggestive of ague, chills and fever; a deep, rich, mucky soil, with an overgrowth of trees, bushes and vines through which no sun-ray could penetrate; the darkness and the silence relieved of a stifling monotony by the occasional howl of a wolf in the distance, the hoot of a more neighborly owl, and the greetings of katydids and crickets. It was quite dark when we commenced climbing the last and long hill, a rise of about a hundred feet up from the river to the place the Vermont colonists had selected for their homes in the depths of a Michigan wilderness. For half a mile south of the rude clearings, in which, over an area a mile long and half a mile wide, some twenty log houses had been built and were occupied—these constituting the village—the highway had been chopped out four rods wide, and this made a visible streak which was not so dark as the blackness of the forest. It was impossible, because of the fallen trees and brush, to get out of the highway. The tops of the freshly-made stumps were of a lighter color than any other surroundings and helped a little in finding the way. It must have been a long half hour making the half mile up the hill to the first log house owned and occupied by Sidney B. Gates. The rain had just commenced falling—a misty rain that betokened the end of Indian summer—the first we had experienced since the storm on Lake Erie nearly two weeks before. Mr. Gates soon learned who the belated travelers were, and after lighting a tallow-dip candle in an old-fashioned tin lantern, piloted us for another three-quarters of mile to the house of an uncle, Oren Dickinson. It was nine o'clock in the evening of the 9th day of October, 1839, in a drizzling rain, that pioneer boyhood in Vermontville commenced. One log house was not large enough to accommodate, in addition to its regular inmates, a family of six persons, and so we scattered about in the homes of old Benson acquaintances and relatives, who made haste to call and greet and welcome us that evening, and in a few days we were living in a new log house that a colonist

by the name of Webber had built and not occupied, but becoming discouraged had left never to return. The name "Webber lot," a platted village tract fronting ten rods in width on the main street or highway and running back eighty rods, on which the timber had been slashed, and logs and treetops well nigh covered the ground, and the log house had been built, clung to the parcel for many years. Next west of it was the Hoyt lot of ten acres and east of it the Norton lot of five acres, both covered with heavy timber, except at the front on the road where spots barely large enough for log houses, out of reach of the standing trees should any of them blow down during a windstorm, had been partially cleared.

As already mentioned it was on a dark and rainy evening that we arrived at our destination. The rainy spell that is apt to come at the close of Indian summer had set in, and the next day was cold, drizzling and disagreeable. My father's family was the last one to arrive of the twenty-two families, members of the colony, that settled in the village and owned farming lands round about it in different directions. Not an acre of cleared land did he own, but some twelve hundred acres that were covered with heavy hardwood timber. Looking at the somber sky only small spaces of which were visible; at the little areas of landscape dotted with stumps and fallen trees that could be seen; at the village highway, also full of stumps and logs; at the dense woods out of which a living must be hewed; at the rude log houses with their contracted accommodations, shake roofs and mudded interspaces of the logs to keep out the cold and keep in the warmth; at the soggy earth and big tree trunks and poles that were fences in front of many residences—the enchantment lent by distance disappeared. The Michigan of imagination had suddenly become a reality. Hearts were warm, welcomes were cordial, great fireplaces made of mud and stone with stick chimneys mudded on the inside made the evenings bright and cheerful; assistance was gladly rendered in getting settled, without expectation of reward, and the human feature of the beginning of pioneer life was much more attractive than were the promises nature afforded; and yet it seems as if to the early settlers as much of joy and as little of sorrow, with all the hard work, came as falls to the lot of any other class of people in the struggle to live and to get ahead.

Realistic pioneer life in the wilderness had come, and the halo of romance faded away. The log house had one room below and another upstairs. The lower story was kitchen, sitting-room, parlor and bedroom. There were valances around the bed in one corner of the room,

and in another corner was an open space in the upper floor and a ladder on which to climb above, where three more beds were established, two for the four boys, and a spare one for company about which drapery of some sort was hung. Boxes and a trunk or two to store things in helped to complete the upstairs' conveniences. In the living room was the cook stove the pipe from which reached through the roof; shelves for crockery were made by boring holes in the logs and driving in pegs horizontally to support the boards that were placed on them; chairs and table and light-stand, with six regular occupants, left but little room to spare for cat or dog or visitors. The cellar was a hole in the ground at the center, into which potatoes were dumped for family use during the coldest weather, most of them being buried, the piles covered with leaves or straw and dirt, out of doors. The supply for the first winter was bought at a shilling a bushel. When winter came and the sleighing was good, father yoked the oxen, hitched them to a rough sled, drove to Marshall, twenty-eight miles distant, purchased a load of wheat at forty-four cents a bushel, had it ground, and was home again in four days.

Work, manual labor, is the essential factor of success in a new country. Hunting, fishing, and roaming in the forest, when not staying temporarily in a wigwam where game is plentiest for the time, are stages of human development that antedate civilization. Trying to fill the Indian with our thought and culture, so as to induce him to adopt civilized modes of life, is like attempting to fill a tin tube that is open at both ends with water—for as fast as it is poured in at one end it runs out at the other. Considerable school education may be stored away in the memory of the Indian, but he will not work, and productive labor is the primary and essential factor of progress. Learning to work was the first branch of education to be acquired, as everything needed to be done to transform the wilderness of the Indian and make it habitable for civilized society. The autumn was well advanced, winter was near at hand, and fuel only was plenty. The crops of that year, mostly corn and potatoes, had been grown. Some corn remained to be husked. The oxen and the brindle cow had to be cared for during the coming winter. Jason Smith, an old bachelor or widower, not a member of the colony, had raised two or three acres of corn among the stumps and logs on a village lot north of the public square. He lived alone in a shanty about ten feet square with a bark roof, did his own cooking, perhaps washed a dish when he forgot what it was

used for last, was noted for eating coon meat, and nearly everything else of the wild animal kind. In some sort of a way he seemed to be a connecting link between the passing red man's and the invading white man's mode of living, with the exception that the Indian had a squaw to do all the manual labor of the wigwam and the cornfield. When the land was new, even if but partially cleared, fine crops of corn grew with but little labor, as at first no fight had to be made against the thistles, pigweeds, pigeon grass, and other accompaniments of civilization. Plowing the new land was out of the question, but if scratched with a harrow and tickled with a hoe it was sure to produce a bountiful harvest if the seed was planted. So Jason Smith had a good corn crop raised on land he did not own and for which he paid no rental. The lot was owned by a member of the colony named Root who lacked either courage or cash to move in and occupy it. Smith was merely a squatter on it for that season. The corn he raised had been cut with a sickle and placed in stooks. Husking that corn, the pay being every fifth or sixth bushel, was the first work done after getting settled in Michigan, and it was quite a help in keeping the oxen and the cow during the winter.

The first implement to become familiar and expert with was the ax. The red man had his tomahawk and scalping knife; the white man who succeeded him introduced the ax and the carving knife. The change signified a great deal. A different thought and purpose were represented by the ax and the carving knife. The woods had to be cut away, and food cooked and carved and served in a more civilized fashion. These leading implements of the two antagonistic races stood for widely variant modes of living. The ax to fell the trees was the beginning of a great change. When moving west, on the Erie canal, father bought two boxes of axes made by Isaiah Blood at Hoosac, New York, and the first thing in the line of practical education, to meet the requirements of the time and to change the environment, was to learn to chop. A beaver knows how to fell trees by instinct, but man has to learn the art by experience, and he needs, to do it well, the ax, muscle and judgment. It is his mission to improve natural conditions. Those axes, and the different makes of axes, their temper and their faults, were more freely discussed in Vermontville at that time than is the telephone system today; and, by the way, among our rural towns and villages, it is one of the most thoroughly equipped with telephones of any in the State; furthermore, as the farmers can stay at home and talk with their friends and relatives, or call a doctor if one is needed,

the tendency to leave the farms and move to the villages has been checked. So civilization has passed far beyond the period when the ax was, among human inventions, its leading representative.

Ax helves and the proper weight of the ax for effective service were more frequently and fully talked over than politics or religion. Each member of a family old enough to swing this first implement of civilization in a wilderness had one of his own and kept it bright and keen. Mine, at twelve years of age, weighed three and a half pounds. During the first winter education with the ax was confined to cutting wood for the house. The method of getting it was primitive; some one would go to the woods near by, cut down a tree of the desired kind and size, generally sugar maple, trim off the brush, chop the trunk into two pieces if necessary, hitch the yoked oxen to the butt by a logging chain and haul the stick to the house to be chopped the proper length for stove or fire-place, and split for use. Patience, perseverance, and some other virtues were called into exercise in building a fire out of this green wood. A few sticks would be baked in the stove oven to facilitate the work in the morning. If the fire went out in the night, the only alternative was to take a shovel or a pan and go to some neighbor's house for live coals, which was occasionally done. Lucifer matches had not come into general use, though invented in 1829. Pipes were lighted by picking up a small coal with the tongs and placing it on the tobacco, or by poking the bowl into a bunch of coals and getting one at random. Some smokers always carried a piece of dry punk, a flint such as was used to fire an old-fashioned musket, and a big jackknife. The punk was placed under the flint, the knife used to strike fire, and the spark falling on the dry punk set it on fire, when and whereby the problem of a smoke was solved. Some sort of necessity has always been the mother of invention. But the primitive flint, steel and tinder method of starting a fire soon became obsolete as the matches made on earth multiplied. For the first matches invented in 1829 a piece of sandpaper had to be used to ignite them.

In the spring of 1840 education with the ax commenced. Not far from the house, on the adjoining Hoyt lot, was a small wild cherry tree. No thought of Washington's mythical hatchet and cherry tree was in my mind. One day, when alone, so that no person could see the pioneer effort, the ax went with me to that cherry tree, and we haggled it down. If there is such a thing as cruelty to trees that one suffered. However, it furnished an opportunity to begin a new branch of education. The cherry tree was sacrificed to the desire for practical knowl-

edge. Father thought that it was not exactly right, when he learned of the transaction, to chop down a cherry tree on another man's land. The matter of trespass in the case had not entered my mind. Trees stood in the way of progress and learning to get rid of them was the first plain duty in sight. The ax then was the friend of progress and civilization, but now it is the enemy of agriculture, horticulture and prosperity. Slaughtering the forests then was the primal work of preparation for civilized society; saving them now would conserve its true interests. Conditions often change more rapidly than do the thoughts and habits of men. They act from habit all the time, and from judgment only when they are exercising it. New circumstances—environments—bring new duties—"time makes ancient good uncouth."

That summer of 1840, father concluded to build a sawmill on the Scipio, at a point about a mile and a half from where we lived, with no road or blazed trees through the woods to guide one's footsteps. Having selected the place for the mill-dam, and having learned from the wood-chopping and cherry tree experience of my willingness to use an ax, we would start out every morning, except Sunday, soon after breakfast, with our dinner, axes and a bush-hook, to cut the underbrush on the bottom-land above the proposed dam and mill site. The thick undergrowth of bushes and vines was slowly cut down and piled in windrows for burning on several acres, and the large water-elms left standing for the water of the pond to kill in due time. Without water they could not thrive; with too much of a good thing they perished.

A mile up the Scipio, Reuben Sanford, a pioneer, had commenced a clearing and built a log house, but with this exception, from the source to the mouth of the creek, where it emptied into the Thornapple, the sound of the white man's ax, unless in the hands of surveyors when they marked the trees for section lines and corners, had not been heard. It was the boy of sixty years ago who had the privilege and opportunity of learning by experience of the beginnings of civilization in the wilderness, and only the boy of that period is left to narrate the simple story, as all of the pioneer settlers who were heads of families have passed away. No one was near enough those summer days to hear the sound of our axes or came along to give advice. In the silence of the great woods, stretching away for long distances with only here and there a settler, with day after day of effort, which was vastly better than idleness, the work of cutting and piling the brush was accomplished, and later on when dry the heaps and windrows were burnt, and a new era fairly commenced.

The uplands bordering the creek were very broken and hilly, and were covered with a heavy growth of beech, maple, oak and other timber. One afternoon, while engaged in this work, the sky clouded over and the mutterings of a thunderstorm were heard low down the western horizon. Getting ready as quickly as possible we started for home. In the haste we forgot our bearings, and soon discovered that we did not know the right way out of the woods. There was neither sun nor star for a guide, the storm was coming on and the wind had commenced to moan in the tree tops. We talked the matter over hastily, but could not decide which way would take us out of the woods so that we could reach home before dark. We knew the right direction was nearly east. Finally father thought of the fact that the moss grew thickest on the north side of the trees. Examining a few of them we made up our minds which way was east. Then to avoid traveling in a circle, as men are apt to do when lost in the woods, we took sight ahead for some tree that was as near east as we could determine, made straight for it, then sighted another tree in the same direction, and so on until a familiar spot was reached, when the lost-feeling disappeared as suddenly as it came. The drenching storm caught us, however, before we reached the first clearing, some sixty rods from shelter and home. "Any port in a storm" is as good a maxim for the tired toiler on land as for the storm-tossed mariner on the sea.

The sawmill was built, the first dam went out as it was made entirely of earth no brush having been used to prevent the water, under pressure, from working through the treacherous soil and quicksand, but it was reconstructed, a great deal of brush being used, and remains as solid as any dam built by beavers, up to the present time. While that mill was building, Amos Spicer, of Eaton Rapids, superintending its construction as mill-wright, it was a daily experience to carry the dinner to the workmen in two big pails supported by a neck-yoke over the shoulders. A trudge of a mile and a half, with baked beans or a boiled dinner for eight to twelve men, through the woods, with but a road marked out for oxen and wagons, was a toughening experience. The workmen gathered on each side of a newly-hewed stick of timber, using it for a table, and with clear spring water that bubbled from the foot of a hill near the bottom-land, ate heartily, told their rude stories and enjoyed the repast.

In that sawmill, when finished, another branch of education commenced and ended. It was equipped with an old-fashioned wooden water wheel, with an upright sash for the saw. Helping to roll in the logs,

spotting them for the sawblocks, setting the tail-end of the log with a pinch-bar and driving the teeth of the dog into the log to hold it in place for the saw, sliding the slabs out of one side and the boards out of the other, like separating sheep and goats, was the extent of my boyhood experience in that line of business. There is a great deal of missionary service, for a consideration, in a sawmill. That pioneer enterprise of the kind in Vermontville was the beginning of an important transformation—a change from log houses and log barns to frame houses and frame barns—to greater household comforts; though, on looking backward for sixty years, it seems as if the joy of living in the rude log dwellings of the pioneers was fully as great as it is now. There was a great deal of mutual helpfulness then, and a large element of hope for better times to come as a result of labor. The pioneer, who forges ahead and makes improvements from year to year, is of a naturally hopeful temperament, and in doing rather then dreaming finds many of life's satisfactions. The future of any country depends on the workers who are up-lookers and on-lookers. At all events, the experience of that early time was worth having, with all its hardships and inconveniences.

In the summer and fall of 1840 the first five acres on the farm were chopped and cleared. That furnished the first lessons of the logging field, as after burning the brush the logs had to be hauled together and rolled into big piles for their holocaust. On the uplands the white ash, cherry, basswood and red elm were saved and left standing for rail timber. All the rest of the timber was burned, going off in smoke except a small deposit of ashes. Generally the ashes were hauled to an ashery and sold for five cents a bushel to be made into black salts, a wagon-box load of thirty bushels bringing $1.50; and the black salts, the first product from boiling down the lye, were hauled to Bellevue and sold to the saleratus factories of that village. Coon skins and black salts were about the only articles of importance that could, at first, be exchanged for money.

With the log piles and the brush in a dozen clearings on fire in the evening the woods were brilliantly illuminated. Generally the torch was applied at the close of the day so that the heat and smoke would not interfere with the work. In the morning the unburnt portions were tumbled together with handspikes, and then the rolling up of more piles commenced. This work was done mostly in the fall, but sometimes clearing a piece of ground in the spring for corn or potatoes had to be done. Often the fall clearing was sowed to wheat. Plowing

among the green roots and stumps was out of the question. The ground would be scratched with the old-fashioned three-cornered drag, the wheat was sowed broadcast, and harrowed in both ways. An early experience in making a drag is worth reciting. No sawed timber for the woodwork was to be had. Necessity, the prolific mother of invention, led to a prospecting tour in the woods to find a tree of the right size with a crotch of the proper spread for a drag; of course one was found. A tree or staddle of the size and shape desired could be readily found in the primitive forest. Henry Ward Beecher once compared the Bible to a great forest; one could find in it whatsoever he wanted—a text in the Bible or a staddle in the forest of the import and shape that was desired. Among millions of trees and no two exactly alike such a quest was successful. The selected tree was cut down, the crotch severed from the trunk and the remainder of the top, the oxen hauled it to the house, the limbs were hewed on four sides with an ordinary ax, holes bored through them for the teeth, which were driven by lifting a heavy stone and throwing it with all the force possible upon the square end of the teeth, a clevis was attached to the forward end of the improvised drag, the knotty part serving to hold it firmly in place, and with this home-made harrow the work of getting in wheat went on. By the sweat of the brow and tug of the muscle bread was earned.

Not infrequently some settler would have the ague and fever or be otherwise disabled about the time that his few acres of chopping were ready for logging, and upon the product of those he and his family depended for food the ensuing year. Clothes could be patched, but the stomach must be fed. Then the neighbors would turn out voluntarily, have a logging-bee, roll into heaps five acres or so of timber in a day, set the piles on fire towards evening when the job was finished, and thus enable the sick or disabled pioneer to get in a crop on the new land. These logging-bees were quite a common occurrence. Eight to ten yoke of oxen and twenty to thirty stalwart men and boys made of ordinary hard work a pastime on such occasions, and when the acres of log heaps were on fire in the evening the light illumined the sky like a great conflagration, and made the dark back-ground of the forest seem all the darker from the contrast. There was more of such cordial and mutual helping each other in the early days than there is now. Of official charity there was none, but of personal assistance, backed by hearty good will, there was a great deal. At the logging-bee the good qualities of human nature found an admirable expression.

In those early days, when there was literally no money in circulation and nothing to buy with money had there been plenty of it, a system of changing works existed that was mutually advantageous. This was especially useful where the younger members of a family were not old enough and strong enough to help in the logging field. Men would change work with each other, as it needed two or three hands to hustle the job, assisting each other on alternate days, and so expediting the felling of the timber and clearing it off the land. It was much more sociable and seemed a great deal easier when one was chopping in the forest to have a fellow-chopper take one side of a big tree while you took the other, and sometimes there was a lively effort to see which one could get nearest the heart before the tree fell. Having company made the work less wearisome, and two men would accomplish as much in one day, as one man could accomplish pecking away alone in three days. Men like companionship. Out of this feeling grows a helpful co-operation. The gregarious sentiment led them to change work in felling the forest and logging up the timber, as now leads them to abandon the rural districts and flock to the cities.

Six days of labor was the inflexible rule of the community, and the seventh was strictly a day for religious services and rest. Saturday was usually a half-holiday in the summer, when the boys would have an old-fashioned game of base ball, and go in swimming at the Thornapple about a mile from the village. When a new settler came into the woods all would turn out to help raise the new log house, rolling up the logs, fitting them at the corners and putting on the rafters in half a day. Later, when sawed lumber was available, the raising of a frame barn or house was a more important event, and often men would go several miles to assist. But, notwithstanding this helpfulness, sometimes there were clashing interests and angry differences of opinion, which cropped out most earnestly during a political campaign, when whigs and democrats were ready to defend their doctrines and leaders and to return in kind any aspersions cast upon them. It made but little difference with these pioneers, who had to hew out homes in the wilderness with their strong arms, which party won in the election; but it did not seem so to them. They had not learned, nor have people yet learned, that most of the harm to any country comes from those who are elected to legislate for it and to carry on its government. Jackson and Van Buren, Harrison and Clay, were most talked about during my pioneer boyhood, and the presidential campaign of 1840, with its log cabin, coonskin and hard cider nonsense on one side, and Van Buren's

gold spoons at the White House, on the other side, led to many angry debates, or what the Indians might call "big talks." But, notwithstanding these abnormal episodes, and making really inconsequential affairs of great moment, there was at all times an active neighborliness and a strong practical humanitarianism in the hearts of the pioneers, which asserted themselves in all times of need and distress. No one suffered unnecessarily during sickness or from accident. Willing hearts and strong hands were ever ready to relieve and assist. This was the right kind of an education. It irradiates the past with a gleam of light. The One Life which all possess, working out upon the physical plane, should unite men in a closer brotherhood, wherein they should live for each other, rather than as now on each other. Often has the thought of the mutual helpfulness of the pioneers, in days of sickness and sorrow, come to my mind, across the sixty years which separate that pioneer boyhood from the present, with a softening, an uplifting influence. But for sectarianism and partisanism, but for the selfish graspings of a few which crowd many into the slums, this would be a better world; there would be no war, no industrial conflicts, but instead peace and good will. Kind words and deeds are a bendiction. They never lose their power to make life better worth living.

The fence question is always a serious one. To build fences along the highways, partition fences to separate the farms, and fences to subdivide farms into lots, involves an expense amounting to millions of dollars in an agricultural state. Men are gregarious; they like to live close together; but they want some sort of an artificial barrier between them, one side of which says "this is mine," and the other side says "that is yours." The first fences in the woods were made of brush, logs, poles and rails. When clearings were made log and pole fences were built along the highway and the sides of the cleared fields next to the woods were generally adorned with a brush fence, made by falling the tree tops near the outer edge of the chopping in a windrow next to the standing timber. The chopper would first fall the trees that stood in nearly a straight line next to the timber that was to be left standing, then from the inside of what would be the cleared field would fall all the tree tops that would reach the line of the fence, lop the limbs in place to prevent hogs from crawling through, and let it remain until the timber outside of it was cut away, when it would be dedicated to smoke and ashes. For two or three years such a fence would bar out cattle, but the predatory hog would sometimes find a way

through into a corn field or a potato patch, and then hard feelings between neighbors might arise, as questions touching the legality of the fence, the right of the hog to be there, even if there was no fence (he was a recognized free commoner in the woods), and if proven a trespasser wide differences of opinion as to the damage done existed and were vigorously discussed. A brush fence was from a rod to two rods wide, and varied in height as well as width with the size and spread of the limbs of the fallen trees. Climbing over one from limb to log and log to limb, made the fence seem to be unnecessarily wide, but the tree tops would not admit of its being narrower. Coming to one while hunting it was an easy matter for partridge, squirrel or other game to get away into the woods or to find safe shelter among the tangled limbs and brush of the fallen timber; and yet many a hiding spot was afforded to lay in wait for the wild turkeys that would hop and fly from limb to limb to get into the brush-protected corn field. Thus all these things had their advantages and disadvantages.

To make a brush fence through the woods was making the fence for the sake of the fence. Now and then a large tree that stood in its line would be cut down, and the small trees, the staddles, that stood along the line were lopped down but not severed from the stump, and made to fall lengthwise of the fence, and enough more of the small stuff was cut and brought to it to give it the width and height required. Three persons could make a long stretch of it in a day, and for a year or two it served to keep the cattle that roamed the forest out of a cultivated field. Many of the lopped trees would live, and their wounds healing, they grew to be vigorous trees, their fantastic forms marking the course of the old brush fence long after it had disappeared as a hindrance to free transit for man or beast.

The old settlers, when they had brought a patch of earth face to face with the sun, and had planted their scanty acres of cleared land, had to fence out invaders, both their own and their neighbors' stock. In the woods cattle were free commoners. Sometimes the fence would be made of poles, a flimsy-looking barricade against the lofty palisade of ancient trees that stood, as they had for centuries, outside of the "betterments," but this was generally sufficient to keep the wood-ranging cattle out of the field on which so much hard labor had been expended, and whose green and springing grain was dotted and blotched with blackened stumps and an occasional log that the fire had only partly consumed. The pole fence was laid after the same fashion as the rail fence, but with less regularity. Here and there the trunk of a fallen tree of considerable size was utilized as the foundation. Rail cuts were uniformly

twelve feet long, but the size and height of the young trees, and the number of persons engaged in the work, determined the length of the poles used; the whole business was a question of adaptation to circumstances. There were also cross-staked pole fences, in which the poles were laid straight, each pole being held in place by two stakes which crossed the one beneath, their lower ends being driven into the ground. These pole and brush fences were the earliest products of pioneer fence-building. In front of the house where we lived, with ten rods frontage on the principal street of the five-acre village lot, a fallen beech tree, some four feet in diameter, lying on the ground along the line of the highway, constituted part of the door-yard fence for a few years. Nothing could get under it and clambering over it was not an easy task.

The log fence was a structure of more substance than either the brush or the pole fence, but belonged to the same period of plenteousness and wastefulness of timber. Good-sized logs, generally beech and maple, were laid straight, overlapping a little at the ends, on which were placed short cross-pieces which upheld the smaller logs above. These fences were usually built three or four logs high, with cross-stakes and a pole at the top, and formed a very solid wooden wall against invaders, with a lavish expense of material, but at no cost for nails or fence-posts, or of labor in digging post-holes; if one of the logs could have been sawed into boards it would have fenced several times the length. To get rid of the material was the first effort of the pioneers, and what would be wastefulness now was but a laudable effort then to get rid of trees and logs that were in the way of progress and civilization.

A log fence that surrounded ten acres of cleared land in the woods, more than half a mile from any other clearing, is well remembered. In the woods about that clearing was for years a favorite hunting ground. Standing by the up-turned roots of a fallen tree which had been blown over by the wind, with a rifle at rest, a flock of turkeys came over the log fence into the field to feed on the corn then in the stook, and as one proud bird stood on the fence a few rods distant the butt of his wing forming an excellent mark for a fatal shot, a bullet from the rifle ended his contemplated feast and made a magnificent feast for a human household.

After these primitive fences came the rail fence, or snake fence as it was sometimes called from the slight resemblance in its zig-zag shape to the wriggling course of a serpent. Early in this country it was called the Virginia fence, perhaps for the reason that the Old Dominion was

the mother of it as of presidents. Of course the rail fence was first built in Virginia on this continent, as there the first permanent settlement was made by Englishmen who came to America to clear away the forests, build fences, raise crops, construct houses, and lay the foundations of slavery and civilization. But rail or snake or Virginia fence, at any rate it has been most truly American, having enclosed more acres of cultivated land than any other fence. Nowadays one seldom sees a new rail fence, or rather a fence made of new rails; and we shall never have another wise and kind, shrewd and able, rail-splitter to rule over us.

Along the highways and for marking the dividing line between the cleared land of different owners the rail fences came into early use. Splitting white ash cuts into rails was an early occupation. Generally the trees were tall and the grain straight, many of them furnishing four and five twelve-feet cuts to the tree before a limb was reached. The ax, the beetle, the iron and wooden wedges were all brought into requisition. At first no one used the cross-cut saw for severing the logs, but the ax only was used. Driving two or three iron wedges into the upper end of the log and opening a crack, following on the top with the wooden wedges, the log would open into its two halves, then into quarters, the heart rails be separated, and the rest worked up as the size of the tree warranted. It was quite a knack to make rails to advantage, having them the right size and leaving no waste timber.

Some one has called the rail fence ugly and hideous. That depends upon what it is compared with. Terms are of relative significance. A new rail fence, made of freshly riven material, is a thing of beauty as well as of great utility, when contrasted with a brush, pole or log fence. The rail fence is wasteful of land, its corners a catch place for loose stone and other rubbish, a birth place for brush and briars and weeds, and does not harmonize with the artistic sense, any more than do most things that are fashioned by man and intended to stand out of doors. But an old rail fence that has settled to its place after years of service, its stakes and caps covered with mosses and enwrapped with vines, old and weather beaten, is not wholly ugly and unbeautiful, for it looks as much a part of nature as the trees that shadow it, and the berry bushes and weeds that grow along it, and the partly hidden stones that were pitched into its corners years before to be gotten out of the way. Nature tries to hide man-made deformities. Storm blown autumn leaves find resting places in the angles, where

they molder to earth, covering the seeds of berries that birds have dropped there—seeds which quicken and grow and border the fence with a thicket of bushes. An old rail fence reminds one of pioneer boyhood, and is one of the few relics of a by-gone past lingering for a little while longer with a new generation that does not fully understand its significance in the evolution of fences, from brush to pole and log, thence to the rail and board, and finally to the wire fence of the present.

The fence which was half wall and half board had a homely, rural look, as had the long wall topped with rails resting on stakes, made more to get rid of the stones than for any other utility, and was not common. Not until the plow had upturned the stones that were imbedded in the soil, but few of which ever outcropped in the woods, were these mongrel fences built of hard-heads and old rails or boards.

Fences have cost a great deal more than schoolhouses and churches, and none of them are durable. One cannot help thinking of the possibility—perhaps the probability—that, by and by, as intelligence and civilization increase, high farming may become general, that soiling cattle may become the common practice of farmers, and that then the building and keeping up of fences will end with the need of them, the boundaries of farms being marked only by iron posts or stone pillars, instead of as at first being hacked on trees by the surveyors, with a few extra hacks on the more important trees that indicated the corners of sections, with which one became quite familiar sixty years ago. With such a change, which is not impossible, as it may be most profitable to fence in the stock and let the crops run at large, then the old landmarks of gray fences, with their trees and shrubs and flowering weeds, with beautiful spring violets nestling in the angles, will have passed away, and no herds of cattle or flocks of sheep will dot the fields; and, besides men and teams, there will be no living thing larger than a bird to enliven the wide landscape. The prospect of such a monotonous outlook goes, with many other changes to reconcile one to the thought that before such a day comes his eyes will be closed in a sleep which such changed scenes will not trouble.

Fences have taken me a long way from the logging fields and their experiences. In the early fall, during the period of roasting ears of corn, the burning log pile with its fiery coals helped to furnish many a toothsome lunch. No one escaped the Michigan appetite. One method of appeasing it was primitive and simple. Picking and stripping the husks from the ears, cutting a straight stick in the woods, sharpening

the tip end of it and pushing the sharp end into the butt of the ear, then holding the ear over live coals at the burning pile, roasted the corn to perfection, and a keen appetite needed no butter or salt to make it palatable. Ripe potatoes, fresh from the hills on new land, covered with the hot ashes and roasted, would satisfy the craving appetite.

In the spring of 1842, having no patch of cleared land suitable or that could be used for potatoes, after sugar making was ended and without hiring a day's work, we chopped down an acre of heavy beech and maple timber, trimmed the brush and burnt it by throwing it on to a fire already started, chopped the green logs into proper lengths for heaps, put them into piles, and by a great deal of careful attention succeeded in burning them. The roots and stumps were so green and stubborn that but little could be done in the way of plowing, but enough dirt was scratched together to make the hills and a fine crop was raised. The potatoes were not worth more than a shilling a bushel, but it was easier to raise the bushel of potatoes even in this way than it was to procure the shilling to pay for them.

In every corn field or potato patch a space some two rods square was reserved for watermelons, and the spot selected was where a brush-heap had been burned. A sure crop was the result, and in whose patch one happened to be made no difference about picking and eating, as in no case were melons classed as forbidden fruit. Of apples, pears, peaches and other domestic fruits there were none, and so great pains were taken to house the melons in a cool place where it would not freeze, and by such means they were kept well into the winter. High and low bush cranberries, wild grapes, and a few wild plums were the only fruits the forest afforded. As soon as some of the slashings had been down two or three years, blackberry and raspberry bushes sprang up and bore heavy crops. When the proper time came the whole family would start out, with the ox team and lumber wagon, and lunch baskets well supplied, and go about three miles to gather blackberries, and when there was a cranberry crop some six miles to a big swamp where they grew, and if a bushel or two were gathered by the half dozen members of a family, it was regarded as a very successful day's work. That providential cranberry marsh, then very wet for most of the year, and being a favorable resort and breeding place for massasaugas, is now a level and cultivated farm.

When spring opened and the sap began to start, to awaken to newness of life field and forest, making maple sugar was the first serious

work of the season entered upon by every family. It was the sole dependence for sweetness. Methods were crude. Sap troughs were used to catch the sap in as it flowed from the trees. A white or black ash tree of the right size would be chopped down, cut into pieces of the desired length, these split through the middle, and the inside of each half cut out with an ax, when the trough was ready for use. Some of them would hold a pail of sap. Bolstered up so as to set level at the foot of a tree, the hack was made in the trunk, the spile inserted at the lower end of the gash and adown its concave surface the sap would flow and drop into its rude receptacle.

A boiling place selected, a big tree was cut down for a backlog, crotches were set in front of it, a stout pole placed from one to the other to which the big kettles were hung. The inside of a big white ash log, perhaps twenty feet long, had been dug out, canoe fashion, with ax and adz, and this was used for storing the sap as it was gathered from the troughs. When the sap run freely it would have to be gathered twice a day, and boiling it down in the kettles would go on day and night. Sometimes out of the crotch of a tree a sled-like vehicle was made, across which a barrel was placed with the bunghole up, which the oxen would haul through the woods until the barrel was filled and then to the boiling place, but oftener men and boys would go from tree to tree, carrying two pails attached to a neckyoke, fill them at the troughs, then carry them to the storage trough and empty them. It was all hard work, but sugar is one of the necessities of living, and it had to be made at home, as there was no money to buy the family supply of muscovado, and no store where that was sold nearer than fourteen miles. Made into cakes, or into tub sugar from which the molasses was drained, it served an excellent purpose, and it was not uncommon for five hundred to a thousand pounds to be produced by each family.

Cider vinegar was out of the question, but the sour as well as the sweet is required. Just at the close of the sugar season, several barrels of sap would be boiled down into a single barrel, the latter would be hauled home, placed where fermentation would be expedited, and the result would be an excellent quality of vinegar for pickles and other household uses. From the same trees came sugar and vinegar. From the same sap came the sweet and the sour according to the method of treatment.

Opening roads, not making them, was the first public work that demanded attention. Except a few leading thoroughfares that were

established under the direct authority of the State, under a special act of the legislature, the township authorities ordered them and had them surveyed, and the work on them was in payment of the highway tax. Non-residents were assessed the same percentage on their property as were residents, but the latter could work out the highway tax as certified to the pathmasters or overseers of the several road districts, while the former paid the amount in cash as part of the general tax, and from this source came the only money that was received for highway purposes, except in case the town meeting voted a specific sum for some special purpose. Debates over such appropriations were often quite warm at the town meetings, and the decisions were made by viva voce vote. The necessity for opening a new road, when petitioned for, was decided by the three highway commissioners of the town. When a new settler located upon some outlying piece of wild land not on an established highway, a road for him to get out and in was a necessity. The first thing to be done after the survey was chopping down the timber that stood on the legal four rods in width that constituted the established highway. The resident owners of land in the road district were notified by the pathmaster when and where the road tax would be worked out. Axes, handspikes, a yoke or two of oxen to haul logs out of the driveway or to some miry place for a causeway, were the chief requisites for opening a highway to sunlight and civilization. Chopping down the timber would begin at the outer edges, where it would be felled in a straight line, and then from the center the trees would be felled each way, their tops making two jagged brush fences next to the standing timber the entire length of the opened highway. Straight through the woods the cutting would be made, the small trees and underbrush cut low so that the stumps would not catch the wagon hubs, and the logs chopped off and wheeled about for the driveway when necessary.

The days when the people came out to open a new road through the woods were more like holidays than work days. A number would assemble along a strip of road, the work would be systematically planned and prosecuted vigorously. The sound of axes and of falling timber awakened the forest from the slumber of centuries. There was strife among the choppers to see which one could cut down his half of a tree first, and there were no laggards or drones in performing this earliest public service. Every blow struck was along the line of improvement and progress, and this gave mental encouragement and muscular strength. Year by year new roads were opened, and not

many years elapsed until there was scarcely a track in a township that wound its tortuous way among the trees of the forest. Such a spot now is a charming relief, a delightful touch of nature, amid the general openness of the country. We long for trees when they are gone, and slaughter them unthinkingly if not unmercifully when they interfere with getting a living from the soil.

Familiarity for more than sixty years with the forests of Michigan and with their disappearance has taught the lesson that their preservation and restoration is now an important problem to the welfare of the State. Already, in the agricultural portions of the State, the percentage of area covered with timber is smaller than in some of the thickly settled countries of Europe. It is not an easy matter for a people who have been forest destroyers to become forest preservers; their habit of thought is on the side of destruction; men act from habit almost unconsciously all the time, but from judgment only when they are exercising it; and yet history teaches the important lesson that many of the once fairest and most productive regions have been made desolate by the destruction of their forests. Countries once fertile and populous have been thus rendered sterile and tenantless. Every interest, we know, is self-seeking to the extent of its opportunity, and it may seem that the forest destroyers are only dealing with what they exclusively own, but the right to do so to the injury of all the people may properly be questioned; for they are working a serious injury to the farms, the climate, and all the industries of the State. Forests obstruct the winds and protect man, animal and plant. They retard evaporation, absorb the rains and melted snows, and thus feed perennial springs and maintain the constancy of running streams. The forests gone, sudden floods which follow heavy rainfalls damage the labors of man. Driving winds, unobstructed in their course, do greater harm to vegetation, and it becomes more difficult to grow fruits and grains as the country becomes almost wholly cleared. Carried to excess, the very means which man uses to obtain greater production from the earth, brings him trouble and renders production more precarious.

Perhaps it is impossible to protect any country, and ours the least of all, from the ravages of personal and selfish interest. People plant trees on their prairie farms because it is an immediate personal interest to do so; they clear the timber from the hillsides actuated by the same motive. The one does good, the other works destruction. One owner may save a number of acres of original forest on his farm; the next

owner may have it all cut down for the sake of a few paltry dollars. If the personal motive co-operated with the general interest of the country for the great future, it would be the most natural thing to promote that interest; but where the personal motive is inimical to the general interest, it seems quite impossible to induce men to pursue the better course. It is indeed a pity that the old logging bees of sixty years ago, in which men were actuated by the best of motives—the welfare of others—could not be succeeded by tree-planting societies, which should study and practice forest perservation and restoration, and thereby promote the well-being of the present and of future generations. The requisite habit of thought would by so doing soon become thoroughly established.

Getting rid of the forests was the work of the pioneers with whom my boyhood life was associated; but, now, the preservation of the comparatively few acres of them that are left standing, and the restoration of them on hilltops and hillsides where the soil washes away and leaves the land of little value, should not be longer neglected. To make a region of country better worth living in than when he found it is the duty of every good citizen.

To me the lessons of pioneer experience are that civilization and progress are not conditions that exist outside of and independent of ourselves, bringing us blessings or curses in spite of what we do. The past has shaped the present, as the past and the present mould the future. Civilization is the opening up of larger opportunities for all; it is in its genuine sense the art of living together; that is what pioneer life and experience meant. If it does not do this then it is not a genuine civilization. It does not come to men unsought, but rather as a condition which they carve out for themselves, and for the shaping of which they are responsible. An opportunity of any kind is not necessarily fraught with good, and certainly not with evil. It is simply a possibility of either; which it will be must be decided by the way it is received and used. This is the case with every successive step in the progress of civilization. Take, for an illustration, any of the inventions of machinery which have set free the hands of thousands from manual labor. Monopoly of its advantages for the gain of a few is harmful to many; but its chief value has depended and still depends, not merely on the increase of production accomplished, but of the use of the human power it has released from ancient drudgery. At first many held it to be a curse because the employments to which they were accustomed were superseded, but those who embraced the opportunity to attain

more skill and to cultivate faculties that had lain dormant, soon found employment of a higher kind that furnished better remuneration. Improvements in the means of communication, which have made the whole would kin, in spite of a bloody-minded militarism, afford splendid opportunities to those who avail themselves of them, while some may utterly neglect them, and others may condemn them; but who would go back to corduroy roads, to ox-power and a lumber wagon, or to a three weeks journey that now can be made in thirty-six hours? Traveling, now so easy and cheap, may restore physical vigor, broaden the mind, deepen the joy of life; or it may fritter away the time, dissipate the energies, and make home and its duties seem worrisome and vapid. It all depends on the use made of opportunities. The wonderful increase in the interests and occupations of life are all opportunities which may be used to human advantage, or misused to disadvantage. It is better to have them with monopoly than not to have them at all. As it is, if the individual has the intelligence and skill to use his powers and regulate his life, they will be golden offerings from which he can select such as are appropriate to him, and by which he can best serve the community. If he lack the needful ability or self-control to do this, he may sink down, confused and disheartened, overcome with burdens beyond his strength to support, and thus diminish both his value and his happiness.

The world's progress, as all can see, is not going to be stayed because some cannot keep up with the procession. Pioneer years were limited in duration and can never return; they were heroic days in the way of achievement; they laid the foundation of present conditions; they marked the beginning of new era. Indians and wild animals were obstacles to progress and were crowded out for something vastly better then they represented. The people who made the State had their duties to perform, and they performed them well; the people whose duty it is to save the State have a harder task on their hands, as the spoils of legislation invite the activity of the selfish partisan and of the avaricious corruptionist. With great opportunities there is a demand for increased vigilance on the part of every citizen.

The first three winters after our arrival in Michigan—those of 1839-40, of 1840-41, and of 1841-42—were very mild, and caused much favorable comment when comparing them with the severer winters of New England. During one or two of them, in the months of January and February, playing the old-fashioned game of baseball was a frequent pastime. The small clearings, surrounded by the tall for-

ests, were protected from the sweep of fierce winds. When in the woods chopping down the timber or cutting sawlogs their force would be scarcely felt. Nearly all of the State was then a mighty windbreak, and the forests furnished kindly shelter for man and beast. It seems as if this lesson of experience should not have been entirely forgotten. The economic value of groves for breaking the force of cold and cruel winds, and for sheltering houses, barns and stock from their effect, was lost sight of in the indiscriminate slaughter of our arboreal vegetation.

There were no more stately and beautiful forests than those of Eaton county. Of the land located in Vermontville by my father in May, 1836, about three hundred acres of the original beech and maple forest, almost untouched by the relentless ax, still remain in nearly a square form, forming a body of woods from the central part of which one cannot see out into a clearing. Dropped down blindfolded into this patch of woods now, one could realize what the whole region was sixty-five years ago on the first of May this year, just before the sound of a woodman's ax had awakened the forest aisles from the slumber of centuries. Seeing is knowing as well as believing. Had one-third of the area been sacredly reserved as woodland, the remaining two-thirds would be worth more for agricultural purposes than the entire acreage denuded of its timber. The winter winds would be less severely felt; the springs and brooks would not have dried up; the drouths would be less destructive of vegetation; and men would have been less the enemies and more the friends of nature than has been the case. Forest trees and their foliage are the lungs of nature, inhaling and exhaling the atmospheric elements, breathing in carbonic acid gas and breathing out oxygen, and serving a wonderful purpose in the economy of nature. The forest is as useful as it is beautiful, and from every point of view it is one of the most helpful friends of man.

Half a century ago the hilltops were crowned with noble trees, and the hillsides were hidden by the dense foliage of that superb floral growth which gave to Michigan a wide renown and great wealth. Most of it had to be cut away, but much more of it than has been saved should have been preserved, both for adornment and for utility. Many of the hilltops and hillsides are now well-nigh barren fields, the rains washing their fertility into the valleys and the streams carrying it away. In some instances there was a slight temporary gain from cutting off too much of the forests, but the final result is a permanent loss. Too completely shorn of its forest glory and beneficence is the timbered

region of Michigan, and for the sake of a paltry gain which reckoned the stately maple, the nut-bearing beech, the strong-rooted oak, the spreading elm, the useful ash, the valuable cherry, the great black walnut, the soft basswood, the massive whitewood, as merchandise to be got rid of and never to be replaced. It was once my experience to drive the team that hauled a load of walnut lumber to Marshall, twenty-eight miles, every board of which was three feet wide and over, without crack or flaw, and deliver it to the late F. A. Kingsbury of that city, a cabinet maker, for the slight sum of twelve dollars a thousand feet. Cradles and coffins were cheap in those days. Now such a tree as the one that furnished that lumber would be worth as much as forty acres of cleared land; and yet, of the most valuable timber a net profit of one dollar a tree was not realized; too much of a good thing has been followed by too little.

Disaster has come to other countries as the result of such vandalism as has characterized the war of greed on Michigan forests, and we must not expect to escape from the same direful consequences. The soil of high lands, deprived of root and leaf and tree protection, is destined to wash into the lowlands, leaving our hills as barren and desolate as those of northern Africa, of southern Italy, of Spain, and of other once fertile regions, without even the probability of forest restoration by replanting indigenous trees by some later and wiser generation. In the meantime, spring floods will rise higher than ever before from sudden thaws and heavy rainfalls; while summer drouths, rendered worse by the parching winds, will paralyze agriculture and decimate the rural population. These results come gradually, but they are none the less certain. What has been will be. It is a sad and discouraging spectacle to those who realize what and how much of use and beauty have been already destroyed by the excessive swinging of the ax, and can form an approximate estimate, based upon the experience of other countries, of the arid and ugly desolation which is sure to come if the work of forest destruction is not somehow speedily stopped, and the work of restoration efficiently commenced.

The forests cooled the air in summer and furnished protection from cold winds in the winter. The effect was noticeable upon crops and fruit. Those who planted peach pits as soon as a little land was cleared began to have fruit in a few years. The winter temperature for the first twelve or fifteen years was not low enough to kill the trees or blast the buds, and yet the winter of 1842-3 was the longest one ever experienced in Michigan. It lasted until into April and voters went to

town meetings on runners the first Monday of that month. Towards March the winter supply of fodder, chiefly corn-stalks, as but little hay and no clover were grown, began to fail. March came with a heavy body of snow on the ground, not less than twenty inches deep in the woods; not a day during the month was the weather warm enough, even where the sun shone, to melt the snow. Soon the fodder was gone; there were no swamps in that region which produced marsh grass; a little corn in the ear, a few nubbins for each animal, was all the feed on hand. It was a gloomy outlook; the woods were the last and only resource. A little more than a hundred rods from the house, on the farm lot, adjacent to a brook of running water then but now free from any suspicion of that sort, the woods having been cut off, was a few acres in the forest covered mostly with sugar maple and some basswood and red elm. This spot of timber was selected to browse the cattle and keep them alive. At first, after giving them a few ears of corn, they were driven to the woods to eat the small twigs of the tops of the fallen trees. They soon learned the daily routine; as soon as one of us shouldered an ax in the morning after breakfast, the two oxen, the three cows, and a few head of young cattle, one and two years old, would leisurely follow down the road into the woods to their feeding place. When a fresh tree was chopped down and the limbs lopped so that the browse could be got at, they would move to it and get their rations. The red or slippery elm and basswood furnished the best and healthiest browse, but the sugar maple was the largest supply. Day after day for four or five weeks this work went on, and the cattle all came through the long winter alive. Often deer would come into the chopping and browse on the tree tops with the cattle. They were too lean for venison and so suffered no harm. Poverty, pity and kindness were united, as usual, for their protection. Naturally shy at first they soon learned to pay no attention to the presence of their human enemies, and were not startled by the sound of the ax or the noise of falling timber. Want and hunger are not paradisial conditions, but they bring out in strong relief the better elements of some varieties of human and animal nature, but not all, for that spring we found in the woods, not far away, the carcass of a deer that had been mostly eaten by wolves.

That hard winter was always remembered and talked about by the old settlers. On the first day of April the sun began to make a slight impression on the snow. The long looked for thaw had come. The next day we went to the sugar bush, cut down a large beech tree, about

three feet in diameter, for a backlog, set the crotches in the ground, placed a pole upon them, and hung the kettles preparatory to making sugar. There was no frost in the ground, and the snow melted rapidly. The sugar season was a short one. As soon as the snow melted the millions of leeks that were scattered throughout the forest began to spring up, and furnished the earliest green feed for the half-starved cattle. Other wild vegetation came forward rapidly, and in a short time the forest was a mass of wild flowers, the beauty of spring having succeeded the desolation of winter.

When first settled and for a few years after, the hardwood forests were literally carpeted with flowers in the spring and early summer, especially the land that was covered with sugar maples where there was but little underbrush. In places the growth of flowering plants was so bountiful that one could not see the ground, and when in full bloom the eyes could take in wide stretches of wild flowers. Literally the most of them were eaten out and trodden out in a few years. Cattle were free commoners anywhere in the woods, without regard to ownership of the land, and gradually, year by year, the prolific growth of flowering plants lessened, until nearly all sorts became extinct, and even the useful leek, though the bulb was rooted to the soil, finally disappeared, and with it the leeky milk and butter.

Only in 1843 did winter linger so long in the lap of spring. In 1842 the cattle went into the woods late in February and were not hunted for or driven home until about the middle of April. Some of them had bells on, and they were heard from frequently, so that it was known where they were, within a mile or two, all the time. It was a full day's search in the woods to find and drive them home. In the summer the mosquitoes would drive them out of the woods towards evening, when they would come home into the clearing where a grateful smudge would drive away the annoying insects; but in the fall, after the frosts had abated the mosquito nuisance, the woods would often have to be traversed for miles to find them. As a barefooted job, with occasionally great patches of nettles to be run through or else go around them, it would not now seem very desirable; but the feet get tough, liked bronzed faces and calloused hands, when exposed to service. Civilization had not introduced Canada thistles then to make going barefoot more annoying than it was. Hunting cattle as well as game was an education in woodcraft, and picking one's way in the woods after dark, with the sound of a cow-bell for a guide as the cattle were homeward bound, brought into active use a keen perception and quick judgment.

Each owner's cattle had different bells, and to distinguish from the sound whose they were came to be almost inerrant. One night, after dark, the cattle of three or four families were found south of the Thornapple river, some two miles from the village, and were started homeward; they would always go in the right direction when found, and after they were in motion only now and then would they be caught sight of, but the bells would jangle as they moved along. They had to ford the river, and the three boys followed them. The water was high and we expected to wade across. On the bank Indians were encamped in their newly improvised pole and brush wigwams, with a smouldering fire that had been built outside. They cleverly paddled us across to the north side in a canoe, and then for another mile of the dank bottomland and dense upland forest we felt our way in the pitchy darkness, following the sound of the bells, until we reached our homes, when the cows had to be milked and the chores for the day were done.

The woods were the unfenced pastures, used in common by all the pioneers, for many years. Thus they helped as well as hindered progress. For six or seven months the cattle lived in them and kept fat and sleek. They knew the best feeding places at different seasons, sometimes the dry upland and other times the rich river bottoms. The instinct of the wild animal developed with use. We came to learn their habits, and would say there is no use of looking for them in this or that part of the woods at a given time of the year. When the feed on the high land became scarce they would go to the bottom-land of the Thornapple or the Scipio. Knowing what the cattle knew made it surer work to find them. Later many a debt was paid and comfort obtained from the sale of stock that pastured in the wilderness. Pens and shelter would be made for hogs, and all the autumn, after acorns and beechnuts began to fall, they would thrive on the mast, which finished off with corn make excellent pork.

The effect of the great forest upon climate, moisture, products, and human welfare and interests, is a study well worth pursuing, and forestry is a science that has been too long ignored and neglected in this country. It seems quite evident, on looking backward to the past and considering the present, that a much larger forest area than we now have, with a more intensive agriculture, would retard, if not wholly prevent, the unfortunate decline in number of our rural population, in a region with such splendid natural advantages as southern Michigan, and greatly increase the wealth and prosperity of the State. From the land the sustenance of the human family is obtained, and the pres-

ervation of its attractiveness, productiveness and ability to support a large population is absolutely essential to the general welfare. In many sections since the original fertility was exhausted, the soil has been growing steadily poorer and the rural population has declined. This seems strange to one who has witnessed the transformation from an almost unbroken wilderness and two hundred thousand inhabitants, to a well-nigh forestless region and two and a half million people, with the population increasing only in the cities.

There were not many school advantages or disadvantages—which, depending upon the observer's point of view—in the early days. There may be too much, or too little, of mere schooling to get the best practical results for the individual and for society. Who shall decide? Certainly, all excess does harm. Circumstances, however, did not permit me to get my share, the mission of pioneer boyhood was work rather than study—familiarity with the tools needed to clear away the forest and cultivate the fields, rather than with books, which are tools to clear away ignorance and cultivate the mind. Combining both, in this age of machinery, seems to be best.

In the winter of 1839-40 there was no school, and minds, like the denizens of the forest, ran wild. What was learned, if anything, is equally as vague a mental impression as what was not learned. All the time, no doubt, there was a getting used to the new environment. Within a few rods of the house the woods began, and extended for miles away—indeed, with but few openings made by the ax, west to Lake Michigan, and north to the Arctic ocean. In the winter of 1840-41 a truly rural district school was taught for three months by William B. Fuller, a nerveless bachelor, who was sufficiently familiar with the three R's to perform the duties of the position. Very likely he had been a teacher in Vermont. He was a slow-moving mortal, owned forty acres of land, which he sold and moved farther into the woods as civilization came too close around him. Probably he was the only available pedagogic material at that time. He served the purpose in a moderate way; it was a school over which he presided, and that was the main thing in view; he preserved order and fair discipline, and reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic and geography made some progress, no doubt, though the only fact remembered is that Bill Fuller was the teacher, and the boy contingent had a great deal of fun out of doors at play-spells and noonings mostly. The higher education was confined within the log schoolhouse during regular hours. In the winter

of 1841-42 the second three months of education was duly provided, and Cephas Smith, another bachelor, fresh from Vermont, was installed as teacher. He could read, write and cipher as well as any resident of the town, but was an odd specimen of humanity. His 160 acres of land was about three miles west of the village, on which he built a log house and commenced clearing off the timber. He was the impersonation of good nature, with a humorous twinkle of the eye, and not at all concerned as to the way things went. Later he sold his farm, enlisted in the army as a private soldier and served during the Civil War, and after that roamed over the United States as inclination moved him. If he had no money to ride he would walk, and it seemed the same to him. Sometimes he would be heard of in Oregon, or Texas, or Florida. One morning, some fifteen years ago, before breakfast, he called at my house in Jackson, to borrow five dollars that he might pay his way to Vermontville. He smiled when he asked the favor, as he used to when teaching the district school, said he came in the night before from Florida, and remarked: "You know my brother Artemas will see that this is paid as soon as I get home." An urgent invitation to breakfast he declined quietly but firmly; the money was repaid as soon as he reached home; and that was the last of my intercourse with the happy-go-lucky school teacher of 1842. For the next winter, that of 1842-43, an imported teacher was deemed necessary, and a young man, by the name of Samuel Babcock, who lived near Ionia, was hired to take charge of the institution of learning for the required three months. He dressed better than any other person in the town, and appeared to belong to a different social strata from the two former teachers. With the girls of the village he was quite a favorite, and this did not enhance his popularity with the boy element. The school was of the usual routine character. Had there been more jackknives among the scholars there would have been more notches cut in the desk and benches, but we did the best we could with the material we had to do with. By play, fox and geese when there was snow enough on the ground to mark out the course, choosing sides for a furious game of snowballing and other rude sports, the muscle was kept invigorated for the nine months of work, and the rudiments of education, which all should have, were obtained.

During the winters of 1843-4, 1844-5 and 1845-6, it was my good or bad fortune, which no one can tell, but it is a wise philosophy to say that it was probably for the best, to be confined to the house by a serious lameness, so that going to school was impossible; but in the

winter of 1846-7 an attendance of four months in the Vermontville Academy, getting about on crutches, completed my schooling—a total of thirteen months after coming to Michigan.

The schoolhouse was a very primitive structure. The logs, after having been rolled up and put into place, were chinked on the inside with triangular pieces of basswood, split for that purpose and fastened to the logs with nails—sometimes wooden pins were used—and were mudded on the outside to keep out the cold. The summer rains would wash away more or less of the mud and so this work had to be done over again every fall. When kept in repair the schoolhouse was warm and comfortable. There were three windows of two sash each, seven by nine glass, one in front facing the east, and one each on the north and south sides. Poles were used for rafters. The lower end of each rafter was pinned to the upper logs of the body of the building. At the southeast corner was the door, made by fastening two boards of proper length to crosspieces, a wooden latch and catch, wooden hangings and a wooden handle on the outside. Around the room on three sides were wooden desks fastened to the logs and with a downward slant towards the long benches on which the scholars sat to study their lessons. In the center was a large cast-iron box stove, set on a clay foundation, that was boxed in for the sake of neatness. On each side of the stove were shorter benches where the scholars would sit to warm themselves, one dedicated to the girls and the other to the boys. Not much mixing of the sexes was allowed. At the front, lighted by the east window, the teacher had a wooden chair, a plain deal table, on which was an inkstand and quill pen, a ruler, and the few books that constituted his equipment, and back of it on pegs driven into a log usually lay two or three whips from the woods, the insignia of his authority and power to punish for the infraction of the rules he had laid down to govern his pupils. Three winters of three months each passed away in the rude log schoolhouse, and memory holds in its grasp more tenaciously the building and its appointments than any lesson that was learned therein. The Vermontville Academy, a frame building thirty by forty feet, was ready for occupancy in the winter of 1844-5, when the log schoolhouse was abandoned. Unable to attend school for three winters, my last four months of school education was under the tuition of Rev. W. U. Benedict, pastor of the Congregational Church and an excellent teacher.

The log schoolhouse and the academy building were used for religious services on Sunday and for the Wednesday evening prayer meet-

ings. The stalwart preacher, Rev. Sylvester Cochrane, stood behind the schoolmaster's table every Sunday and delivered his message to the people with earnestness and fervor. He was the pastor who had led the flock into the wilderness. He remained with them until 1842, when he moved to Northville, Michigan. In my "Vermontville Colony," printed in Volume 28 of the Collections of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, referring to the family of Minister Cochrane I remarked, "of Sarah, the daughter, nothing is known." It so happened that this daughter read my Vermontville history in the volume sent to the Detroit Public Library, whereupon she wrote me saying that since the death of her mother in 1863 she had lived in Detroit and was then second assistant librarian of the public library of that city. Revival meetings, church meetings for disciplining erring members, political meetings, elections, as well as schools, were held in the log school house and in the academy for years.

My recollection of the earliest political stump-speaking was in 1844, when two or three whig speakers came from Marshall, Daniel Lord being the only one whose name still lingers in memory, and they were followed by the same number of democrats, Jabez Fox the only one whose name can be recalled—both desiring to enlighten the people on the issues of the day. During the log cabin and coon skin campaign of 1840 the voice of no outside political speaker was heard crying in the wilderness; and, for aught that is known, the people voted just as intelligently as if they had listened night after night to the advocates of different parties and policies of government. It was natural that the log cabin and coon skin cry should have appealed effectively to the voters who lived in log cabins and could get more money for the time spent from coon skins than from any other product of skill and industry.

The education afforded under such circumstances and surroundings served a good purpose in after life, and seemed to be all that was essential to getting on in the world; what might have been with more is all conjecture, and yet it was very crude. We learned to spell, read and write, with something of arithmetic, a little of geography, and a very little of grammar. The books used were of a motley character, such as the first settlers brought with them from New England. For mathematics, we had in the school Daboll, Adams and Colburn's mental arithmetics; Olney's geography and atlas to teach us the little that was then known of the wide, wide world; Kirkham's grammar is the only one the name of which is remembered; there was a varied assortment of reading books, the titles of all of which except the old "English

Reader" are forgotten; Willard's "History of the United States;" and Webster's elementary spelling book. Wisely much attention was given to reading, spelling and writing. The only pen in use was the goose quill. Making one that wrote a fine hand without sputtering was a scholarly art. Domestic ink was sometimes used, made of a combination of cheap materials, soft maple bark being one of the ingredients. The teacher would set the copy, some commendable maxim, such as "Evil communications corrupt good manners," and the pupil would follow suit as best he could. Holding the pen was one of the arbitrary theories that was never practiced in after life. It must be held against the end of the second finger, and the feather point directly over the shoulder. No easier and more natural method was permitted. For making flourishes, which has always been considered an important feature in life, with the little finger resting lightly on the paper and no support for arm and elbow, the method of pen holding was favorable, but for steady work it was awkward and tiresome.

The teacher boarded around, the time allotted to each family being proportionate to the number of pupils, and was rarely more than a week at a place. A rate bill was made out by the school district officers on the same basis to pay for the teacher's services. The officers also apportioned the wood required for the winter, prescribing its length and quality, among the several families on the same ratio; the cost was the muscular force expended in cutting and hauling. The supply was newly cut and entirely green body wood, slow to burn, and the fire had to be started early in the morning to have the schoolhouse comfortable by nine o'clock. No boy had an overcoat. Accommodations for the teachers were such as a log house and a spare bed with curtains around it, above or below stairs, afforded. Arrangements would be made to have the best that the larder afforded when the teacher came to board, perhaps by killing a pig, baking a spare rib, making a fresh lot of sausage and head cheese, curing a ham in the best style of domestic art, drawing frequently on the supply of chickens, but rarely getting a taste of fresh beef. Ordinarily salt pork and corned beef were staple meats. The school teacher had to be careful about expressing a preference for particular households during the boarding around process.

It did not fall to my lot to attend school during any part of the three months summer terms, when a female teacher was employed. Work was of greater importance. Reading, at first, was confined almost wholly to weekly newspapers. There were no magazines and but few books. Dr. Dewey H. Robinson, the village physician and a graduate of Middle-

bury College, Vermont, had several volumes, among them some of Sir Walter Scott's novels, and the only long poem of that period which is remembered was Scott's "Lady of the Lake," parts of which Dr. Robinson took pleasure in reading aloud as opportunity occurred, to young people. Of the novels, "Ivanhoe," with its knights and ladies and tournaments, is the one that made the deepest and most durable impression. A near neighbor, Martin S. Norton, had a copy of Rollin's "Ancient History," in large print, and when lying bolstered up in a big cradle about 1845, a frame was fixed to hold the book, and I read it through carefully. Besides the Bible, every family had a few religious books, none of them more attractive to the young reader than Baxter's "Saint's Rest," or his "Call to the Unconverted," these being the only titles that memory has preserved in its silo for sixty years. Such whig papers as the weekly editions of the New York Tribune, the New York Express, and the Albany Journal were taken and attentively read. Then they were carefully laid away and used to paper the inside walls of the log houses. The only story paper that came to the post-office was the Philadelphia Saturday Evening Post, founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1728, in which, at that time, George Lippard's revolutionary romances, now forgotten, were blood-curdling features.

When the township library system was established by law, and the first installment of books purchased, a new and valuable opportunity was presented. A taste for reading that has not weakened with the lapse of years dates from that time. Later the township system was changed to a school district system, the books were distributed among the districts, and being divided into such small parcels that no one library amounted to much, the system died out. There were histories, biographies, sketches of travel, but no novels, in the township library, of which the town clerk was custodian, and thinking of the subject now, after more than half a century, it seems to me that the State could not have done a single act that was more wise than the establishment of the township library system for the benefit of the pioneer children of that period. To me it was of great value—good books coming new and fresh from the pens of authors and presses of publishers, and furnishing an opportunity to cultivate a taste for reading, which, otherwise, could not have been developed until later in life. The State does well when, in all respects, it furnishes equal opportunities to every citizen.

Of course, education is largely a matter of mental absorption—perhaps even more than is memorizing lessons and repeating them—and

many a time the thought of the township library system has come to mind with a feeling of gratitude to those who established it. Having learned to read the next important thing is the opportunity to read and availing oneself of it so that the habit may become fixed before the activities of manhood absorb one's entire attention. In the world of books, even when in the busy world of men, there are vast educational possibilities. The taste for reading thus early formed led to my first purchase of a printed volume, a cheap, double column to the page edition of Macaulay's Essays, published by Harper & Brothers, which cost the not easily spared sum of $1.50.

But genuine education is more than merely learning from books; it is physical and moral as well as intellectual. Sound bodies are essential. To learn to do things in the world's fields and workshops is important, but above all else, evil dispositions should be eradicated. The soul is not saved unless it first learns to think and then keeps on thinking; good thoughts drive out bad ones; constant contemplation of right drives out the opposite wrong; the right thought and the true love are converted into character by continual practice. The State is not benefited by education unless it is physical, industrial, intellectual and moral; for such an education in its completeness, rounds out the characters of its citizens. Intellectual brilliancy, if accompanied by moral rottenness, hastens national decline and decadence.

Like the impressions of some former life have come to mind these recollections of a circumscribed pioneer boyhood. They have enabled me to live over again, bathed in the sunshine of that Indian summer in the fall of 1839, my first experiences in Michigan. Many of the incidents mentioned seemed forgotten until the work of narrating them actually commenced. How little we realize, when pursuing life's regular avocations from day to day, what a multitude of things are stored away in the mind, the real and permanent self, until they are resurrected, not by conversation, but when alone, thinking over and putting upon paper events as they transpired with which we were familiar. They were not memorized, or they might have been forgotten, but were life's lessons which became by unconscious absorption a part of one's mental equipment. Gorgeous with their autumnal colorings, the Michigan woods made a picture always to be remembered—a picture set in a framework of virgin forests, with the foliage of the stalwart oaks, the great beeches, the useful maples, and a varied undergrowth, receiving their first touches from nature's paint brush. The pioneers had good reasons for thinking that no more beautiful and inviting region existed

in this broad land of ours than southern Michigan, and well-nigh three-fourths of a century's experience has confirmed their impressions. The labor involved was ungrudgingly given because of its promised results. In the variety and quality of its products—its grains, fruits and vegetables—Michigan is unexcelled. If it shows failure in any respect this is the fault of men and not of its natural endowments. The fairest regions of the earth's surface have been, and may be again made desolate by the ignorance and avarice of men. Forests may be entirely destroyed and the parched earth refuse to yield abundant harvests. Soil may be kept fertile, or it may be impoverished, and population decline. Making the State was the patient and perseverant work of the pioneers; saving it and improving it is the plain duty of their successors; and the latter is the most difficult task.

There is a sequence to events, and yet the past and the present are very much unlike. The demand of the times is for organization, and this demands a more capable, intelligent and patriotic leadership and direction than was required to meet the necessities of the past. All progress is from the simple to the complex. This is the law of social and industrial development; hence new problems arise. Not only a new century, but a new era, has dawned. Some of us have witnessed the birth and evolution of steam power, with its revolutionary effect throughout the industrial and commercial world, and are now witnessing the beginning of the application of electricity to human affairs, as, next to mind, the chief motor in the world's progress. The ox team and lumber wagon era, and the stage coach period that succeeded it, have ended. Isolated communities are scarce; the pulse beats of humanity are felt by all. Though separated by hundreds of miles men talk with each other as if face to face. Men and women are becoming less individualized and more socialized. Civilization in its genuine sense is the art of living together, and it is vitally dependent upon the just regard by every person of the rights of others; no great questions relating to social order and progress have yet been mastered. This country has a work to do in the modern world which its people cannot evade or escape. State, national and international responsibilities are multiplying; problems, local and world-wide, are crowding upon us. As yet we have not learned to govern our own cities creditably, and until we can do well the duties that are close around us, how can we expect that our example will be for the healing of other nations? Whether we like it or not, we are at the threshold of great social, industrial and economic problems, which vitally affect the lives and homes

of men, upon the solution of which depends the future welfare of our own people and the destiny of free government. The past is secure; the past and the present are shaping the future; and, for all time and everywhere, high ideals and moral values represent the possible best in human life. High ideals made our government. It was based on equal rights for all. This is the golden rule in politics and economics. In the ebb and flow of thought there will be periods of depression and of exaltation. Humanity moves in everlasting spirals and at every revolution there is some ascent.

The old days have disappeared, and the education they gave can never be repeated. Making all things new is the eternal process. Present knowledge surpasses that of the past. Nature is the storehouse of all genuine knowledge; study nature, for the information thus gained furnishes great satisfaction in after life, wherever one may be, in field or forest, in all seasons, and in all parts of the world. The professional knowledge of my friend of half a century, Prof. R. C. Kedzie, of the State Agricultural College, is the one branch of science that seems to me the most alluring. It brings one into close communion with the secrets of nature. My boyhood experience was with the outside appearance rather than with the inward reality, still it had its use. In his great work, "The American Commonwealth," Mr. James Bryce, says: "It is impossible not to regret the disappearance of a picturesquely primitive society which novelists and essayists have made familiar to us, with its delightful mixture of homely simplicity and keen intelligence." This condition pertains wholly to pioneer times, and it is impossible, even were it desirable, ever to reproduce in daily life the features of that "delightful mixture of homely simplicity and keen intelligence," which pertained to early days among pioneer settlers in a new country.

But conditions will change; machinery will compel it. From the soil comes all things that sustain bodily health and vigor. "Back to the land!" is already the cry, not only of those dissatisfied economists who are advocating a return to agricultural pursuits on the part of the struggling dwellers in congested cities, as a partial solution of many perplexing social and industrial problems, but also of those intelligent observers who have come to realize that for every person a rural life, at least for a part of the year, affords the best possible foundation for true physical, mental and moral well-being.

The trend from rural life has been stimulated, no doubt, by a system

of education which leads away from instead of up to skillful and intelligent manual labor. In no other occupation does a man need to know so many things accurately as on a farm. But, it seems to me, the rush of population to the cities, so marked in recent years, has reached its flood and the ebb tide has already set in. The example of my esteemed friend, Mr. L. D. Watkins, chairman of the committee of historians of our society, who lives on the ancestral acres in Michigan, already familiar to four generations of his family, is better than that of any politician in the State. Their lives on Fairview Farm in Jackson and Washtenaw counties are nearer to a high ideal and a manly independence than the dwellers in cities can attain. Much better is this example than that of my young associates during the years of my pioneer boyhood; for of the original twenty-two families that formed the Vermontville colony, in which were forty-eight boys, only three are living on farms, and only one of them on land that was cleared by his father.

As we note the pressure for the perishable—as living becomes more artificial than natural—as wants increase and the struggle to gratify them grows intenser—we do not wonder that men are asking themselves and each other how they may live less intensely and more sanely, realizing that glittering gold, and glittering things that are not gold, count for nothing when weighed in the balance of judgment against a sound body, a cultivated mind, and a clear conscience.

Today my sincerest wish is that there had been an agricultural college for me to attend when a boy. Its studies tend to keep alive an interest in nature, in the land, in the soil and its products. Natural science has perennial charms. Men like nature. How many persons take delight in going to pleasant inland lakes, bordered with forests, to live simpler and healthier lives than in the city during the summer months. Nature is the attraction. Why, even forestry will soon be a noble science. What we once sought to destroy we must now study to preserve. Already it is a wholesome sign, as the popularity of Farmers' Institutes prove, that no teachers of modern times are listened to with more absorbing interest than are those who interpret nature and unfold, not in the technical terms of science which repel, but in the words that men understand, the wonderful secrets of the soil, which many men in the mere bread and butter struggle too often and too utterly ignore. Writers like Henry D. Thoreau, Bradford Torrey and John Burroughs, who treat nature as interpretable in the language of common life, will be read and admired long after the technical writings of mere scientists are forgotten. My words reach but few young men; if they did, my

advice would be to study nature. Pioneer boyhood had but little else. What Hamilton Mabie says of New England, in one of his books, is equally applicable to Michigan: "When one remembers how many and how delicate are the invisible ties that time and growth have woven between childhood, youth, and maturity and the outer world in which each succeeding period has found its strength and joy, one is tempted to venture that nature lies a little nearer life in New England than elsewhere." No nearer, in my opinion, than in Michigan's two grand peninsulas.

Eight years of my life, from 1839 to 1847, passed away in Vermontville. During the last named year it was my destiny to go over the road to Marshall for the first time after we moved into the wilderness, and with this trip my pioneer experiences ended, and only its recollections and lessons remain. The occupation that chose me is not a matter of regret. It was my intention to become a clerk in a dry goods store, but there being no opportunity just then, when something to do was necessary, the Marshall Expounder printing office gave me a chance to learn the "art preservative of all arts," and with it opened a new line of experience; but no subsequent events have blotted out the recollections and lessons of pioneer boyhood.

THE NEW STATE CAPITOL.

About thirty years ago the necessity for a new State capitol building for Michigan was felt and very generally acknowledged. The buildings then in use at Lansing were too small to accommodate the various State departments and offered very little security against fire.

They consisted of the first capitol, which was erected in 1847, and enlarged in 1865, a frame building, containing the legislative halls, supreme court room, the State library and several offices; also a brick building on the center of Capitol square, erected in 1853, in which the other State departments had their offices. These buildings being several blocks apart caused great inconvenience to the various departments whose intercourse with each other was constant, and it was generally acknowledged that greater security should be provided for the archives of the State, which were constantly increasing in value.

Recognizing this necessity, Gov. H. P. Baldwin, in his inaugural message to the legislature on January 4, 1871, urged upon that body that they should provide for the erection of a suitable capitol building. A bill "To provide for the erection of a new State capitol" was introduced in the senate on February 14, was passed by that body on February 28, and by the house of representatives on March 22, and approved by the Governor and became a law on March 31. The act provided an appropriation of $1,200,000.00 for the erection of the capitol; $30,000 for a building to accommodate the State offices, supreme court and State library during the erection of the capitol and $10,000 for incidental expenses. It also provided for the appointment by the Governor of three commissioners, to be known as the "Board of State Building Commissioners," the Governor to be an additional member ex-officio and president of the board; also that a secretary, not a member of the board, should be appointed.

On April 11, Gov. Baldwin sent to the legislature the names of Ebenezer O. Grosvenor, of Jonesville, James Shearer, of Bay City, and Alexander Chapoton, of Detroit, to be the commissioners and the nominations were confirmed by the legislature on joint ballot. The commissioners met in Lansing and qualified the following day. On May 8, E. O. Grosvenor was elected vice-president of the board and on May 16 Allen L. Bours, of Lansing, was appointed secretary. The board as thus constituted continued until the completion of their duties eight years later, the only changes during that period being in the presidency of the board which was vested by law in the Governor of the State; the work having been commenced under Gov. H. P. Baldwin continued under Gov. John J. Bagley and concluded under Gov. Charles M. Croswell.

The first work of the commission was the erection of a building to be occupied by the State departments, the supreme court and the State library during the erection of the capitol building. The cost of this building including all expenses incident to its construction was $30,693.94, a small excess over the amount originally appropriated.

This additional sum was incurred in providing greater security for the vault in the State Treasurer's department, which was considered a matter of so great importance that a joint meeting of the building commissioners and State officers was held to consider it, and the improvement was unanimously agreed upon, the contractor agreeing to perform the work and to have his payment therefor contingent upon its allowance by the legislature.

In response to an advertisement of the commissioners, soliciting competitive plans for the capitol, twenty-two sets of plans were submitted, which had been prepared by leading architects of Michigan and other states. They were generally very creditable to their authors, and their consideration required the board to be in almost constant session for nearly a month—their evening sessions continuing frequently until midnight. Builders of experience and recognized ability were employed to assist the commissioners, not only in judging of the practicability of the plans, but also in estimating the cost of the building in accordance with the most approved designs. The State officers were invited to be present and to take part in considering the merits and adaptability of the plans under discussion. The examination of the plans was concluded on January 24, 1872, when a ballot was taken by the State officers and commissioners, which resulted in the unanimous choice on the first ballot of the plans of Architect Elijah E. Myers, then residing at Springfield, Ill. An agreement was subsequently entered into, by which Mr. Myers was appointed the architect and general superintendent of construction.

On July 15, 1872, the commissioners entered into a contract with N. Osburn & Co., practical building contractors of Rochester, N. Y., and Detroit, Mich., to construct and complete the capitol in accordance with the requirements of the plans and specifications, for the sum of $1,144,057.20, leaving nearly $56,000 of the appropriation to cover the cost of any extras which might be deemed necessary in construction, as well as all expenses incident to the erection of the building, including the salary of the architect. The contract required the building to be completed by December 1, 1877. The contractors at once entered upon their work, which they pursued with commendable vigor, showing throughout its progress a disposition to faithfully live up to all the requirements of their contract.

Several changes, adding to the beauty and utility of the building were agreed upon during its construction, the cost of which was provided for by special appropriations by the legislature. The most important of these were the substitution of stone for galvanized iron in the construction of the main cornice and belting courses, at a cost of $65,000; improvements in the approaches to the porticoes, and in the construction of the roof, which cost $330,000.

The corner stone of the capitol was laid with appropriate ceremonies on October 2, 1873.

The building was completed and dedicated on the first day of January, 1879, at which time addresses were made by ex-Governors Alpheus Felch, William L. Greenly, Austin Blair, Henry P. Baldwin and John J. Bagley. A letter was read from ex-Governor Robert McClelland, regretting his inability on account of impaired health, to be present. This was followed by the report of the State Building Commissioners and presentation of the completed edifice by vice-President E. O. Grosvenor.

Governor Charles M. Croswell then made an address, accepting the building in behalf of the State of Michigan.

The several appropriations of the legislatures for the construction of the capitol, furnishing of legislative halls, improvement of grounds, etc., were as follows:

For erection of buildings and current expenses	$1,200,000 00
For steam heating and ventilation	70,000 00
For stone cornice and balustrade	65,000 00
For changes in entrance approaches and roof	30,000 00
For electrician work and other improvements	25,000 00
For furniture, improvement of grounds, etc	40,000 00
Total amount at disposition of building commissioners	$1,430,000 00
Of this amount there was expended	1,427,743 78
Leaving of appropriations unexpended	2,256 22

The commissioners having fully completed the work assigned to them, made their final report to the Governor on May 21, 1879, upon which day the commission was dissolved.

During the entire term of a little more than eight years from the organization of the commission until its dissolution, no regular monthly meeting was ever omitted, and special meetings were held whenever the interests of the State rendered them necessary, and a full board was always in attendance, to accomplish which the individual interests of the commissioners were often laid aside. The meetings were frequently continued until after midnight. Every matter coming before the board had its final disposition by a unanimous vote. The completed building is a great success in every particular; every portion of it is strictly fire-proof. The vault in the State Treasurer's department is so constructed that the most expert burglars could not penetrate it between the hours of closing business on one day and its resumption on the following day. The offices are all well lighted, the system of heating and ventilation is perfect, and a joint convention of the building commissioners and the State officers decided that the building is of suffi-

cient magnitude to provide for all reasonable demands upon it for a century to come.

The legislature of 1879 adopted a joint resolution declaring that the people of the State of Michigan are justly proud of their new capitol building and thanking the Honorable Board of State Building Comsioners and their secretary who so watchfully and laboriously supervised its erection.

The building contains, besides corridors, passages, closets and wash and cloak rooms, one hundred thirty-nine rooms, thirty-eight being in the basement, thirty-three in each of the first and second stories, twenty-eight in the third and seven in the fourth story, besides the boiler and fuel rooms. There are two grand stairways, one being on each side of the rotunda, extending from the basement to the fourth story, also additional stairways in several parts of the building. The building, exclusive of porticoes, is 345 feet in length by 191½ feet in depth at the center. The extreme height is 267 feet; the girth of the building is 1,520 feet and it covers one and one-sixth acres.

All the past Governors of the State who were connected with the erection of the building and who took part in its dedication have since passed to their reward, as well as Commissioners Shearer and Chapoton, the one who now addresses you being the sole survivor of the commission.

It was the unchangeable determination of the commission at its outset, and until its labors were fully completed, to carry out the instructions of the legislature, in providing for the erection of the building, to the letter, and that purpose was never changed. Each annual report showed how every dollar was expended, and explained in the fullest manner every transaction of the commission. The assurance that the people of the State fully appreciated and approved the entire work of the commissioners has been regarded by them as their greatest reward.

In closing this brief review of the work of the commission during the construction of the capitol, I copy a paragraph from the report of the commission made at the dedication of the building, and also a copy of a document executed by N. Osburn & Co., contractors, on the completion of their contract and the acceptance of the building by the commission, which will give some slight idea of the business methods adopted and enforced in the discharge of their duties:

"The commission has aimed to erect a capitol worthy of the dignity of the State, massive and elegant, void of all trivial ornamentation and

pleasing in appearance, of enduring material, substantial in construction, and perfect in workmanship, and while earnestly endeavoring to accomplish this, that we have not been unmindful of the injunction of the legislature to make no expenditure exceeding the appropriation, is attested by the following instrument executed by the contractors on the day of completion and acceptance of the building:

"Received of the Board of State Building Commissioners of the State of Michigan voucher No. 73, bearing even date herewith, for the sum of one hundred thirty-six thousand three hundred four and 70-100 ($136,304.70) dollars, being in full settlement of all demands arising in any manner under a contract made on the 15th day of July, A. D. 1872, with said Board of State Building Commissioners for the erection and completion of a State capitol for said State, it being expressly agreed and understood that all demands for extra labor and materials as well as for all changes made in the work for the entire completion of the contract are adjusted."

(Signed) N. OSBURN & CO.

Lansing, Mich., September 26, 1878.

Respectfully submitted,

EBENEZER O. GROSVENOR,

Jonesville, Mich.

THE GREAT CONSPIRACY.

A CHAPTER FROM THE EARLY HISTORY OF MICHIGAN RAILROADING, SHOWING THE DESPERATE AND DESTRUCTIVE OPPOSITION TO THE MICHIGAN CENTRAL.

I was surprised to find from recent interviews with "Old-time Michigan Central Railroad men" that Friend Hopper was the only one who made any reference to the trouble on the road which culminated in what was known as the "Great Conspiracy Case," and a number have asked me to give more particulars in regard to it. When we consider that a generation has passed away since it occurred, it really is not strange that there is so little known in relation to it, though it was the most important trial that was ever in the courts of Michigan, both from the number and prominence of the lawyers employed, and the length of time occupied.

Of the lawyers employed in the case but two are now living (this refers to 1892), H. H. Wells and Wm. A. Cook, of Washington, D. C., both of whom appeared for the defense.

The case was conducted for the people by David Stuart, prosecuting attorney; John Van Arman, James A. Van Dyke, Jacob M. Howard, Alex. D. Fraser, Daniel Goodwin and Wm. Grey. The counsel for the defense were Henry Frink, Wm. A. Howard, Wells & Cook, L. W. Hewitt, W. H. Joy and Wm. H. Seward.

There was thus a most distinguished array on both sides. The presiding judge, Hon. Warner Wing, long since passed away. There are five surviving members of the jury: A. C. McGraw, Ralph Phelps, Horace Hallock, Amos Chaffee, and Stephen Fowler, the first four of whom are now well-known and honored residents of Detroit.

During the ownership of the road by the State, there was comparatively very little stock killed on the track, as the trains did not run fast enough on the old strap rail to do much damage. What were killed were liberally paid for by the State, so much so that persons were charged with feeding their swine and other poor stock on the track, for the purpose of having them killed, as the best market they could find for them; but when the company took the road and began laying "T" rail, and had a better class of engines, they did more damage, and the paying of it became a serious tax on them.

After the road was fairly fenced, Superintendent Brooks felt that farmers and other owners of stock running at large should share some of the responsibility of looking after their property, and in the summer of 1849 issued a circular to persons along the line, stating that from that time the company would pay only one-half the appraised value of the stock killed.

This created a great deal of ill feeling against the company and the war began in earnest. There had been some trouble between Grass Lake and Jackson before, such as burning the company's wood, and obstructing the track to throw the cars off, but nothing very serious occurred until after the issuing of the order. Then the citizens of Leoni and Michigan Center began a systematic attack upon the road by stoning the cars, firing guns at the engineers and putting serious obstructions on the track; and not only there, but at other points along the road, notably west of Kalamazoo, where there was a strong up grade, and where the people took a very different course to avenge

themselves, as the women tried out the tallow and lard of the animals killed and the men used it for greasing the tracks, at night.

While there was no danger, it was decidedly troublesome to railroad men both night and day, as the track had to be sanded, and it was no uncommon thing to see the whole crew of the train, sometimes assisted by the passengers, throwing sand on the track for a mile or two; while at times there would be numbers of the inhabitants standing inside their fences laughing at us, and if asked "who greased the track?" they would reply: "who killed our cattle?"

It had been necessary for some time for the conductor or baggageman to go ahead with a light or run a hand car in front of their trains from Grass Lake to Jackson. The writer has been on a hand car when, on getting a little too far in advance of his train, the miscreants, who would be hiding in the bushes, would run out and drop a log or old strap iron between him and the train, and he knew of other conductors having the same experience.

Up to the fall of 1850 there was no organized effort of the company to detect the scoundrels. Before that time it had kept more or less watchmen along the road nights to prevent accidents, but they never seemed to amount to much in detecting them.

At this time the writer and a Detroit attorney were sent to Jackson by Mr. Brooks. There we got a warrant, and at night, with Deputy Sheriff Henry Holden, we drove down near the Crouch farm and arrested a young man who had been seen by one of the watchmen setting fire to wood piles belonging to the company, but his trial never come off, as with others arrested about the same time, they were bailed out by influential friends of the gang at Jackson, and their trial postponed.

It had been known for some time that Fitch and Filley were the ringleaders of the gang. Abel F. Fitch was an old resident and leading citizen of that part of Jackson county; he lived in good style in a handsome house at Michigan Center, within a few feet of the right of way of the road. He was a very companionable man, and had many friends in the vicinity, although he had been accused of some questionable transactions in wild-cat banking.

He seemed to hate Mr. Brooks and the railroad company intensely, without any reason that could be seen, as he had never been injured by them in any way. We were led to believe at first that he had been paid for it by some outside interest in opposition to the road, or that he was in hopes of forcing a large sum from Mr. Brooks to settle the trouble, and the latter proved correct, as Mr. Brooks was approached

by Fitch's friends with a number of propositions to settle the trouble, but would not entertain them for a moment.

He was willing to spend any amount of money to punish them, but not a dollar as a compromise.

Before this Fitch had written a very insulting letter to Mr. Brooks claiming that the cars did not stop at Michigan Center to take on passengers, and threatening to injure the company. As far as the writer knew the cars were always stopped there when properly signaled.

Amos Filley was of a different order of men; he kept a low tavern that was the resort of all the hard cases in the county, just across the street from Fitch and near the track, and as whisky was cheap in those days (from twenty to twenty-five cents per gallon), and it was said there was more drank there than in any other place of its size in the State, the wickedness done was accounted for.

The other members of the gang were mostly farmers, and their sons from the vicinity, who were drawn into it by their leaders. Matters had assumed a serious shape at this time, as the trouble had become so widely advertised in the east it had driven most of the through travel off the road to the upper lake steamers and on the Michigan Southern road, and the company employed Messrs. Darius Clark and John Van Arman to organize some systematic plan to ascertain who the depredators were and get evidence to convict them if possible. Mr. Clark was a member of the State legislature from Marshall, of the firm of Nash & Clark, contractors in building the road from Kalamazoo to New Buffalo, and a man of the highest integrity.

Mr. Van Arman was a criminal lawyer, also from Marshall, was a friend of Clark, but not much known out of Calhoun county at the time.

He was a man of iron nerve, as was shown by his actions while investigating the case, and this trait is perhaps best illustrated by an article published in the Chicago Times at the time of his death in that city a few years ago:

"A wealthy woman who had been indicted for the murder of her husband applied to him to defend her.

"As he knew or felt satisfied she was guilty, he asked her what her life was worth. She finally agreed to pay him $30,000 if he would clear her. He took her case and went into court. It was charged that her husband was poisoned by eating biscuit she had made for him, and a part of one which had been analyzed and found to contain a large quantity of arsenic was put in evidence in court.

"In closing his argument for the defense he ridiculed the idea of a man being poisoned by that biscuit, picked it up from the table and ate it, and then putting on his overcoat and hat left the court room. The woman was acquitted. It was afterwards learned that he had his friend Dr. Hahn with a stomach pump in an adjoining room, where he was pumped out and his life saved."

He showed the same spirit of recklessness in dealing with this case for which he was severely censured by Mr. Seward.

Mr. Clark employed Westcott, Phelps and Lake as the principal detectives or spies, as they were called. Westcott had been a bartender at Jackson, and when hired was a guard in the prison.

He was well acquainted at Michigan Center and Leoni and a man of fair reputation. Phelps, the principal witness, was at the time a resident of Sylvan, Washtenaw county, and had served a term in the State prison for horse stealing, a gentlemanly occupation in those days, but which caused some to doubt his evidence, and the defense brought scores of witnesses to impeach him, but as his most important testimony was corroborated by Clark, Van Arman and other good witnesses they did not succeed.

The writer does not remember much about Lake, who was only important in corroborating the evidence of the others. During the holding of the State fair at Ann Arbor in the fall of 1850, it seemed almost impossible to get by Leoni and Michigan Center in the night without some accident, as the gang seemed to make a special effort to damage us at that time, which gave the spies a fine opportunity to get in their work, and they made good use of it. It was proven afterwards that the gang had sworn they would kill some of the passengers before the fair was over.

One night during the fair the writer was running a train west, and reaching Grass Lake, he told the engineer he could run to Michigan Center without much danger. While collecting fares a gentleman asked him why they were running faster than usual through Michigan Center. He replied: "There is no danger; we have the head devils on board, and the gang will not hurt them."

Turning around he found himself facing Fitch and Filley, who with their wives were returning from the fair; while they looked daggers, there was nothing said. On the night of the 18th of November, 1850, the new brick freight depot of the Michigan Central Railroad in Detroit, erected but three years before, at a cost of $80,000, of the same size and occupying the same ground as the present one, was burned with all

its contents. It was evident to the writer and others first on the ground that it had been set on fire, and it was soon learned by the spies that a man named Gay, who kept a hard place on East Fort street had done the firing with a machine which they called a "match," manufactured by the crew at Michigan Center. As Westcott was mistrusted by the conspirators for a spy on them, he was required to take a similar match to Niles and set fire to the railway warehouse there, to make himself sound with them, which he did, and meeting Mr. Clark there, he had men ready to put the fire out after it had burned enough to have it reported along the road. When he came back to Michigan Center the conspirators seemed well satisfied with him and proposed he should burn the buildings at Jackson and Ann Arbor.

About this time, "Old Sile Doty" (as he was called), one of the most noted horse thieves and counterfeiters in Michigan, was in jail at Hillsdale for making counterfeit money, with a fair prospect of a long term in State prison, and Fitch and Filley who were his friends, were anxious to get him out. It was learned that Filley, who was a stone mason, had helped to build the jail at Hillsdale, and had some knowledge of a secret way of getting the prisoners out. At this time Mr. Van Arman showed his nerve. He came down to Michigan Center and stopping at Filley's tavern, represented himself to be a lawyer from Illinois, and that he had been employed by Doty's friends to get him out of jail. The conspirators soon fell into the trap, and he drew from them their plans against the railroad company and enough to corroborate the statements of the spies as to the gang having burnt the depot at Detroit, and sent Westcott to Niles to burn the one there.

He afterwards went to Detroit and was introduced to Gay by Phelps as their friend, when he was shown another "match" that was to be used for burning the present freight depot, which was built immediately after the burning of the other. Mr. Clark also went to Detroit and was introduced to Gay as Doty's friend, where he was shown the same match. In April, 1851, a train was fitted up at the depot in Detroit, consisting of two new freight cars fitted with comfortable seats, and two coaches, of which the writer was put in charge as conductor. The sheriff of Wayne county and his deputies, Messrs. Clark and Van Arman with a few of their friends and about sixty picked railroad men, mostly from the shops, were taken on board.

We left in the evening for Michigan Center, and soon after leaving Ypsilanti the doors of the freight cars, which contained most of the men, were closed, and only a few left in the coaches to allay sus-

picion. We reached Michigan Center a little after midnight and stopped just west of Fitch's house. It was fortunately a quiet night at the place, and every one seemed to be in bed. The men were then divided into squads, with an officer and a spy who knew the location of the parties to be arrested, and commenced work. The sheriff, with Clark and Van Arman, first arrested Fitch and brought him on board; after that they came in pretty fast, and it was noticeable that every one requested to be allowed to see Fitch before they were taken away, little expecting to find him in their company. After arresting thirty-six prisoners without having met with any opposition, we returned to Detroit, where Gay was arrested. The trial began in Detroit in April and was not finished until the last of September. During this time Fitch and Gay both died in jail. About a dozen of the prisoners were convicted and sent to State prison but were all pardoned before the expiration of their sentences. A free ride was given by the company to the citizens along the line between Detroit and Jackson, who wished to hear the closing arguments in the trial.

When Mr. Seward closed, the friends of the prisoners felt very confident of their acquittal; but after listening to Mr. Van Dyke's argument their feelings changed, as it was allowed to be the grandest plea ever made in the State, and Mr. Seward (ex-Governor of New York), went to his home a much less popular lawyer than when he came.

And thus ended the "Great Railway Conspiracy Case."

JOHN GILBERT.

Ypsilanti, May, 1892.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF MICHIGAN, THEIR VALUE AND IMPENDING LOSS.

BY HARLAN I. SMITH, AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, NEW YORK.

Within the State of Michigan are several distinct sorts of antiquities characteristic of the respective regions where found, distinctly typical of and practically confined to Michigan. The scientific, educational and financial value of these is greater than is indicated by our present knowledge of them, in comparison with our understanding of the other resources of the State. During the past decade many of the antiquities have been destroyed by road building and less laudable enterprises.

So little scientific investigation has been made of Michigan antiquities that the results, in the way of literature and specimens, are comparatively meager. Students, therefore, have at present but few data available for study. Besides the scant literature, there are some careful observers who have a general knowledge of the resources of their own immediate region, and a few who possess manuscript notes, maps and photographs which are of value to science. There are also several collections of authenticated specimens from Michigan, within the State and in eastern institutions. This present knowledge of the antiquities of Michigan is no index of its archaeologic wealth. The explorations which have been completed in a few of the mounds, village sites and other remains promise a rich harvest of facts for comparison as the reward of future survey and excavation in the unexplored locations.

The distribution of known antiquities also indicates that many more await the explorer in the unexplored regions, and the testimony of ethnology is in entire harmony with this suggestion. At this time the most feasible method of arriving at a fair comprehension of all the resources is by review in the data at hand; meanwhile, we hope that in the near future such a careful archaeologic survey may be made of the whole State as will give a correct and complete idea of its archaeology.

If we locate on a map all the ancient earthworks now known, as has been done by the bureau of American ethnology at Washington, we find the map most thickly spotted in the southern part of the State and along the shores of the lakes, the places having been most thickly populated by cultured people for a long time, or traversed by intelligent tourists and navigators. Other localities that seem equally favorable are not indicated, probably because they have not been visited by interested persons qualified to recognize and report upon them.

Hundreds of mounds, as well as a number of embankments, mounds surrounded by circular earthworks, so called "garden beds," cache pits and village sites, with a few shell heaps and effigy mounds are known. This assuredly tends to impress the student with the importance of the archaeologic resources of the State, and with the belief that a vast store of knowledge awaits the thorough scientific exploration of so many remains, and that these known works are but a part of those really existing.

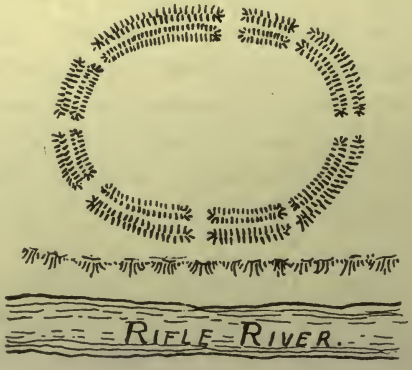
"The Michigan Pioneer Collections" contain papers by various authors giving the results of surface observations and of some excavations, as well as theories relating to the subjects described. Several of

the county histories contain items of importance, especially as they give descriptions of early observations, and furnish clues which may be followed with profit in regard to the location of antiquities.

Dr. Bela Hubbard, late of Detroit, wrote in his "Memorials of a Half Century," upon those peculiar earthworks commonly known as "garden beds." The early "Gazetteer of the State of Michigan," by John Blois, mentions various traces of the aborigines and preserves a description of them at a time when but few, if any, had been disturbed by the advance of the settlers. Among the authors who have written on Michigan archaeology may be mentioned Prof. Frederick Starr and H. H. Carson. The "Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science" contains several important records. The annual reports of the Peabody Museum contain references of interest as well as notes by Dr. Gillman, of Detroit.

In various reports of the Smithsonian Institution and Bureau of American Ethnology are papers conveying information from a number of students, foremost among them being Dr. Henry Gillman and M. L. Leach, of Traverse City. Dr. Gillman has recorded much of interest on the mounds, as well as the ancient copper workings of the State, and has made special efforts in distinguishing certain physical characteristics peculiar to ancient man in Michigan.

The map and descriptions in the report for 1884 by Mr. Leach, of the mounds of the Maple river valley in Clinton county, were timely, as they preserved in a careful and complete manner much of interest regarding numerous earthworks found there, many of which might otherwise have been obliterated and lost to science. His notes on the so called fortifications near Rifle river in Ogemaw county called attention to that locality, which resulted in the discovery of similar works in the immediate vicinity.



The general literature of archaeology, especially text-books and works treating of the antiquities of the whole United States, or of North America, as well as works of anthropology and ethnology contains more or less data relating to Michigan which is often fragmentary, scattered and does not do justice to Michigan as would be the case were the people of the State to properly publish the facts.

In the high school of Saginaw there is a collection of archaeological specimens from the Saginaw valley which was brought together by the writer, who at the same time made various notes, maps and photographs, all of which are preserved. It is hoped eventually to publish a description of the archaeology of the region with illustrations from the collection.

Dr. Henry Gillman and Dr. G. A. Stockwell, of Detroit; Prof. W. H. Sherzer, of Ypsilanti; Dr. J. B. Steere, of Ann Arbor; H. H. Crane, of Niles, and Hon. E. H. Scott, of LaPorte, Ind., have more or less personal information in the form of field notes, maps, photographs and specimens.

It is altogether probable that there are a number of individuals possessing data and specimens which, not being published are unknown to students generally. Only by individual inquiry can they be brought to light, a task almost as difficult, and perhaps not as satisfactory, as to secure the data from the field. All of this information should be preserved, and in order that this be done systematically, it should eventually be brought together, put on record and exhibited for students in some such institution as the State University Museum. Personal material is often lost to science unless such a course is taken.

Michigan is indebted for her standing in archaeology perhaps more to the ruins of the ancient copper workings in the Lake Superior regions than to any of her other antiquities. They are of great importance, as they are confined to the regions near Lake Superior and are found in but few other states. The resources from study in this direction are peculiar to this region in their unequaled richness. R. L. Packard, in his "Pre-Columbian Copper Mining in North America," published in the Smithsonian report for 1892, has collected valuable evidence upon these ancient workings. His treatment of this subject is a revelation to the students of the wealth of this field in material for anthropologic study.

The ancient copper workings have also been mentioned by Dr. Henry Gillman in Appleton's Journal and the Smithsonian publications; while

Foster and Whitney's report contains a good description and figures. Col. Charles Whittlesey, in the "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, of 1863," treats them under the title, "Ancient Mining in Lake Superior," and many general works have mentioned them, while some private individuals have manuscript notes and maps of value in this study. The pre-Columbian miners in Michigan moved great masses of native copper weighing tons. We are yet unable to blast out much larger masses of metallic copper with modern explosives. They mined only the metallic copper, as they did not know the art of smelting.

Michigan, as well as Ohio, has great earthworks. Of the five embankments known as "forts," along Rifle river in Ogemaw county, near West Branch, two are still underbrush, so that whatever evidence they have to offer to investigation is in its entirety undisturbed by superficial excavation.

The pioneers of Michigan, years ago, discovered great earthworks, ditches, mounds, quarries, mines and other monuments of the work of a prehistoric people, as well as vast forests of white pine and other trees. Many of the former and practically all of the latter of these monuments have been destroyed.

Lumbermen have purchased the land upon which these monuments stood and much of it was secured for about twenty-five cents an acre. In many cases, from each acre thousands of dollars worth of white pine lumber was cut and sold until the lumbermen became millionaires. The Saginaw valley was the site of acres of these pine forests and the home of many of the lumbermen; yet to-day no child of that place may see, within miles of the cities, if at all, a single tree that is typical of the hundreds cut in the vicinity, and but few that are even pine trees. Not a single one of those monarchs of the forest, landmarks of the pioneer days, with the land needed for its base and nourishment, has been given to the people of the valley, by the men who made their fortunes from the valley's products.

These products of the valley from which were cut those immense, clear, knotless, white pine planks, four inches thick and many feet in length are of world wide reputation. Even the chimneys of the mills which cut this lumber will soon cease to be, yet not one monument stands to show what the pioneer saw, what the soil of the valley could produce in this tree, now verging on extinction. It is a question whether one generation has the right to despoil the natural products of a region; and to do so without leaving a single monument deserves condemnation.

I cannot plead too strongly that a grove of young white pine trees be

saved or planted, even if but a single acre be set aside, for a grove of the typical tree that made the cities of the valley, and that the people of the Saginaw valley may preserve them in a public park, and I would further urge that such parks be made in other parts of the State. If the above reason be not enough I would plead the secondary use of the park for a cool breathing space.

Again, parks, equally useful as picnic grounds and recreation places, should be set aside to include and preserve the mounds or graves, monuments of the so called red people who inhabited the State before the advent of the pioneers. The countries of Europe, Mexico and our own southwestern states are visited by tourists going to see the ruins of castles, pyramids and caves. The people of those countries derive revenue from these visitors, but better still, pride themselves on the historic value of the mute monuments of the peoples of the past, monuments which the present inhabitants possess.

The entire territory draining into Saginaw river and along the shore of Saginaw bay is rich in traces of a considerable habitation by a people previous to the coming of the earliest white settlers. Workshops where implements were made, village and camp sites, burial grounds, burial mounds, enclosures and embankments for defensive purposes, pits for the storing of provisions, etc., and caches or hoards of blades have all been discovered in this locality, while the surface is strewn with objects made or used by man at a time before the advent of the whites.

Village sites occur on both sides of the river, from its mouth to its source, and on its tributaries. They are located at frequent intervals, often less than a mile apart.

The Ayres mound, as it has been called, was situated in the city of Saginaw. Although not a large mound, it was a very typical example of the earth structures in the Saginaw valley. It was about thirty-four feet in diameter and eighteen inches in height, although there is no doubt that it had once been of a much greater altitude, having since been slowly reduced by natural forces. When first seen by the writer, in 1889, it was covered with grass and flowers, and had much the appearance of a neglected flower bed. It was about the size and shape of the large round beds so common to lawns of the adjacent premises.

The land of the vicinity was fast being built upon, and the enterprise of the city had already encroached upon the remaining monuments in the neighborhood. There was apparently no hope of having it preserved in a park, as the mounds which did exist in Hoyt park were destroyed

when the workmen changed it from a place of natural beauty to a landscape garden. It was consequently necessary to explore the Ayres mound, and the materials obtained, together with a photograph of the mound, are preserved. Since then Court street has been extended and has obscured the site.

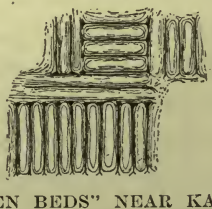
Several years ago, workmen, while digging for the foundation of a salt block, about 300 feet west from the mound and 180 feet from the bank of the bayou, came upon a number of human skeletons. Practically all were ruthlessly destroyed and none have been saved for science in their entirety. They were at the unusual depth of four feet, which possibly was due to the accumulation of soil above the old surface, by the piling up of the light sand in long dunes, as has been done in the vicinity, by the wind.

In these graves were found bear teeth, deer bones, and culinary refuse in general. From the large number of fish bones found, one might conclude that these people took advantage of the resources of this locality, and that much of their subsistence was obtained from its waters. It is a remarkable fact that no implements of defense or utensils for domestic use were discovered with the remains; while at the mound only 300 feet distant such objects were found in abundance.

It is very probable that there also exist ancient quarries, where chert nodules of the sub-carboniferous series were formerly obtained, as this rock, which is the material of which the shipped implements are most frequently made, outcrops in many places, not only along the bay shore, but also near the head waters of the tributaries of the river.

Fourteen caches have been discovered of which records are kept. How many have been plowed out and scattered without even a mention is not easy to estimate. But that many more of these interesting hoards of the treasures of a primitive people will be found in the valley as further explorations are made, I feel confident. The blades found in

FROM A CACHE.



"GARDEN BEDS" NEAR KALAMAZOO.

caches were perhaps made at the quarries and transported to the villages, there to be stored or buried in moist earth, which kept them in a workable condition, where they could be easily obtained and worked

into the various specialized forms as such implements were required for use, or they may have been used as they were without specialization.

The transportation might have been by canoe in this locality, since all the caches as yet found have been near navigable water, and the material of which the blades, from the majority of the caches, were made, is thought to be from the chert nodules.

POTTERY URN, FROM SAGINAW VALLEY.

[Original about two feet high.]

A pottery urn, originally in the collection of the late Judge Barter, is three feet nine inches in circumference, and must originally have been over two feet in height. This urn, found inverted over the head of a skeleton at a village site and burial place on the bluff, at the bend of the Cass river, six miles above Saginaw, is unusually well preserved for so large a pot, and one from a locality where nature does not smile upon archaeologic specimens, as she does in Colorado and Peru, but rather sends frosts and moisture among other elements to do them damage.

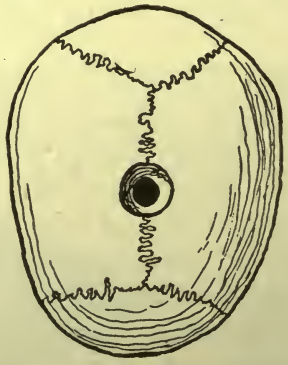
At the World's Columbian Exposition a small exhibit of material and plans was made, illustrating in a measure the archaeology of a portion of Saginaw valley. The exhibit occupied seventy-five square feet of space. It consisted of only part of the results of work in the territory indicated, but was of sufficient interest to receive an award.

The so called "garden beds," characteristic of this State, are found in various parts of the southern peninsula, and are much varied and highly developed. Few of them are known to have existed in other states, and practically none of them have escaped destruction.

Near Kalamazoo, an extensive survey of one of the noted pre-historic "garden beds" was made some years ago for the University of Michigan. An exact contour map was constructed and a series of photographs were taken. Funds were secured from the Detroit Branch of the Archaeological Institute of America with which these interesting and char-

INDIAN MOUND IN PARK, KALAMAZOO.

acteristically Michigan remnants were explored, and a plaster model was made of the "beds" as they now appear. The Peabody Museum of Harvard University and the American Museum of Natural History appreciated the value of the model at the University of Michigan and had copies made from them for themselves.



TOP VIEW OF A PERFORATED SKULL.
[From a mound at Sable River.]

In this State certain human skulls are found with circular perforations. These are very characteristic, the only others known being a few which have been found in Canada, and if more are discovered light may be thrown eventually on their origin and purpose.

The best of the eastern institutions have for years been offering courses in the study of American antiquities. A regular course in American archaeology and ethnology was established in Harvard University in 1890. This course extends over three years and is under the charge of Prof. F. W. Putnam. Students in the course are required to do both museum and field work in addition to the regular studies pursued in the department. Columbia University offers serious work under Prof. Franz Boas and Dr. Livingston Farrand. Yale, Clark, Vermont, Brown and Union colleges offer facilities for anthropological study, and the University of Pennsylvania has established a museum of American archaeology. The eastern institutions have taken the lead, but now the University of Chicago offers a series of courses in anthropology under the direction of Prof. Frederick Starr.

In the second semester of the college year, 1891-2, the University of Michigan offered its first work in anthropology—a course in museum laboratory work in American archaeology. Students availed themselves of this course, and in addition to the investigations which they carried on for themselves, considerable work on Michigan archaeology was done for the University museum. However, during recent years the work has lapsed.

Eastern states have also been making archaeological surveys.

Some years ago the New York state legislature passed a bill appropriating money for archaeologic research in that state, and has printed for the state university museum several bulletins regarding archaeological types. Included in one of these is a map on which is marked each village site, mound, earthwork, etc. This is accompanied by a descriptive text of each site.

The Ohio legislature provides funds which are expended under the direction of the Historical Society for locating the Ohio mounds on a series of county maps.

Not only has this work been done in the east, but Michigan has been skipped over and explorations are being conducted in states far to the west.

For Iowa there is a list of mounds, village sites, etc., prepared by Prof. Frederick Starr, of the University of Chicago, with funds provided by the Davenport academy.

Colorado has a society for the protection and preservation of the cliff dwellings.

Arizona publishes a biography of its archaeological literature, and legislators in the state of Washington have considered an archaeological

survey. The University of California is watching the excavations in that state, hoping therefrom to secure specimens.

The Detroit Archaeological Society appointed a committee, composed of James E. Scripps, Prof. Francis W. Kelsey of the University of Michigan, and George W. Bates, to secure the passage of an act establishing a survey of the antiquities of Michigan; such an act is now pending before the legislature, of which the following is a copy:

A bill establishing a survey of the antiquities of Michigan and making appropriations by fiscal years therefor.

The People of the State of Michigan enact:

Section 1. That a survey of the antiquities of Michigan be and the same is hereby established.

Section 2. That the survey shall be in charge of a commission comprising the Governor of the State ex-officio, the President of the University of Michigan, the President of the Michigan Academy of Science, the President of the Pioneer and Historical Society, and the President of the Detroit Archaeological Society, this commission to serve without compensation, but to be reimbursed for their actual and necessary expenses.

The commission shall have the power to employ an archaeologist and one or more assistants, and to make such incidental expenditures as the nature of the work may require. The accounts for salaries and other expenses provided herein shall be paid upon the warrant of the Auditor General monthly upon the approval of the Governor. At the end of each fiscal year the commission shall cause to be made an annual report, the copy for which, as soon as completed, shall be forwarded to the clerk of the Board of State Auditors for publication by the State printer, the expense of such publication to be paid from the general fund of the State upon the allowance of the Board of State Auditors.

Section 3. For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act, exclusive of the cost of publishing the annual reports, there is hereby appropriated from the general fund of the State for the fiscal year ending June thirty, nineteen hundred and two, and each fiscal year thereafter, the sum of two thousand five hundred dollars.

Michigan should not be behind in such matters, but might well consider the practical use of such research. In the first place it is the duty of every province to investigate its own resources and be its own bureau of information to the outside world. In this matter, new coun-

tries are often neglectful. The most beautiful Ohio sculptures ever found were sold in England, first being refused by the people of Ohio and eastern American cities. They were saved by the English purchaser, and may now be freely studied. Alaska does not care for her wonderfully carved totem poles and allows them to be destroyed by ignorant persons who believe them to be idols. Were it not that eastern museums collect and preserve them, these would be lost. In later years the people of Alaska will be glad to cross the continent to see and study what others thought worthy of saving at a time when they were neglected. The State should be able to tell the foreign traveler of her resources, and show him evidence of the same.

At our great expositions, American products are housed in buildings of European style. American museums are of Greek architecture, yet in America are architectural wonders, marvels of beauty and purity. The pointed arches, the dome, the sculptured lintel are common to pre-Columbian America.

That modern architect who first builds a purely American building will make a reputation for himself. So the Michigan potters might find models in pre-Columbian Michigan pottery. The designer may yet be glad to reproduce ancient Michigan art patterns in preference to the crude art introduced by the pioneer, and even as a change from the very best of art designs. At least they would be appropriate for Michigan manufacturers.

Recently two of our leading magazines published pictures of Indian life so untrue that several subscribers were lost. The lover of true literature does not wish his plains Indian to wear a southern blanket and court a North Pacific maiden, or his eastern story to show a western foreground. The injury to love of artistic literature is to esthetics, and as people have more time from the struggle for existence, the esthetic is more valued.

The study of archaeology as a branch of anthropology develops a liberality of feeling and a strong respect for the religion and customs of other regions and other peoples. This and other values of the study are apparent to the historian, but not understood by those who are interested simply in the history of the curious.

Its greatest value is perhaps not literary or classic, in nature, but coldly scientific, useful for determining the laws of development of human activities. The development of an individual resembles that of the race, except that the individual has parents to teach him, while the race learns by experience only. The history of one people is limited,

and in order to have a wide range of facts from which to deduct general laws, we need to take the history of our race and prefix to it the history of another people whose highest culture resembles the lowest or earliest known of our own, and so on.

If we can learn the steps or laws of human development, we can the easier guide the progress of the individual, up along the lines the race has plodded, and beyond. We may also the better understand how to handle the races. Who dares say, that to know how to deal for the best results with the negro, the Indian, the Filipino is not important, not valuable? The value may not be in dollars and cents to you or to me, but to our people, to our country, it may be in thousands of lives and millions of double eagles.

We need to study the "Wall street" of the northwest coast Indian; his banking system, interest and life insurance. These he truly had before he saw the European, or had white man's money, and with only his blankets as a medium of exchange. We need to know the financial ideas of such people and compare them with our own to help solve the troubles of labor organizations and trusts. Women were represented in the council, and even the peace conference of the czar of all the Russias was foreshadowed in America before 1492, as the league of the Six Nations was to abolish interstate wars. Religion itself may be purged of impurity by noting calmly the religions of other tribes.

Whatever Michigan can contribute to such advancement should not be allowed to be destroyed. It is cheaper to invest a little in investigation and preservation now than to spend much later in a hopeless task to regain what will then be lost. Thousands of dollars are spent every year in the desirable exploration of the ruins of such distant lands as Egypt, Assyria, Peru and Honduras. Our local traces of the past should receive proportionate attention. In eager search for foreign treasure we often overlook valuable local evidence.

Michigan should, in the first place, put into convenient form for use, the knowledge she already has at hand; then the same system can be applied also in classifying data as it is obtained from the field. In this way new material may be added to that at hand, or inserted in its proper place among the established files. All this may be accomplished by the use of a card catalogue. Every publication, manuscript, map, photograph, and specimen may be indexed on a card for alphabetical insertion in such a catalogue.

It is often the case that an account in a reliable publication brings to notice and examination antiquities that would otherwise be neglected;

on the other hand such publication frequently brings simple works to a more prominent place and use than is accorded to important antiquities which are not so made known.

Again, all earthworks should be indexed geographically as well as by name, and a map constructed locating each. Then in envelopes or boxes, arranged alphabetically by the names, may be kept all the data refering to each particular locality. As fresh data are secured they can be inserted; eventually all this material may be put in form for publication, having been classified geographically as secured.

The names and addresses of individuals interested and willing to assist, or having information of value, may also be inserted in the same card catalogue. Each card should have particulars concerning the person named, the range of his interests and knowledge, and such references as might be considered of value for future use. Finally, each earthwork, village site, workshop, mine and quarry ought to be surveyed, photographed and explored. In favorable localities this would require years of work, but the result would be most satisfactory. Very little has been done in many places. In these the field is open, and the facts can be obtained without the confusion or misleading circumstances which the student has to meet in many localities.

In Michigan this work may be best carried on with the University or the rooms of the Archaeological Institute for headquarters, where materials may be worked up for exhibition, and kept accessible to students. A university or public museum can direct the work better than any other institution, besides caring for collections in the best and most impartial way, and it is for the guardians of education and research to foster such undertakings. Individuals are ready to give privileges for exploration to such an institution, and are often glad of a safe deposit for their records and specimens; an increasing number are coming to realize the importance of placing their collections where they can be of use to many students, instead of affording gratification to but one or two.

Valuable data can be secured at a very slight expense by a surface survey, if the parties making such are each headed by a competent director, and made up of students. Students are often willing to devote their time during a summer vacation to such interesting work. Parties could proceed to examine every section in each township, taking the townships in order, until a county was covered, and so on throughout the State. As the survey proceeds it should take careful

observations of all works and village sites, make detailed maps of them, and locate each on a large map.

A complete archaeological map should be constructed from the evidence furnished by the surface survey, and it should be supplemented by notes arranged so that they will be subject to ready reference from it. Much may be learned from a surface examination without excavation, while a complete surface survey is much less expensive than even a little excavation.

Whenever mounds and other noticeably interesting remains are situated in such a vicinity the land may be reserved as a park or other public property, and such a course is to be encouraged. Many mounds have been included in modern cemeteries and thus have been preserved.

A surface survey being completed, it would be a comparatively easy matter to keep track of the progress of roads and other agencies which necessarily obliterate such evidence, so that it could be secured by exploration as danger approached each antiquity. It would be well to interest students in the vicinity of mounds, etc., that they may give notice when any cause of destruction threatens an antiquity. The few liable to immediate destruction could be excavated at a comparatively small expense, while those unmolested and protected by timber or even small vegetation could be explored at convenience, or better, left for students in the future, who will probably understand the value of such investigation and the methods of exploration better than we do today.

In this work we must have the co-operation of the land-owners of the State. With them, let us plead for the preservation of all of the archaeologic remains until proper exploration can be made by men trained and experienced in such work.

The recent advances in the work of anthropology indicate that, on the whole, interest in the study is progressing in the State. From the nature of the field and its original richness, unexplored and peculiar to itself, such an awakening of interest is highly desirable and satisfactory. With the present advantages for study and such improvements in methods of research, the outlook for archaeology was never before more encouraging.

Brig. Gen. James Winchester.

PAPERS AND ORDERLY BOOK OF BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES WINCHESTER.

Detroit, as the first western colony, and centre of the fur trade, under the French regime; as the distributing point for the Indian department, under British rule, and as the most important post in the Old Northwest Territory, is peculiarly rich in historical incidents. It belonged to France until, after the battle of the Heights of Abraham, it was turned over to the British represented by the American Ranger, Robert Rogers in 1760. It remained a part of England's domain until, by the Treaty of Paris, in 1783, it became a part of the United States, and still remained a British possession until, after Jay's Treaty of 1794, it was evacuated by the British troops, July 11, 1796.

The Territory of Michigan was formed in 1805, with William Hull, as Governor, and at the out break of the war of 1812, Hull, being still Governor was appointed brigadier general, and had charge of the troops of the entire northwest.

On the 16th August, 1812 Hull surrendered Detroit to the British, and all the troops under his command were taken prisoners.

The news of the downfall of the post spread consternation throughout the United States, and particularly throughout the west.

After the first effect of the shock, caused by the surrender, had subsided, the citizens of the west and south hastened to offer themselves as soldiers to retake Detroit and to invade Canada. "This patriotic zeal," wrote President Madison, "which it was necessary, rather to limit than excite, embodied an ample force from the States of Kentucky and Ohio, and from parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia".[1]

Soon after the war had been declared, an army, consisting of 1600 volunteers, and 400 regulars, was raised and put under the charge of Brigadier General James Winchester, designed for the support of Hull, and another corps, composed of three regiments of Kentucky militia, was placed under the command of Brigadier General William Henry Harrison,[2] and assigned to the defence of Indiana and Illinois.

These troops had not yet entered Ohio, when the news of Hull's disaster reached them. The excitement throughout the United States was

[1] Messages of the President, ed. 1896, Vol. 1, page 515.
[2] Harrison was commissioned Major General of Kentucky State Militia by Gov. Shelby, Aug. 5, 1812. Mag. Wr'n. Hist., Vol. 1. page 444.
Armstrong's Notices of the War of 1812, Vol. 1, page 52.

so great, that thousands sought to enroll themselves as volunteers in the expedition to retake Detroit, and many were turned away because quota was full, and it was impossible to provide for more.[3] It was understood that Fort Wayne was then invested by the Indians and British, and Harrison proceeded with his troops to that post, only to find that the besiegers had left, upon hearing of his advance. He remained here for a short time, and then went into the Indian Country, to destroy the corn fields and habitations of the hostile Indians. Returning to Fort Wayne on the 14th of September, he found Gen. Winchester, who had arrived during his absence, with his forces. Harrison understood that Winchester was in command of the troops, destined to leave Detroit, and believing that his own duties now related only to the protection of the people of Indiana, he set out to return to Vincennes,[4] in order to make adequate preparation for the defense of that part of the Country.

The question of the appointment of a commander-in-chief for the northwest, had been discussed for some time in the President's Cabinet. The urgent requests of Richard M. Johnson,[5] returned J. Meigs,[6] and Gov. Scott[7] conformed to the expressed wishes of the President himself[8] and Harrison was appointed to the command of the northwest army to supersede Winchester.

Harrison had already departed on his way toward Vincennes, when the news of his promotion reached him, and he immediately returned to the Army and took upon himself the management of the campaign.

Winchester commenced his march down the Maumee, on the 20th of Sept[9] and on the 2d of Oct. had reached Fort Defiance, at the junction of the Maumee and AuGlaise, when he was joined by Gen. Harrison.

Harrison was the idol of the troops, and although Winchester was generally liked by the soldiers, they had not the faith in him, that they had in the hero of Tippecanoe, and they were more than anxious to welcome the latter, as their commander-in-chief.[10]

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[3] More than ten thousand combatants assembled at various points on the frontier. 1 Armstrong, page 55.

Harrison was given a brevet commission of Major General in the Kentucky Militia by the Governor of Kentucky, and he was authorized to take command of the detachment raised to march to Detroit. Hall's Memoir of Wm. Henry Harrison, page 167.

[4] Brackenbridge's Hist. of the Late War, page 61.

[5] Letter of Johnson to Madison, Sept. 18, 1812.

[6] Letter of Meigs to Madison, Nov. 24, 1812.

[7] Scott's letter to Madison, July 30, 1812.

[8] Letter to Thomas Jefferson. Vol. 2, Madison's Works, pp. 548.

[9] Perkins' History of the Late War, page 97.

The whole body of Harrison's army, 6,000 strong, had marched toward Fort Wayne. Niles Reg., Sept. 19, 1812.

[10] Niles Reg., Sept. 6, 1812.

The following is the force Gen. Harrison had with him from Kentucky:

Col. Allen's regiment, 650; Col. Scott's regiment, 600; Col. Lewis' regiment, 650; Col. Prague's regiment, 640; Col. Barbee's regiment, 640; Col. Jennings' regiment, 600; Mounted volunteers, 500 (for a short period); Regulars under Col. Wells, 400; Col. Simrall's regiment of horse, 300; Capt. Gerrard's troop of horse, 80; total, 5,060.

See Vol. 1, Howe's Ohio, page 546.

Harrison remained but a short time with the troops and then departed for Franklington, to organize reinforcements. The general plan of the campaign was to near Detroit as rapidly as the season and situation of the troops would permit.

The preceding few words, will serve to show the reader, the situation of the American troops in the fall of 1812, in the neighborhood of Detroit, and will also introduce the subject of the succeeding pages.

General Winchester's orderly book, kept by him from the first of Sept. 1812, until the Battle of Frenchtown, was left upon the battlefield, after the massacre at that time. It was taken possession of by some one living in that vicinity, and has remained at that place, until very recently, when it fell into my hands. I give it entire in the succeeding pages,* hoping that its historic worth will be appreciated by students, as a valuable addition to what has already been accumulated and printed on this subject. The book has not been well taken care of, and some pages are mutilated, and others torn out entirely.

A portrait of Gen. Winchester is an authentic one, and a copy of one sent to me by his grand-daughter.

GENERAL WINCHESTER'S ORDERLY BOOK.

Camp near Defiance 1st Sept. 1812.

General Orders.

A fatigue party shall be detached to consist of one Lt. Coln. 2 Majors; 8 captains.

[There are no entries between Sept. 1 and Sept. 25. The movements of the army during this period can be traced as follows; General Winchester had not then started on his way to assume command of the army of the northwest. On the 9th of September he was in Cincinnati on his way northward [11] ([11] Knapp. 137). The army under Harrison had proceeded, with rapid strides, to relieve Fort Wayne, which

* Owing to the modern methods of type-setting, it is almost impossible to follow the old style, such as "1st", "Coln", "Comdg", etc., which prevails throughout the papers; but the spelling, which in many cases is obsolete, and in others manifestly incorrect, as well as the punctuation, has been faithfully copied. In a number of places there were interlineations, and sometimes words with a line drawn through them, which could not be reproduced, but in all cases where there is a repetition of words, the original contains the same duplicates.

EDITOR.

it reached in the early morning of September tenth. Harrison at once formed two detachments of troops and started to the northwest to destroy the Indian villages and crops. These troops returned to Fort Wayne on the 17th and 18th of September. It was not until the next day (Sept 19th) that Winchester, with his army, reached the fort. It was supposed that Winchester was the Commander in Chief of the northwest forces and upon assuming such command, Harrison started on his return to Piqua [12] ([12] Brice 229).

As a matter of fact the command of the entire army was given to Harrison and his letter of instructions, from the Secretary of War, was issued on the 17th inst, and was already on its way to him [13] ([13] Given in full in Knapp. 139) The ultimate object in the formation of the northern army was the expulsion of the British from our territory and the retaking of Detroit. The army was being collected and drilled for that purpose and preparations were now made to bring the army together, properly drilled, equipped, victualed and sustained at a point near Detroit, so that, at a proper and opportune moment an attack might there be made on the British.

Winchester now, on the 22d of September, commenced his march down the Maumee river. During the three following days the army had advanced twenty-eight miles and it is at this point that our journal really opens.]

Camp 28 miles from Fort Wayne Sept. 25th 1812

General Orders.

The attention of the officers is called to the several orders relative to the lines of march; and particularly to that of yesterday. The flank line must never depart so far as to be beyond the sound of the drum of the senter line; nor the advanced guard so far from the pioneers, as to be beyond the sound of their axes. No non commissioned officer or private shall straggle from the lines of march on any pretence whatever under the penalty of close confinement, for four days, and half Rations—The fortification around the encampment shall be in right lines, and raised at least four feet high, and not nearer, and not nearer than 20 nor less than 15 feet in front of the front line of t .
The bush to be cleared away on the outside of the fortification not less than thirty feet, and the fires therein. Narrow spaces may be left in the breast work, in the front of each company, for the purpose of passing to and from the fires.

The officers of the day are particularly charged with the execution of these orders. The Brigadier Qr. Master attended and assisted by the regimental Qr. masters, will lay off measure and mark the lines for encampment, and the regimental Qr. masters will conduct their respective Regiments to the places assigned to them for encampment.

J. WINCHESTER B Genl.
Comdg. N. W. Army.

Camp 33 miles from Fort Wayne 26th Sept—1812

The troops will be on their arms this night, all the fires in the interior of the camp shall be extinguished at Tattoo beating or as soon after as cooking is finished. If an attack takes place the officers will defend their own lines in the best manner they can relying on support If hard pressed by the enemy. The line of march will commence tomorrow morning at the usual hour should be kept close and compact. No non commissioned officer on any pretence whatever shall pass out side of the flank lines except with or under the orders of an officer nor shall any discharge their fire locks except at an enemy or under special orders for that purpose.

The Baggage & stores shall not move ahead of the lines of march In case of an attack in front whilst in the line of march the front Regts. shall form the line of Battle in front The Regts in the rear will form the hollow square with the front line according to late orders for that purpose. The advanced guard & fatigue party will form a line on the front of the columns of the front guards—and if compelled to retire to pass through the front line in to the square and form a corps De reserve. The rear guard if compelled to retire shall form on the right or on the left of the rear line as necessity may dectate.

In consideration of the scearcity of flower the troops until utherwise ordered shall draw 1½ pound of Beef and one-half pound of flower to the ration—

The cenior officer of the day shall attend to the advanced guard and the Junior officer to the rear guard—each attending occasionally to the whole line & cause all orders to be carried into effect.

J. WINCHESTER. B. Genl
U. States Army.

Camp, road to fort defiance 27th 1812.

General Orders

The long roll shall be beat in the morning fifteen minutes after the first taps, which shall be the signal for half the troops to stand to their arms, and continue so untill reviellee beating; when the whole shall parade as usual—

We (he) have sufficient evidence that we are in the neighbourhood of a suttle and savage enemy. The moment we are off our guard, he may strike Our safety depends on our vigilence and caution—The promptitude and skill with which the line of Battle was formed yesterday on the line of march, and the excellent fortification erected in the evening for the security of the camp—are strong evidences that this army is composed of materials not easily to be conquered, and justly entitles the officers and privates to the thanks of the commanding officer, and which he with great pleasure now tenders to them—All horses of everry description shall be made fast within the lines of the encampment, very night.

J. WINCHESTER B Genl.
U. States Army

Camp near Defiance 1st, of October—1812

General Orders

A fatigue party shall be detached to consist of 1 Lt, Coln. 2 Majors 8 Captains 8 Lieutenants—8 Ensigns—32 sergeants 32 corporals 2 musicians and 508 privates to be employed in erecting four Block houses at the point, the logs to be cut 20 feet long for the lower story and 22 for the upper story; to be raised about 15 or 16 feet high; a store house and hospital each 18 by 24 feet; the former about 10 feet high, the latter eight; all of rough logs; with cabbin roofs; also to picket the lines between the bastians and build a watch house over the gate; and remove the brush in the vicinity of the site.

A sergeant from each regiment, and a private from each company, shall be turned out, for soap and candle makers, under the orders of the issuing commissary. The camp guard shall be reduced to two companies, to consist of one captain one subaltern two sergeants two corporals, and fifty-six privates each. A Picquet guard, to consist of a

Lieut, Ensign, two sergts two corporals, and forty privates, to be established at the point.

The company waggons when not on duty, shall be arranged in a line, in the rear of the field officers tents, not exceding 30 feet, and to front inwards. The Quartermasters comissarys and Brigade waggons, shall be drawn up in a line in the rear of the General officers markees close together, fronting to the rear. The Brigade Qr. Master is charged with the execution of this part of these orders. Discharging any piece of fire arm, without a special order for that purpose, has been prohibited in former orders and is now repeated with an injunction on everry officer to whose knowledge offences of this kind may come instantly to confine the offender under guard All passes for non commissioned officers and privates to pass the camp guards shall be signed by the commanding officer, of regiments and countersigned by the Officer of the day or the Officer commanding the Brigade All officers at their discretion may give passes to their own servants The General Court martial now in session will continue their siting by adjournment if necessary untill all the prisoners in the provost guard coming under their jurisdiction are tried

In future all provision returns shall be made out agreeable to the forms hereunto annexed such Officers as prefer drawing their provision on orders will in no case draw more than a weeks rations in advance and will monthly settle with the commissary taking in their orders give returns and take a certificate from the issuing commissary for such rations or parts of rations as have been retained Attention to the sick being a primary object in all well regulated armies it is the duty of the surgeons or their mates to visit the tents of the sick & afflicted every morning and frequently much oftener to administer medical aid & comfort to the patient Great responsibility rests on this class of the army and the duties should be formed with punctuality & tenderness The commanding General has great confidence that the above will be the rule of conduct among the Physicians attached to this army

J. WINCHESTER B. G
Commd N. W. Army

Camp near defiance October 2nd—1812

General Orders

A Board of officers to consist of a captain from each Regt. will convene at 12 oclock this day at the issuing comissarys markee for the express purpose of examining all the steelyards, weights and measures, if any there be in camp and report their correctness, or error if any exhists—A Subaltern sergt, and twenty men shall be turned out immediately to collect stray cattle and hogs in the vicinity of camp—In Genl. order of yeasterday the logs for the upper part of the block-houses were directed to be cut 22 feet long which ought to have been 24 feet and are now ordered to be cut that length—No horses shall be allowed to run at large in camp—The wagoners will remove their horses to the space between the fortification and the point and there attend them to graze everry day when not otherwise employed. The Brigade Quartermaster is charged with carrying in to effect so much of these orders as relates to wagoners and their horses—A subaltern sergt. and corpl shall be detailed one man from each company shall also be detailed to attend the wagoners and their horses as a guard—

J. WINCHESTER, B. Genl.
Commanding N. W. Army

Provision Return for the 17th Regt. commanded by Coln. Saml. Wells for *two days to wit* 1st and 2nd days of October—1812.

Provision Return for the 17th Regt, commanded by Coln. Saml. Wells for two days *to wit* 2nd and 3rd days of October—1812

Camp. — — — October—1812.		No. men.	No. women.	Rations per day.	No. of days.	Total No. rations.	Remarks.
Companies	Capt.—comp'y.....	"	"	"	"	"	
	Capt.—comp'y.....	"	"	"	"	"	
	Capt.—comp'y.....	"	"	"	"	"	
	Capt.—comp'y.....	"	"	"	"	"	
Total Rations.....		"	"	"	"	"	

The issuing comissary —— —— will issue agreeable to the above return ——— complete Rations.

S. W. Coln.—Regt.

Provision Return for waiters belonging to—Regt. for two days commencing on the 1st and ending on the 2nd day of Oct.—1812

Fort Defiance.	No. of Waiters.	Rations per day.	No. of days.	Total Rations.	Remarks.
Capt. waiters.	"	"	"	"	

The commissary will issue agreeable to the above Return.

J. S. Q, Capt.

Camp at Defiance 3rd October—1812

General Orders

I have the honor of announcing to this army the arrival of General Harison, who is duly authorized by the executive of the federal Government, to take the command of the N. W. Army. This officer enjoying the implicite confidence of the States from whose citizens, this army is & will be collected, and possessing himself great military skill and reputation, The Genl. is confident in the belief that his presence, in this army in the character of its chief will be hailed with universal approbation

J Winchester B Genl.
U. S. Army

Head Quarters Fort Defiance 3rd October—1812

The General commanding the North Western Army hereby directs that the left wing of that army shall be composed of the detachment of the 17th U. S. Regt. and the Regiments of Kentucky troops commanded by Coln. Scott, Jennings, Pougue, Lewis, Barbee and Allen, the whole to be commanded by Genl. Winchester, who will as soon as it may be convenient complete the Brigade for Genl. Payne, and form of the remaining Regiments a Brigade to be commanded by the Senior Coln.

(Copy)

Head Quarters Fort Defiance 3rd October 1812

General Orders

The Genl. commanding the North Western army hereby directs that the left Wing of that Army shall be composed of the detachment of the 17th U. S. Regt. under Coln Wells, a detachment of the 19th U. S. Regt, and the Regiments of Kentucky troops commanded by Coln. Scott, Jennings, Pougue, Lewis, Barbee, & Allen, the whole to be commanded by Genl. Winchester, who will as soon as it may be convenient complete the Brigade for Genl. Payne, and form of the remaining Regiments a Brigade to be commanded by the Senior Colonel

(copy)

Nathl. F. Adams
dept. Adjt. Genl.

Camp at defiance 4th October—1812

General Orders,

The duties of the fatigue party, ordered for the fortification of the point, is suspended for this day.

The army will encamp on the banks of the Auglaise, at 11 OClock. The Genl. will be beat for that purpose at 10 oclock The arms being in a bad condition of the commanding officers of corps, are particularly called to that subject.

The Quarter master will cause sinks to be dug and protected with brush, on one side of the line of encampment; He will also deliver four Quires of paper, to be equally distributed to each regiment of militia, and two Quires to Coln. Wells's Regiment.

By order of
J Winchester B. Genl.
U. S. Army
J Overton jr. A. D. C.

Head Quarters Fort Defiance, 4th October—1812

Capt. Nathaniel Hart of the 5th Kentucky Regiment is hereby appointed deputy Inspector to the army and Capt. Robert Butler of the 24th U. States Regiment, Assistant Deputy Adjt. General, to act as such to the left wing of the Army under the command of Brigadier General Winchester—

Captain George Trotter Jr. is appointed a Volunteer aid de camp to the commanding Genl. and is to be obeyed and respected as such

(copy)

Nathl. F. Adams
Dept'y Adjt. Genl.

Camp at Defiance 4th October—1812

A General Court Martial will convene to morrow morning at 9 O'clock A M at the markee of Majr Davenport to consist of nine members including the president for the trial of Ensign Edmon Shipp of the 17th Regiment of Regulars.

Lieut. Coln. Lewis will Preside and Capt. James Meed will act as Judge Advocate—The president and members shall be warned to this duty By Brigade Major Garrard—

The great waste of amunition by continual firing in the camp must, must be prevented, and it is required that everry officer be more vigilant, in detecting and confining, all who transgress in that way hereafter. At parade tomorrow morning the commanding officers of Regiments will cause an inspection of their arms and amunition and take an account of the number of cartridges in each Box, and daily hereafter inspect the same, and in everry instance where cartridges are missing, and not satisfactorily accounted for confine the delinquent for disobedience of Genl. Orders

J Winchester B Genl.
comd'g left wing N. W. Army

Camp at defiance 5th October—1812

General Orders

Leslie Z Combs is hereby appointed a Cadet in my Brigade, to be attached to Lt. Coln. John M. Scott, Regt. of Kentucky Vol. Militia. John H. Woodjork is also appointed a Cadet to be attached to Lt. Coln. Wm. Lewises Regt. of Kentucky Vol. Militia—each to draw rations from the 23d day of September 1812.

Thos. Smith Esqr. is hereby appointed appointed Aid de camp All orders coming through him must be respected and obeyed as if delivered by the Genl. in person.

John Payne B. G.

[One leaf torn out, Oct. 6 to Oct. 8 inclusive.]

Camp Defiance Oct. 9th 1812

General Orders

The unfortunate prisoner Frederic Jacoby under sentence of death, shall at the hour of 11 OClock this day, under the guard of a subaltern, sergeant corporal and twenty men, be marched with solemn music from the provost Guard to the place of execution 50 yards in the rear of the center of the rear line of the encampment. The troops shall be under arms and formed into the hollow square near the place of execution where the reverend Mr. Shannon is requested to deliver a suitable discourse on the occasion. The square then shall be displayed, and the line formed in order that the army may witness the awful example of the execution of a fellow soldier, for one of the greatest and most dangerous crimes which can be committed in an army, to wit; a soldier sleeping on his post, which if suffered to pass with impunity might be the cause of the destruction of a whole army: For on the vigilance of its centinels does the safety of an army depend. No centinel shall should sit on his post, or be suffered to have fires near him, it is unmilitary and unsoldier like and may lead to the melancholy consequences of the unfortunate man who suffers death this day for sleeping on his post. It is the duty of the officer of the day to see this order carried into effect, as well as all others for this day—Being informed that the hospital stores have been embezzled to a considerable extent on its way

to this place, I have deemed it proper that a board of Field officers to consist of one from each Regiment, shall convene this day and examine the same & Report the result—

General Payne will superintend the fortifications at the point, and cause it to be substantially finished without delay—

A General Court Martial will convene tomorrow at 9 oclock in the morning, at the Marquee of Major Gano for the trial of Capt. Colier. Coln John Allen will preside, and Alfred Sandford will act as Judge advocate, the court shall consist of not less than 9 members. A subaltern. sergt, corporal and seventeen men shall be immediately detailed, to escort returning wagoners on their way to Jennings's Blockhouse.

J. Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg. left. Wing N. W. Army

Camp Defiance 9th October 1812

After Orders.

The Colonel, One Major, Eight Captains, eight Subalterns Thirty two noncommissioned officers and five hundred, and Forty four privates, shall be Detailed for command tomorrow to march at 7 Oclock. They will have their Blankets, and Knapsacks in order, that they may move with Celerity. The detachment Quartermaster will tomorrow Carefully examine, and report the quantity and Condition of all the ammunition on hand, the number of axes ground, and in repair, the number out of repair as well as the number of those unground The latter he shall cause to be put in Boxes, and secured. He shall report the number of spades, mattocks, and Shovels, and whenever not in use, cause them to be returned to the proper deposit, under the charge of a Centinel.

On Sunday next the goods from Fort Wayne shall be valued to the Lexington prices of similar articles and the valuation, or prices of each article shall be marked thereon by three commissioned officers, well acquainted with the Value of Merchandize to be selected for that purpose,—at the same time a deputation of one Field officer from a Regiment shall divide said goods in proportion to the strength of each Regiment.

The Regimental paymasters shall then Receipt to Robert Brent Esqr. paymaster of the army of the United States for the amount of their

respective dividends; which receipts shall be returned to the Commanding General The Regimental paymasters, under the advice and directions of the Commanding Officers of Regiments to distribute the said goods taking in every instance duplicate receipts as part pay of the Officer, or soldier, to whom the Goods are delivered.—

The fatigue duty of the point shall be suspended tomorrow on account of Large detachments sent out to reconnoitre.

The parades in front of each regiment shall be nicely cleared, and the brush in front of the line for one hundred yards removed—

J Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg. N. W. U. S. Army

Camp Defiance 11th October 1812

General Orders

So much of the Orders of yeasterday as reaquired the moving of the brush one hundred yards in advance of the encampments are rescinded; and in lieu thereof the brush shall be removed in the vicinity of the Block Houses so as to afford room for an encampment, and the offall of the beaves lately slaughtered there, shall be burried.

James Rains, a private in Capt. Hightowers company of the 17th Regiment shall be turned out as an assistant to Doct. Montgomery, Surgeon to said regiment until further orders. Captain Collier having been under a charge of repeatedly signing false provisions returns and having since satisfied his accuser, that, no intentional fraud was meant to the United States, and if ever he did sign a false return, it was without a knowledge of its being so his accuser hath therefore Decreed that the said Captain Collier should be be released from Arrest, which the Commanding General hath agreed to. Captain Collier is accordingly released, and his sword ordered to be restored to him

The General Court Martial of which Col. John Allen is president is dissolved.

J Winchester B Genl
Comdg left wing N. W. Army

Camp Defiance 13th October—1812

General Orders

A General Court Martial will convene tomorrow morning at 9 oclock, at the Marque of Major Geo. Madison, to consist of a President and six members for the trial of Capt. Wm. Kerby of the Rifle Regiment of Kentucky Volunteer Militia

Coln Lewis will preside, and adjutant Sandford perform the duties of Judge Advocate.

Major Gano, Lieut. Dudley, and Quarter Master Kean, will tomorrow at 8 oclock proceed to view and examine the goods brought from Fort Wayne: Fix and mark on each piece or parcel the Lexington prices for similar articles, to the best of their Judgements; of which a certificate will be required on an invoice which they shall make out. At the same time a field officer shall attend from each Regt. for the purpose of apportioning the said goods to their Respective Regts. For which the Regimental paymasters shall Recept., to Robert Brent Esqr. Paymaster to the army of the U. States, for their respective dividends according to the prices fixed by the Board of officers. The Regimental paymasters shall then distribute the said goods, to the officers, non commissioned officers, and privates of each Regt. under the advice and directions of the commanding officer thereof In everry instance taking duplicate Rects for the valuation thereof paid in advance—The officer of the day will extend his attention to the provost and Bullock Guards, as well as to all out Guards; The Bullocks must be turned to graize every day, from eight until three oclock—

A detachment from the present fatigue, shall be made to build a store or clothiers house with two rooms forty by twenty feet, and a chimney in one end.

J Winchester B. Genl.
Com, left wing N. W. Army

After Orders

Adjutants will daily assemble the noncommissioned officers, not on duty (of their Respective Regts) and teach them the manual exercise, and to relieve centinels adroitly, according to Smiths instructions for Inft.; which shall be given, in orders orders tomorrow—

J Winchester

Camp Defiance 14th Octo,—1812

General Orders

The troops will decamp at 9 oclock and march to the place laid off for the new encampment near the point; where the new camp Guards shall be placed. The old Guards shall Remain at this place untill all the baggage is Removed; then march to the new encampment and join their Regiments—The drum and fife Majors shall practice the musicians every fair day two hours in the forenoon and two in the afternoon, one hundred yards without the lines of encampment. The Drummers and Fifers shall assemble near the commanding Genls Marquee, at the Beating of the drummers call at 8 oclock P. M. and shall beat the tattoo from the center to the right flank, thence Back to the left flank, and from thence to the center and Dismiss. At 5 Oclock in the morning the orderly drum shall beat the drummers call, at the same place; whereat the Drummers & Fifers shall immediately assemble under a Drum and Fife Major and beat the reveille.—From the peculiar situation of this army, and the great variety of duty to be performed by the officers, the General is sorry to announce to the Army; that indulgencies an furlows for some time, will be inconsistant with the good of the service and cannot be granted—Mr. William Oliver sutler to the regular troops is hereby permitted, to sell and dispose of his wares and merchandizes, to any and all of the troops of the left wing of the Northwestern Army; untill further orders.—The following extract from Smiths Instructions for Infantry will be implicitily observed by all officers on Guard.—

From Smiths Instructions for Inft.

Of Relieving Guards and Sentinels.

The Guards in camp will be relieved everry twenty four hours. The guards without the limits of the Camp will ordinarily be relieved in the same manner; but this will depend on their distance from Camp, and other Circumstances, which may sometimes require their continuing on duty for several days, In this case they must be notified to provide themselves accordingly.

The Guards are to march in the greatest order to their Respective posts, marching by platoons, and the [this word is illegible] pace, whenever the roads will permit.

Whenever the new guard approaches the post, they carry Arms; and the officer of the old guard, having his guard paraded with shouldered

Arms, on the approach of the new guard commands, SHOULDER ARMS! And his guard present their Arms. The new guard marches past the old guard, wheels to the right, and by successive wheel of platoons, as in the formation "On the right line," forms three or four paces on its right, and the officer Commands PRESENT ARMS, and the new guard presents their Arms. The two officers then approach each other, and the relieving officer takes his orders from the relieved Both officers then return to their Guards and Commands 1st Shoulder Arms, 2nd Noncommissioned officers 3rd To the Front march. The noncommissioned officers of both guards, who are to relieve the Centinels, advance in front of the new guard.

The Sergeant of the new guard then tells off as many Sentinels as are necessary; and the Corporal of the new guard, conducted by a Corporal of the old guard relieves the sentinels beginning with the most distant sentinel When the sentinel sees the relief approach, he presents his Arms, and the Corporal halting his relief at Six paces distance Commands 1st PRESENT ARMS. 2nd RECOVER ARMS. This last command is only for the sentinel relieving, and the one to be relieved; The former immediately approaching with the Corporal, and having received his orders from the old Sentinel, takes his place; and the sentinel relieved marches into the Ranks, placing himself on the left of the Rear Rank faced to the Rear. (Front) both sentinels face to the front. The Corporal then orders 1st SHOULDER ARMS, 2nd SUPPORT ARMS. 3rd MARCH. and the relief proceeds in the same manner, until the whole are relieved. If the sentinels are numerous, the Sergeants, are to be employed as well as the Corporals in relieving them. When the Corporal returns with the old Centinels he leads them before the old guard and dismisses them to their Ranks. The officer of the old guard then forms his guard in the same manner, as when he mounted, and marches it in order to Camp—

As soon as he arrives in the Camp, he halts, forms the men of the different Brigades together, and sends them to their respective brigades; Conducted by a non commissioned officer, or a careful Soldier; When the old guard march off, the new guard presents their Arms until they are gone; they then shoulder face to the left, and take the place of the old guard.

The officer then orders a noncommissioned to take down the names of the guard.

Suppose the guard to consist of twenty four men, and to furnish eight Centinels, they are divided into three relieves and the posts being

numbered, begining with the Guardhouse, each mans name is put down against the numbers of the posts he will always stand Centry at during the guard; by which means an Officer knows which particular man was at any post, during any hour of the day, or night.

The relief of Centinels is always to be marched in the greatest order, and with supported Arms, The Corporal often looking back to Observe the Conduct of the men, and if an officer approaches, he is to order his men to "CARRY ARMS," Supporting them again when he has passed.

The Corporals, are to be answerable that the sentinels to Relieving perform their motions with the greatest spirit, and exactness.

A Corporal who is detected in suffering sentinels to relieve each other, without his being present, shall, as well as the Centinel so Relieved be severely punished.

Sentinels are to be relieved every two hours, and are on no account to remain longer on that duty.

In Winter, should the Cold be severe, they must be relieved every hour, or even oftener, if necessary.

J Winchester B. G.
comdg left wing N. W. Army

Camp Defiance 14th October—1812

After Orders

The troops shall draw the usual allowance of Liquor this evening; the officers will please to restrict themselves to their rations of that article, and not draw more than four days in advance untill a larger supply comes to hand.—Coln. Scotts and Lewises Regiments shall clear and remove the brush one hundred yards in front of their respective lines tomorrow; for which they shall be excused from all other fatigue for the day.—

A subaltern, Sergt. corporal and twenty five privates shall be detailed to make further repairs on the St. Maryes road, as far as the Ta wa Village—They shall set out at troop Beating tomorrow morning with two days provisions; and they are particularly enjoyned, not only to widen the road but to build bridges over bad places, and shall convoy Quartermasters Waggons, untill they meet the escort from Jennings's Blockhouse—

J Winchester B. Genl
comd.g left. wing N. W. Army

Camp Defiance 15th October 1812

General Orders

The fatigue party ordered yesterday to repair the road to Ottaway Village, and afterwards countermanded shall march tomorrow morning at sunrise taking with them two days provisions; They shall escort the waggons and teams returning to St. Mary's as far as the Village. The waggon horses which remain shall be taken to grass at sun rise in the morning under charge of the grasing Guard detailed for that purpose and to be continued untill further orders: The waggoners shall continue with their horses.

Such teams as are wanted for fatigue, shall be brought in at 11 oclock for that purpose; the ballance shall remain out untill 3 Oclock in the afternoon

The detachment Quarter Master will see the foregoing orders carried into effect

Ensign Isaac L. Baker of the second Regt of the U. States Army is attached to Capt. Edwards's company of the 17th Regt. and shall do duty in the same untill further orders. A fatigue party to consist of two Captains, two subalterns, two sergeants, two corporals and one hundred privates shall be directed to build perouges and commence their duty tomorrow. The Issuing commissary shall Issue three rations of Bacon to each Officer if required.

When the troops are reviewed on the Regimental parade by a General or other officer, they stand with shouldered arms. The Regiments which have not finished their part of the fortifications and buildings within it, will do it tomorrow, and place props under the corners of the Jettings of the Blockhouses

J. Winchester B. Genl.
com,d.g. N. W. Army

Camp Defiance 16th Oct, 1812

General Orders

With Great pleasure the commanding General has witnessed promptitude, punctuality and a strict attention to orders, these essentials will always render an army efficient and honorable to its self. Some solitary instances to the contrary however hath been noticed, and confidence is entertained those instances have been owing rather to missun-

derstanding of orders than any intentional relaxness in duty. Men for duty the succeding day shall always be warned the over night and if they have not been furnished with the provisions required in orders; shall be so furnished and shall parade at the time and place assigned punctually.

The commissary shall issue provisions to the whole army on the same days and for the same periods of time unless otherwise ordered. He shall cause the flower Barrels to be headed up when emptied, the hoops put on and piled away in one corner of the Fort carefully. He will report the progress made under a former order for soap Boiling and Candle making, and shall cause the Bullocks to be salted once a week. The commanding officers of Regiments will carefully Record all discharges, resignations and deaths that take place in their Regiments to enable them to make correct Muster Rolls when required.

J Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg left Wing N. W. Army

Camp Defiance 16th October—1812

After Orders

The perogue fatigue shall be encreased to one Field officer, four captains, four subalterns, eight noncommissioned officers and two hundred privates; shall march at troop Beating tomorrow morning, and carry with them two days provisions: shall commence ten perogues from forty to fifty feet long, and not less than two and an half wide—and one and a half deep if timber can be had large enough.

The Regiments will finish their respective dividend of the Fortifications without delay; and remove the Brush one hundred yards in front of their encampments.

J. Winchester B. Genl. Comdg
left wing N. W. Army

[A blank leaf as if some dates from Oct. 16 to Oct. 20 omitted.]

Camp Defiance Octo. 20th 1812

General Orders

One Lieut. 1 Sergt. 1 corpl. and 36 Privts. shall be detailed and warned this evening to march at sun rise tomorrow morning along the St.

Mary's road untill they meet a detachment of the Packhorses for this place; shall then return and escort them.—The escort shall take with it two days Provisions and six axes.

J Winchester
B Genl, Comdg L. W. N. W. Army

Camp Fort Winchester 20th October—1812

General Orders

The troops shall assemble every morning at 9 Oclock in Regiments at such places near the encampment as the several commanding officers may deem convenient, shall cause the Rolls to be called, and delinquents noticed; & shall then untill 12 oclock practise the manual exercise and manoeuvers according to Smiths Instructions for Infantry. A fatigue party of two captains, two subalterns, four sergeants, four corporals, and one hundred privates shall be detailed tomorrow to remove the brush on the diclivity of the Bank of the river opposite the point.—

The attention of officers, especially those commanding Guards are called to the General Orders of the 9th Ult, Relative to sentinels &c. Officers of the day will be held responsible for the execution of this order.—The camp Guards shall be reduced to one Capt. 2 Lieutenants one Ensign four sergeants, four corporals, and one hundred and twelve privates (to wit) Front Guard, one captain, one Ensign, two sergeants two corporals, and fifty privates.—Rear guard, 1 Lieut, one sergt, one corporal, and thirty-two privates—Left flank Guard—one Lieut, one sergt, one corporal and thirty privates—The front and rear Guards shall furnish sentinels for the right flank—The pay masters shall pass their Receipts to Robert Brent pay-master for the army of the U. States; for all the goods lately received by their respective Regiments. As well for those apportioned to them by the board of officers, as for such as hath been received by individuals from the Quarter master. And they shall take the receipts of each officer, non commissioned officer, and private, for the amount which hath been delivered them, according to the prices fixed by a Board of officers for that purpose which Receipt, shall be in part pay for their services &c.

A General Court martial shall convene at 9 oclock this day at the Marquee of Coln. Wells for the trial of such prisoners as shall be brought before them. Major Richard Davenport shall preside, and Nimrod H.

Moore act as Judge Advocate.—The troops shall attend divine service at 3 oclock this day in the Fort: The Reverend Mr. Mitchell will preach on this occasion

J Winchester B Genl. Comdg
Left Wing N. W. Army

Fort Winchester 20th Oct. 1812

After Orders

The General Court Martial, whereof Lieut. Coln. William Lewis is President; and before whom Capt. Wm. Kerby was tried under the annexed charges and specifications exhibited against him by Major Martin D. Hardin; and on which the court came to the following Resolution (to wit)

After the court had heard the tistimony on the part of the prosecution entered into the following Resolution (viz)

Resolved as the opinion of this court that the charges exhibited against Capt. William Kerby in two specifications, by Major Martin D. Hardin of the 1st Battallion 1st Rifle Regt. K. V. M. are unsupported by evidence—and the prosecution having gone through the testimony on his part: the court think it unnecessary to hear any evidence on the part of the accused. We do hereby acquit the said Capt. Wm. Kerby with honor from the charges and specifications above alluded to

Alfred Sandford
Jude Advocate

Wm. Lewis Presdt
Lt. Coln. Comdt. 5 Regt.

Hath been read and is approved of: and Capt. Wm. Kerby is accordingly released from arrest, and his sword ordered to be restored to him by the proper officer.

The Court martial of which Lt. Coln. Wm. Lewis is president is dissolved

J. Winchester B. Genl.
comdg left wing N. W. Army

Charges

Disobedience of Orders—

Specification First

That the said Capt Kerby on the 27th September last while commanding the right flank Guard marched his guard into camp, before

the troops composing the main body of the army had left the camp, and contrary to the orders which he had received from Major Martin D. Hardin then on duty as senior officer of the day

Specification second

That on the morning of the said 27th day of Sept. the said Capt. Wm. Kerby while comdg the right flank of the rear guard of the army, the rear guard being being then under command of Major Martin D. Hardin, as Junior officer of the day marched his commands to the lines of the encampment, then forming before sentinels was posted out on the quarter of the encampment; and contrary to the express orders of the officer commanding the rear guards—

Martin D. Hardin Majr. 1st
Battalion 1st R. R. K. V. M.

(a true copy) Jno. H. Woodfork aid de camp
Genl. J. Winchester
Comdg L. W. N. W. Army

Fort Winchester 20th Octo—1812

Genl. Orders

One Lieutenant one sergt. one corpl, and 36 privates shall be detailed and warned this evening to march at sun rise tomorrow morning along the St. Mary's road untill they Meet a detachment of Packhorses for this place; shall then return and escort them. The escort shall take with it two days provisions, and six axes.

J. Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg left Wing N. W. army

Fort Winchester Octo 21st—1812

On the Vigilance of Guards depends the security of an army. It is a point of duty which never should be relaxed: From the highest officer to the lowest sentinel: The Genl. with regret again finds it his duty to notice not only a remissness of duty in private sentinels, but a dereliction of duty in officers on Guard contrary to repeated Genl. Orders, and to all rules of propriety; sentinels on their posts are permitted to have fires stand, set, lie, and even sleep by them. The attention of offi-

cers are particularly called to the removal of such dangerous and unsoldier like practices, and it is hereby made, the duty of officers, commanding guards, frequently to visite their sentinels in order to keep them alert and at their posts. At least one third of each guard shall be kept awake with their arms in their hands at the Guard fire. When the Grand rounds pass the officer of the guards shall immediately parade the whole of his Guard (not standing sentry) In readiness to receive and obey any orders which may be given him. Officers commanding Guards will be held responsible for the execution of these Orders. And that no excuse may hereafter be plead. It is made the duty of the Brigade Major to read these orders on the Grand parade, to the officers, when assembled in the center for one week. A fatigue party of one field officer, two Capts. 2 Subalterns, 4 Sergts—4 corpls. and 150 privates be detailed to build six perogues, to commence tomorrow, and shall receive the tools from the Perogue fatigue now on duty—

The proceedings of the Genl. Court Martial whereof Major Richard Davenport is president has been maturely considered and is approved of, and Henry Agnew a sergt. in Capt. Meeds company ordered to be reduced to the ranks and James Campbell to be punished at troop beating tomorrow morning agreeable to the sentence of said court, and is then to be released from Guard. Andrew Caldwell is ordered to be released; no witness appearing against him.

The Genl Court martial of which Major Richd. Davenport is president, is dissolved.

J Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg left wing N. W. Army

Fort Winchester 22nd Octo—1812

General Orders

The hours for Regimental exercise shall be changed from nine oclock in the morning to 11 oclock, and shall continue untill one oclock except in bad weather. No officer except he be on duty shall absent himself from camp beyond the sound of the drum without a special leave from the commanding officer. Nor shall any non commissioned officer or soldier pass without the exterior line of sentinels without a written permit from the officer commanding the Regiment to which he belongs. Officers will not indulge their men with improper quantities of liquor

from the suttler. Intoxication in an army leads to many evils and much trouble. therefore should be carefully guarded against. The front Guards shall have Charge of the Perogues and keep them in the mouth of the Auglaze under the care of a sentinel well secured with a tug or grapevine. Fishing parties under the responsibility of an officer may be indulged with the use of them so as always to keep two empty and ready at the landing

J Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg left wing N. W. Army

Fort Winchester October 24th—1812

General Orders,

For command tomorrow, one Major, three Captains, six subalterns, six sergts. 6 corporals and two hundred privates, provided with five days Rations: none shall be warned for this duty, who are without shoes.

For fatigue, one subaltern, one sergt. one corpl. and twenty privates, to cut and hall fire wood, into the Fort The Brigade Quartermaster shall assign a sufficient number of waggons for this service.

Guards when Visited by a field officer shall turn out, with presented arms; all sentinels present their arms to Genl. officers officers of the day and the field officers of their own Regiments: To all to all other commissioned officers they stand with shouldered arms. Those of the exterior Guards, shall front out wards from camp when visited by an officer.

J. Winchester B. Genl.
comdg. left wing N. W. Army

Fort Winchester 24th October 1812

After Orders

A subaltern officer, sergt, corpl, and twenty four Privates shall be detailed to escort returning waggons to Jennings Blockhouse: they shall march at sun rise tomorrow morning, and take with them two days provisions, and four axes to repair the roads.

Commanding officers of Regiments shall send out their fatigue parties for fire wood at sun rise, when the waggons shall attend to hawl it untill 12 Oclock at which time the horses shall be put to grass.—

A Return of all the axes retained in each regt. shall be made to the Quartermaster.—

J Winchester B Genl.
commandg left Wing N. W. Army

Fort Winchester 25th October 1812

General Orders

A Subaltern is to be detailed every day from each Regiment, when the Army is not marching, as a police officer, whoes duty it shall be to preserve cleanliness in Camp cause all putrid matter to be removed. at a distance. the tents swept, & Blankets, Beding, and clothes hung out to air in fair weather. and cause Racks, or stands to be erected in each tent; to keep the arms from the most ground. The senior of those police Officers shall visit the interior guard frequently, see that they are alert, and perform their several duties with propriety. They shall always be paraded at Revoulie, Troop, and tattoo beating, as well as when their centinels are to be relieved. Quartermasters will cause fresh stratums of earth to be thrown into the privies, and the brush about them to be renewed. and will cause one. or two convenient to the fort to be sunk.

J. Winchester B Genl.
comdg left wing N. W. Army

Camp Fort Winchester 26th Oct. 1812

General Orders

A General Court Martial shall convene at 9 O.Clock tomorrowmorning at the marque of Col. Wells for the trial of such prisoners as shall be brought it. Col Saml. Wells shall preside and Lieut. Nimrod H. Moore perform the duties of Judge Advocate,

Parades A Subaltern, Sergt. Corpl. & twenty privates shall be detailed to erect a shed. for the purpose of saving Hides. The officer will attend for instructions when he commences the work.

J. Winchester
B. G. N. W. Army

Fort Winchester 27th Octo. 1812

General Orders

With great pleasure the General announces to the army, the prospect of an early supply of winter clothing amongst which are the following articles, shipped from Philadelphia on the 9th of Sept. last.—

10,000 Pair of shoes
5,000 Blankets
5,000 Round Jackets
5,000 Pair of Pantaloons, woolen

cloth, to be made and forwarded to the Westward immediately; besides the winter clothing for Coln. Wells s Regt., some days before.—

100 watch coats, ordered from Philadelphia, the 7th Octo 1812
Sept. 24th 5,000 Blankets and 1000 yards of flannel
" 25th 10,000 Pair of shoes
" 29th 10,000 Do of Wollen Hose
" " 10,000 Do " Do Socks

This Bountiful supply evinces the constant attention of Government to the comfort of its armies, altho the immence distance this wing hath been detached, in to the wilderness has prevented its receiving those comforts in due season owing to causes not within the controle of human foresight; yet a fiew days and the General consoles himself with the Idea of seeing those whom he has the honor to command, clad in warm woolen capable of resisting the Northern Blasts of Canada either from the Bellows of Boreas or the muzzle of British cannon.—

Police officers shall report every evening severally for their respective Regiments: The senior of them shall include the state of the interior guards

J. Winchester
comdg. left wing N. W. Army

Fort Winchester 28th October—1812

After Orders

A fatigue party to consist of three capts. 3 subalterns, three sergts 3 corporals and 150 privates shall be detailed to parade when the Guards

parade tomorrow morning, the Quarter master will furnish the necessary tools. And Genl. Payne will superintend the Work

J Winchester B Genl.
comdg left Wing N. W. Army

Fort Winchester 28th Octo. 1812.

General Orders

The grazing Guard shall consist of a subaltern, sergeant, Corporal, and Eighteen Privates. The Bullock Guard, of a Sergt. corporal and nine privates: The Bullocks shall be turned over the Auglaize everry morning to grass; The Guard shall pass over and be under the command of the officer of the grasing Guard, who shall be responsible for the whole of the stock, horses and horned cattle being returned to Camp everry evening at sun set.

Ensign Charles Todd of the 5th Regt. of Kentucky Volunteers is hereby appointed acting assistant Deputy Quartermaster to this army, in the absence of Thos. D. Carneal Esqr. and is to be obeyed and respected accordingly.

J. Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg left Wing N. W. Army.

Fort Winchester October 30th 1812

General Orders.

A fatigue party to consist of Captain, one subaltern, one sergeant, one Corpl. and fifty privates shall be detailed to make an additional buildings at the Fort.

Another to consist of a Sergeant, and eight privates shall be detailed to get barrel staves under the directions of the chief Artificer.—

A Captain Subaltern, Sergeant Corporal and Fifty privates shall be detailed for command. provisions to be drawn tomorrow for which a special order will be given.

The army shall be held in readiness to decamp at short notice.

J. Winchester B. G.
comdg. left wing N. W. A.

Camp Fort Winchester 28th October 1812

Special Orders

At the General Court Martial whereof Coln. Wells is president; was tried Conrad Stockpole who was charged with the murder of John French a serjeant in Capt. Langhams company October 21st, 1812, and aquited of the crime whereof he stood charged.—

James Givins a private in Capt. Croghans company charged with setting down near his post, apparently asleep with his gun out of his hands last night (25th Octo. 1812)

Found guilty, and sentenced to receive ten cobs on his bear posteriors, well laid on, with a paddle, four inches wide and one half of an inch thick, bored full of holes.--

Thos. Smith a private in Capt. Mieds Company charged with sleeping on his post: Found guilty and sentenced to receive fifteen cobs on his bare posteriors, well laid on with a paddle four inches wide, and a half an inch thick bored full of holes.—Thos Clark charged with altering his uniform without leave, and found guilty, and sentenced, to receive a reprimand on parade.—

The Genl. approves of the foregoing sentences except the last and orders them to be carried into execution in front of Coln. Wells s Regiment, when paraded at troop beating this morning.—Except in the case of Thos. Jackson, who is pardoned in consideration of his youth, and former good character, and ordered to be released from confinement.—

The latter sentence in the case of Thos. Clark is disapproved of because it is contrary to all military practice, to sentence a private soldier to be reprimanded; a punishment if it is one, which may be inflicted by the lowest officer in the army on any and everry soldier for a fault without the form of a trial before a court martial—

Thos. Clark is ordered to be released, and Join his company with an expectation he will not again transgress in the same way. The Genl Court Martial of which Coln. Wells is president is dissolved—

J. Winchester B. Genl.
Com.dg L. W. N. W. Army

James Givins's punishment is remitted in consequence of his former good character being made known to me and in hopes he will not again be guilty of a crime so unsoldier like—

J Winchester B. Genl.
com.dg L. W. N. W. Army.

28th Octo— 1812

Coln Wells

The senior Police officer shall visit the interior guards in the night as well as day, and see that the officer as well as sentinels are elert and at their respective post, especially the comissarys and Quartermasters Guards.

If any one is caught breaking into the stores the sentinels shall be ordered to hail such, and if they attempt to escape shall fire upon them.

J. Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg. left Wing N. W. Army

Camp near Fort Winchester 1st Nov. —1812

This army shall decamp at eight oclock tomorrow morning, cross the Miami River and encamp on the other side.

The camp Guards will consist of two Capts two subalterns, 2 sergts, 2 corporals, and one hundred privts

The garison Guard will consist of 1 capt, 1 subl, 1 sergt, 1 corpl, and fifty privates, who shall have charge of all the Stores and Provisions within the Fort, and be relieved everry 24 hours.—

The old Camp Guards shall be dismissed when the new guards are posted at the new camp— — — —

The Bullocks shall be drove to the Island to graze and their Guards shall make a large strong pen for them, immediately below the new encampment.

The officer of the grazing Guard shall move the horses to grass on the north side of the Miami———

J. Winchester B. Genl.
comdg. left W. N. W. Army

Novm. 2nd. 1812

General Orders

The camp Guards shall be encreased to two companies of sixty privates each in the place of fifty.—There being but a few days Rations of whiskey on hand. no more issues of that article will be made except in special cases untill a further supply comes to hand.—

Whereas it is just and right and according to military practice to regulate the prices of all necessary articles offered for sale, in an army, removed from the vicinity, of commercial Towns.

Its therefore ordered that a Board of officers to consist of one from each Regiment shall convene at the tent of Mr. Oliver or any other sutlers tent near this army on wednesday next to regulate and fix the prices on all necessary articles offered for sale by such sutler or trader and Report the same.

In order to prevent swindling its here announced to all traders that no soldier can be compelled to pay a debt contracted after his enlistment or engagement in service, untill he is discharged.

J. Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg. left wing N. W. Army

Camp No. 2 Miami 5th Nov,—1812

General Orders

The Detachment Quarter Master shall assign two perogues for the use of each Regt., exclusively whilst it remains at this encampment; for which the regimental Quarter masters receipts shall be taken; and for which his Regiment shall be responsible. Two Perogues shall be assigned in the same way for the use of the Garison; for which the commanding officer there shall be responsible—

The remaining six perogues shall be moored in front of the encampment, and, kept for the use of the Genl. officers, & Genl. & Brigade Staff, under the Guard of a noncommissioned officer and six Privates, who shall also have charge of the Regimental Perogues, if the commanding officers of Regiments choose to place them under it.—

A Subaltern corporal and sixteen Privt shall be detailed to cut and hawl wood to the Garison—

A Capt. Lieut. Ensign sergt. corpl. and seventy five Privts. shall be turned out to build six Perogues of the largest kind.—

The attention of officers commanding Regiments is again called to the state of their arms and amunition and it is required of them to cause the commanding officers of companies, daily to inspect the same, and weekly report the number of cartridges on hand as well as the condition of their arms.—

The Brigade Major shall weekly inspect the arms and amunition of each Regt. and report the state & condition thereof.—

The Quarter Master shall inspect the amunition on hand; if damp cause it to be sund. the first fair day, and report the Quantity, as well as the number of new axes mattocks and spades—

The sutler is allowed the following prices and no more for the following specified articles (to wit)

Tobacco	$00 50 pr lb
Whiskey	50 pr Quart
Hyson Tea	3 00 per lb
Chocolate	75 pr lb
Coffee	62½ pr lb

J. Winchester B. Genl.
comdg L. W. N. W. Army

Camp No. 2 Miami 5th Novm. 1812

General Orders

At the General Court Martial of which Major Richd. Davenport is President, was tried James Crawford a private in Capt. Croghans company, of the 17th Regiment of United States Inft. on the charge of desertion; to which charge the prisoner pleaded guilty, and prayed for the lenity of the Court.—

The Court after mature deliberation passed the following sentence.—That the prisoner shall suffer death by being shot.—

The foregoing sentence is approved off and ordered to be carried into effect on monday next, the 9th Inst. near the burrying place, in front of the camp, between the hours of 11 oclock in the morning and two in the after noon.—

J. Winchester B. Genl. Cd L. W. N. W.

At the same Court was tried John Sturgeon of the same Company & Regiment on the charge of Desertion to which charge the prisoner pleaded guilty and prayed for the lenity of the Court.—It being the first offence and his conduct being previously good & soldier like.—The Court after mature deliberation sentenced the prisoner John Sturgeon to suffer Death by being shot. which sentence is approved of: but in consideration of the former good character of the prisoner a full & free pardon is

granted to him he therefore shall be released & permitted to Join his Company—

J. Winchester B. Genl
Comdg. left wing N. W. Army

At the same Court was tried Marcus Hobach, a private in Captain Edwards Company of the 17th Regiment of United States Infantry on the charge of Desertion: The prisoner pleaded guilty and made a full confession and prayed for the lenity of the Court, in Consideration of his youth, and inexperience The Court after mature deliberation passed the following sentence That the prisoner Marcus Hobach shall receive for three Mornings in succession on his bare posteriors ten Cobs each morning, well laid on, with a paddle four inches wide & ½ inch thick borred full of holes. which sentence is approved of & ordered to be carried into effect on the Regimental Parade of the said 17th Regiment, to commence this morning.

J. Winchester B Genl.
Comdg. left wing N. W. Army

At the same Court was tried Ambrose Ross a private in Capt Croghans Company of the same Regiment, on the charge of Desertion; of which the prisoner pleaded guilty, and prayed for the Mercy of the Court. The Court after mature deliberation, delivered the following Sentence.—That the prisoner Ambrose Ross shall receive for three mornings in succession upon his bare posteriors twelve Cobs each Morning well laid on with a paddle, as described in the foregoing sentence, which sentence is approved of and is ordered to be carried into effect on the Regimental parade of the said 17th Regiment The punishment to commence this morning.

J. Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg left wing N. W. Army

At the same Court, was tried Balaam Barnes a private in Captain Croghans Company of the same Regiment on the charge of Desertion; to which charge the prisoner pleaded guilty, and prayed for mercy—The Court after mature deliberation; delivered the following sentence—That the prisoner Balaam Barnes should suffer death by being shot.—

The foregoing sentence is approved of, and ordered to be carried into effect, on Monday next, the 9th Inst., near the burying place in front of the encampment, between the hours of 11 O.Clock in the morning, and two in the afternoon.

J. Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg left wing N. W. Army.

The General Court Martial, whereof Major R. Davenport is president is dissolved.

J. Winchester B G
Comdg. left Wing N. W. army

[A leaf is torn out—seems to be in reference to a pardon of James Crawford, Nov. 9, 1812.]

Camp No. 2 Miami 9th November 1812

Special Orders

In consideration of the youth, inexperience and former good character of Balaam Barnes, a Corporal in Captain Croghans Company of the 17th Regiment of U. S. Infantry, now under sentence of death in the provost Guard for the Crime of Desertion.

I. James Winchester Brigadier General commanding the left wing of the North Western Army of the United States By Virtue of the power and Authority, in me Vested by law and Military practice, have been pleased to grant a full and free pardon, to the said Balaam Barnes; and by these presents do give and grant to him the said Balaam Barnes a full, free and Complete pardon for the Offence whereof he stands Convicted, and is now under sentence of Death: and do order him to be released from Confinement, and to Join his Company.

Preparations shall be made for the execution of Jas. Crawford, a private in Captain Croghans Company at one OClock in the evening of this day according to the sentence of the Genl. Court Martial which tried him.

J. Winchester B. General
Commanding left wing N. W. Army

Camp No. 2 Miami Novm 9th 1812

General Orders

Colonels Scotts and Lewis's Regts, will march with all their Baggage at 10 OClock tomorrow morning, and encamp on a situation about five or six miles below this place, which will be made known to the Quartermasters.—

Four Perogues shall be assigned to each Regt. to convey their heavy Baggage:—One Company from Coln Scots Regiment shall march in the road in rank & file, as an advanced Guard, in front of the Baggage, and one company from Coln. Lewis's Regt. shall cross the river, and flank the Perogues; the balance of those 2 Regts. shall march in Indian file (Coln. Scotts in front) about one hundred and fifty yards, on the left flank of the Baggage, and advanced as far as the front Guard.—

Being now about to approach the lines of the enemy, too much attention cannot be paid to the state of the arms: It is in vain that you are brave and cautious; and patiently submit to the hardships of a campaign, if you meet the enemy with your arms in bad order; all your courage, caution and discipline, will not avail you with arms in such condition.—Every piece that misses fire, is equal to the loss of a man at the onset of an action which frequently determines the fate of the day.. Then how important it is, that this part of the duty of commanding officers of companies should never be neglected; they should carefully examine the arms of their respective companies every day, and under their own view, cause all such as are out of order, and in bad condition, to be immediately cleaned; and if necessary repaired: not only the lives of brave men, but the salvation of the army may depend upon the condition of its arms.—

With great pleasure I notice the arms of Capt. Langhams company, are reported in the Best order; and that Capts. Meeds, Edwards & Reddings are in good order—also that Capt. Hightower, Pughes, Sebrees Harts, Grays, Brasfields, Ballards, Kerbys McCrackens and Hickmans arms are in tolerable order.—

The camp Guards shall be drawn in and reduced to the officers and privates, detailed from the 17th Regt. of Regulars, and 1st Regt. of Volunteer Rifl.

A Sergt. and fifteen men shall be detailed from Scots and Lewises Regts. as pioneers to march in advance of the Baggage, and Repair the road by digging the Banks, and Bridging, where necessary

J. Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg. left. Wing N. W. Army

Camp No. 3 Miami 11th November 1812

General Orders

Shall be detailed for fatigue tomorrow and to parade and march at Troop beating: one Captain, One subaltern, one Sergeant, one Corporal, and Fifty Privates, to open, and make good the road to Blue Jackets Town: they shall receive ten Axes, two mattocks and two spades, and shall return, and report in the evening, in writing.—A Subaltern, Sergeant, Corporal and Twenty five privates, to Ascend the River with Eight Perogues, to Fort Winchester, for flour, whisky, and other Commissarys stores.—For A Scout, one Subaltern one Sergeant and Ten privates to march at sun rise and return at night and report.—

Being in an Enemys Country Common prudence requires great Economy in the use of all the munitions of war; especially of fixed ammunition: therefore the attention of officers are particularly called to this subject, and to the General Orders of the 4th of October last Forbiding the discharging of Arms, except with Special permissions: In Order more effectually to carry said Orders into effect the Commanding Officers of Companies, will frequently examine their arms, and ammunition, and see that they are in good Order,—and if the latter are deficient in quantity; confine the delinquents for a breach of General Orders, unless satisfactorily accounted for. The Brigade Quartermaster shall collect all the Perogues, and keep them under guard for Public service alone.—This Order is not meant to apply to the perogues built by, and for the immediate use of each Company descending the river—

J. Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg. left wing N. W. Army

Camp Miamis No. 3
Nov. 13th 1812

Genl. Orders

Shall be detailed for scout No. 1 and to march at Troop beating

One Sub. One Sergt. One Corpl. and 30 privates.

For Scout No. 2

One Sub. One Sergt. and 20 privates. Shall carry with them two days provisions and shall receive further orders when they march

For Command one Col. one Major six Captains 6 Sub. 6 Sergts. 6 Corpls. and 386 privates shall take 6 days provisions with them

J. Winchester B. Gl.
L. W. N. W. Army

Camp No. 3 Miami 15th November 1812

General Orders

Shall be detailed for duty tomorrow to go to Fort Winchester for Clothing, one Pay Master, one sergt., one corporal, and thirty Privates—shall take with them ten Perogues and shall set out at troop beating, in the morning.—

To go to Jennings's Block house for provisions, one Capt. one Subaltern, two sergts. two corporals and fifty Privates Shall take with them three days provisions, and set out at one oClock tomorrow with ten of the shallowest and widest Perogues.—

Commanding officers of Regts. will cause their several quata's of Troops to be furnished on all occasions for Detachments, to be furnished with the provisions required in Genl. Orders; so that Detachments hereafter may always set out at the hour appointed.

A Sergeant and eight men shall be detailed for fatigue in the Camp.

The Detachment Quarter Master will have the Perogues in readiness (viz) those to ascend the Auglaze furnished with good Poles—and the horses all collected tomorrow night, of every description except those that are private property—

J. Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg. left. wing N. W. Army.

Camp No. 2. Miami November 16th 1812

General Orders

Shall be detailed for command tomorrow to march at Reville beating two Capts. four subalterns, eight non commissioned Officers & one hundred and twenty Privates—shall take with them, two Perogues, and six hundred rations of Provisions, exclusive of two days Rations for their own use, two tents, and six axes: Their Senior Surgeon shall send a small quantity of hospital stores.

J. Winchester B. Genl.
commandg. left wing N. W. army

Camp No. 3 Miami 17th Novm. 1812

General Orders

The fortification shall be made complete on the front left flank and rear; The lines, or Regimental parades shall be straitened and cleared out, so that the troops can be reviewed; The Brigade Parade shall be cleared through the encampment from front to rear.—

General Payne will inspect the arms and ammunition at 2 o'Clock tomorrow on the Brigade Parade, and report the state and condition thereof; Those who have lately drawn cartridges shall return all But ten, which shall be retained by each man.

The several Paymasters shall attend at the clothiers Hut this morning at nine oClock, and select all the Private Packages which are marked, and deliver them to the owners: Then seperate the clothing for the Volunteers from those for the regular troops, and make out an inventory of each, and return that for the Volunteers clothing to Brigadier Genl. Payne, who will order the proper proportion to be distributed.—

To prevent confusion a centinel shall be placed at the door to keep out all persons, except the Paymasters or commanding officers of Regiments.—

J. Winchester B Genl.
Comdg. left wing N. W. Army—

Camp No. 3 Miami 18th Novr. 1812

General Orders

The fortifications agreeable to former orders, shall be made at least four feet and one half high and every way finished in the best manner possible for defence. The exterior Centinels after tattoo beating, on the appearance of any one from without the Camp, shall challenge once loud & briskly, and if not answered as a friend shall immediately fire—but shall not leave his post unless more than one advances on him.—If compelled to retire, it shall be to his guard if possible.—On the firing of a Centinel, all the guard shall immediately parade, and if the Enemy advances in force shall repel them as long as possible, and if obliged to retire within the works it must be done in good order keeping up a retreating fire—When within the works, the Officers Commanding the guards shall rally their men and assist to defend them.—On an alarm

the officers commanding the Regiments in front, rear, and left flank of the encampment shall immediately man their lines and defend them to the last extremity.

Col. Allens Regiment, on the bank of the river shall be kept as a Corps dereserve and will be ordered to reinforce such parts of the lines as the Enemy may most furiously attack.

No part of the Exterior guards shall be permitted to sleep at night, and all officers shall hold themselves in readiness to be at their respective posts at the moment of alarm—A loose, careless army is never safe, a vigilant & alert one is never in danger therefore a daily attention of the commanding officers of companies to the state & condition of arms are required

J. Winchester B. Genl

Camp No. 3 Miami 18th Novm. 1812

After Orders

The appearance of the enemies spies in the Vicinity of Camp for two days past without exhibiting a desire to alarm by killing, or stealing horses, induces a belief that he is in force, and intends to attack this army, if an advantage can be taken of it—

Therefore the troops will lay on their arms this night, in readiness to man, and defend the lines at the sound of the Drum.—

The Camp Guards tomorrow shall consist of left

	Capt.	Subl.	Sergts.	Corpls.	Privts
Left flank Guard ————	1 —	1 —	1 —	1 —	50
" Front Do. — —	1 —	1 —	1 —	1 —	50
" Rear Do. ————	" —	1 —	1 —	1 —	30
	—	—	—	—	—
	2	3	3	3 —	130

J. Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg. left. wing N. W. Army

Camp No. 3 Miami November 19th 1812

General Orders.

A General Court Martial to Consist of seven members, will convene at the Marque of Major Graves at 10 oClock tomorrow morning for the

trial of Ensign James Tracy of the 1st Rifle Regt. of Kentucky Volunteers. Major Benjn. Graves shall preside and perform the duties of Judge Advocate.—The other members to be detailed by the Brigade Major or inspector of the left wing N. Western Army

In consequence of Certain reports injurious to the reputation of Ensign Peter G. Voorhies, acting as issuing Commissary to the left wing of the North Western Army.—A Court of Enquiry, to consist of three members, is hereby appointed at the request of Ensign Voorhies to examine and enquire into the nature of said reports, and the Causes which have given rise to them. The members shall be detailed by the Brigade Major.

The result of the late inspection of ammunition is noticed with regret as it exhibits a dereliction of duty in some officers—One man is reported without a Cartouch box, and several with one, two, & Three Cartridges; these men ought to have been made account, for their Cartridges lost, as the deficiencies took place; and if not done satisfactorily; the offender should have been confined, and brought to trial for the same.—It is now made the duty of the Commanding officers of Companies, under the directions commanding Officers of Regiments to examine their mens Cartridges every day, and charge the defalters six & ¼ Cents for each Cartridge deficient, and not satisfactorily accounted for—and confine the offender under the Provost guard for trial.

Regimental returns for Cartridges shall be made out exhibiting the whole number of Cartridges in each Regiment, and the number deficient to give each noncommissioned Officer & Private ten.

It is the duty of Regimental Quartermasters to take charge of the arms and accoutrements of the men, when they are unable to attend to them.

J. Winchester B Genl.
Commandg. left wing N. W. Army

Camp 6 miles from Fort Winchester Nov. 20th 1812

General Orders,)

The following Persons have reported by the Commandant of the 5th Regiment Ky. Militia duly chosen to fill the several appointments in said Regt. to which they are named—It is hereby ordered that each of

them be respected and obeyed accordingly (viz)

Joseph Kelly, Captain, vice, U. K. Brassfield, resigned.
Lewis Sudduth, Lieutenant, vice, Jos. Kelly, promoted
William Rash, Ensign, vice, L. Sudduth, promoted
Alexr. Welsh, Lieutenant, vice, Jas. Clarke, resigned.
John Bolls, Ensign, vice, A. Welsh, promoted
John Higgins, Lieutenant, vice Benjn. Warfield, resigned
John Harrow, Ensign, vice John Higgins, promoted

John Payne B General

Camp 6 miles below Fort Winchester Nov. 20th. 1812

General Orders

Taking into consideration the Petition of John Ewing, John Haggart John Kitter, Ephraim Fewel, David Martin, John Morrell, Isaac Penny, John Fightmaster, & Adam Hiles, and the several officers to whose companies they belong,—and having understood those Persons (now Prisoners) have behaved themselves correctly since the sentence of the Court, and believing, that they will hereafter, discharge their duty as good Soldiers.—It is hereby ordered that the sentence of the Court Martial, condemning them to hard labour for desertion, during the balance of their time, be remitted and set aside. The said John Ewing, John Haggart, John Kitter, Ephraim Fewel, David Martin, John Morrell, Isaac Penny, John Fightmaster, and Adam Hilles will return to their several Companies, to their duty, and be respected by their officers, and Fellow Soldiers, as their good conduct may deserve

J. Payne B Genl.

Camp No: 3 November 20th 1812

Regimental Orders

The officers commanding companies is requested to be particular in keeping the soldiers in order, and by doing that, they must turn their attention frequently towards them, by having their orders in every instance compleated. With this careless manner, which is frequently seen of soldiers stragling from their Companies, is unmilitary and for the future; no Soldier must leave the Regiment, without a written permit from their officer, or in Company with a noncommissioned officer,

and by strictly attending to this rule every officer can at once account for his command. A watchful eye over the noncommissioned officers seeing that they do their duty in all cases ought to be Observed. and in no one instance when any neglect is observed, should be passed by the officer unnoticed who is directly over him.—For the future the officers, commanding Companies, will strictly attend to the following rules respecting the Parade of the Troops.—At Reveille beat, the Regiment will be drawn up in one line, on the bank of the river in front of the Encampment. At Troop & retreat beats, they will form the Regiment, on the same parade: the men in two lines, rankd. & sized. The Troops will be beat every day at 11 O.Clock and retreat at sun set, at which times I shall expect to have the pleasure to see every Officer at the head of him Command.

Richd Davenport Major
17th Regt U. S. Infanty

Camp No. 3 21st November 1812

General Orders.

Camp guard No 3 shall consist of one Lieutenant, One Ensign, one Sergeant, one Corporal and thirty six Privates.—A Subaltern, Serjeant Corporal and twenty four Privates, shall be detailed for extra duty tomorrow. Major John Kercheval is announced as the agent of John A. Piatt. Deputy Commissary General to the North Western Army and is to be respected accordingly.

At present, he shall be stationed at Fort Winchester; and superintend the receipts safe keeping, and delivery of all Supplies, as well as issues, at that Deposit. He shall examine the abstracts, for Provisions Issued to this Army, since it left St. Marys; and see that they are correct and in due form.

Mr. P. G. Voorhies shall exhibit his accounts, returns, and abstracts, to the said John Kercheval, for settlement; and shall exhibit an account of the Money, he has received from those officers who had Previously drawn Money for their Subsistence from the Paymasters, and hold the same subject to General Orders.

J. Winchester B Genl.
Comdg. left wing N. W. Army

After Orders

Shall be detailed for command on Capt. one Lieut, two Sergts two corporals and fifty privates to march at troop beating tomorrow morning and carry with them two days provisions

J. Winchester B. G.
Comdg. left wing N. W. Army

21st. November 1812

General Orders

Untill further orders the camp Guards shall consist of two Capts. four subl. five sergts, six corpls. and one hundred and fifty privates.—to wit

No. 1	1 Capt.		1 Subl.		2 Sergt.		2 Corpls	54	Privts
" 2	1	"	1	"	2	"	2 "	54	"
" 3	"		2	"	1	"	2 "	42	"
	2	"	4	"	5	"	6 "	150	"

The Perogue Guard shall be discontinued, and the Perogues taken in charge of the camp guards.—A line of sentinels shall be extended along the river within the Fortifications.—Shall be detailed for fatigue tomorrow Capt. Redding and one sergt. one corporal and twenty-four privates—

The commanding officers of Regts, will see the utility of turning out two or three men for one week to make soap for their own Regts.—

J. Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg. left wing N. W. Army.

Camp No. 3—22nd Nov, 1812

Camp No. 3 Miami 23rd Novr. 1812

General Orders

The issuing commissary shall settle monthly his provision account with each commissioned officer, and give a certificate for all his retained rations; specifying the month for which it was given, and designating the Fractional, or component parts of Rations, where such have been drawn over and above complete rations. No officer shall be allowed to draw more rations than he is entitled to by law.—

Ensign William O Butler, of the second Regiment of United States Inft. is attached to Captain Hightowers company of the 17th United States Regt., and will do duty in the same, untill further orders.—

The camp Guards, commanded by Capts. shall be augmented to sixty privates.

J. Winchester B. Genl.
Comd'g left wing N. W. Army

Camp No. 3 Miami 24th November 1812

General Orders

The officer of the day, will report the number of Sentinels mounted by all the guards exterior, and interior, for each of whom he shall receive a watch Coat, and shall deliver the due proportion to the commanding officer of each guard, who shall immediately deliver to each of his Centinels one, who shall always deliver the same to the Sentinel who relieves him and so on in continued rotation, so that the sentinels have always the benefit of the Coats.—The relieved shall in all cases report to the relieving officer in writing, the number and condition of the watch Coats, belonging to his Guard. When the number of sentinels are reduced or a guard dismissed, the officer commanding such Guard or guards shall be responsible for the return to the store of all watch Coats in the possession of dismissed sentinels.

A Subaltern, Sergeant, and 20 men shall be turned out at 12 OClock to collect the brigade perogues, and haul them out of the water except one

J. Winchester B. Genl
commandg. left wing N. W. Army

Camp No. 3 Miami 24th November 1812

After Orders.

Seventy five pair of Mittens shall be set apart with all the watch Coats, subject to Genl. Orders. The residue of the Mittens, with all the socks & shoes, shall be distributed, between the four Regiments, in proportion to their respective strength, to be ascertained by the last returns. The balance of the clothing on hand shall be divided amongst the three militia regiments, in the same proportion.

The several Paymasters are charged with the execution of these

orders, and shall make out an Inventory of the several Articles he receives and deliver it to the commanding of officer of his Regiment signed with his name, rank &C.

J. Winchester B Genl
Commandg. left wing N. W. Army

Camp No. 3 Miami 27th November 1812

General Orders

With pleasure, it is announced to this army that the activity of Genl. Harison aided by the exertions of the proper departments, presents fair prospects, of plentifull supplies being on the way to authorise an advancement of the several branches of the North Western army into the enemies country soon after the lakes are so closed by the frost, so that his Marine forces can not act. Emence quantities of provisions have been purchased: At Jennings's Blockhouse, are one hundred head of hogs; at St. Marys there are as many more, and two hundred barrels of flower. At Piqua there are one thousand six hundred barrels, and in the state of Ohio, a great number of hogs are in motion, all for this wing of the army. It will however take some time before the whole can arrive, and our movements upon the lakes, will necessarily depend upon the frost; therefore the precise time for the advance of this army, is still somewhat uncertain, and may be two or three weeks hence, a circumstance which strongly points to the utility of making small though comfortable huts, for the troops. Each mess may soon make a comfortable hut for its self in which a weeks residence would compensate for the labour of building.

The Genl. Court Martial of which Major Benj. Graves is President is dissolved and Ensign James Frary released from his arrest, and his sword ordered to be delivered to him—

J. Winchester B. General
Comdg. left wing N. W. Army

Camp No. 3 Miami 28th Novr. 1812

General Orders,

The camp guards shall be reduced to one hundred & Forty six—to wit—the captains guards to fifty privates each; the subalterns to thirty

six Privates. The General Officers, to a noncommissioned officer, and six Privates.—

The Grazing Guard shall be dismissed—The Camp Guard shall be stationed within 30 yards of the works; and the line of Sentinels drawn in, in proportion—The brush shall be removed, or burnt all around the fortifications, as far out, as to the Guard fires.—The Regimental Quartermaster shall draw a pound of Powder, and a proportion of Musket ball, or lead for each Company, in their respective Regiments, which shall be kept by the commanding officer thereof, for the purpose of charging each mans musket, when he mounts guard If necessary—

J. Winchester B Genl
Commandg. left wing N. W. Army

A Sergeant, Corporal, and eight men shall be turned out for fatigue tomorrow morning

Camp No. 3 Miami November 29th 1812

General Orders

Camp Guards tomorrow.

No. 1	1 Captain,	1 Subaltern,	2	noncommissioned officers and	40 Privates
No. 2	1 Captain,	1 Subaltern,	2	do	40 Privates
No. 3		2	2		30
	2	4	6		110

The officers commanding guards will take care that no noncommissioned officer or private shall pass the line of Centinels; without a passport, except such as are after wood, and in View. Discharging firelocks, when coming in from Guard shall be discontinued until further Orders.

J. Winchester Brigadier Genl.
Commanding left wing N. W. Army

Camp No. 3 Miami 1st December 1812

General Orders

It being impossible to command the Elements, and consequently uncertain how much longer it may be necessary for this army to remain in its present Encampment—And being desirous to preserve the health

of the troops, by exposing them as little as possible to nocturnal duty—I have deemed it essential, to have the encampment Picketed, immediately on the exterior of the present fortification. At each angle shall be a Bastion, about 12 feet square, and one or two gates or pass ways in the front of each Battalion—

The Pickets shall be cut nine feet long, and be sunk in the ground from 18 inches to two feet deep—and of a sufficient thickness to resist a musquet ball—

Each Regt. shall Picket in front of its own line, and half way on the interval between it, and the next Regiment.—

The 17th Regt. will commence Picketing at the Bank of the river, and continue as far beyond its left flank, as the other Regiments have to Picket on their left flanks—The balance of the interval to the right of Colo. Scotts Regt. shall be picketed by a General Detail.—Muster Rolls shall be immediately made out, and the several Corpse of the Left wing of the North western Army mustered to the 30th day of November last inclusive—

J. Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg left Wing N. W. Army

The Camp Guards shall be reduced

Guard No. 1. Shall consist of one Capt. one subl. one sergeant one corporal and forty privates—

Guard No. 2 to one subl. one sergt. one Corporal and twenty five Privates—

Guard No. 3 shall be discontinued—The commanding officers of Regiments will attend at 3 oClock tomorrow in order to see their fortifications Inspected and receive such instructions as may be deemed necessary for the improvement thereof

J. Winchester B Genl
Comdg. left wing N. W. Army

Decm. 5th 1812

Camp Miami No. 3. 5th Decr. 1812

After Orders

The Genl. congratulates the troops under his command on the arrival of a quantity of Clothing, and on the information of provisions being on the way, which will arrive tomorrow or next day—. The commanding

officer of the 17th Regt. of Regulars, will immediately cause Returns for clothing to be made out for the men present, in each Company in said Regt. including waiters &C. The troops will draw half a Ration of liquor being all that is on hand at present—

J. Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg. left wing N. W. Army

Camp Maumee No. 3 Decr. 7th 1812

General Orders

The Camp was ordered to be fortified with a view to Justify a Reduction of the guards and not a relaxation of duty. For more secure is an army without either, relying as it will do, on its own vigilance; than with indifferent works; and negligent Guards; for they only hold out a false security, which will vanish when the Enemy approaches, and approach he will, if he finds this Army off its Guards; The fortifications requires some improvements, which cannot be dispensed with as soon as the ground softens a little; the pickets are not sufficiently secured in the ground. they apply not well together; the appertures between many are too wide, and some are too thin. at the edges, which will require to be lined.

Officers commanding guards, will not suffer above one of his guard to be absent at the same time; except for fire wood, and then under particular regulations with a noncommissioned officer, to be absent no longer than absolutely necessary. The Officers shall parade frequently between reliefs, in order to see that the sentinels are on their feet, Vigilant, and at the post assigned them; and shall frequently interrogate them to see if they know their duty, and what they are placed there for; no officer shall absent himself from his guard, without leave. The camp guards shall build each a shed, one in front, in the interval between Col. Wells & Scotts Regiments the other in the front of Col. Allens Regt. and within the lines

A fatigue party shall be detailed to consist of a Subaltern, Sergeant, Corporal, and Sixteen privates to build a store house for flour.

J. Winchester B Gl.
Commanding left wing N. W. A.

General Orders Camp No. 3 Miami 8th Decr. 1812

The loss of water craft, lately from this Army; imperiously require, that rigid Rules should be observed for their preservation, it is therefore Ordered that no Brigade Perogue, flatt or canoe shall be taken from the landing, except under the Authority of General Orders, or a Special Order from the Brigade Quartermaster, and in every instance, the perogue flat, or canoe so taken shall be returned to the same landing, from which it was taken; and the poles, and paddles returned to the Brigade Quartermasters tent. If they are used for private purposes; the Officer using them shall receipt for the same, and be held responsible for their return. The scarcity of ammunition, requires that at all future interment until further Orders, military honors shall be dispensed with.

Doctor Thomas McIlvain has been employed as a mate in the hospital department, and is to be respected accordingly.

J. Winchester B Gl.
comdg. left wing N. W. Army

A General Court Martial, to consist of five members shall convene at 10 OClock this day at the tent of Major McClanahan, for the trial of Corporal Jemison of the 1st Rifle Regt. of Kentucky Volunteers. Major McClanahan shall preside, and the Court shall appoint its own Judge Advocate

Maumee Camp No 3
By order of J. Winchester
B Genl. comdg. left
wing N. W. Army

8th Decr. 1812

J Overton Jur.
aid de Camp

Camp No 3 Miami 10th December 1812

General Orders

The Commanding officers of Regiments will cause each of their Companies to be provided with a good Perogue, sufficient for its own baggage; they will examine their arms, and ammunition; and such of their men, as are without shoes, they will cause to make themselves Mochasons out of Green hides.

A Subaltern, Sergeant, Corporal & twenty Privates shall be detailed for fatigue tomorrow, to assist the artificers to make Perogues. In consequence of certain reports injurious to the honor and reputation of Captain Joseph Redding of the 1st Regiment of Infantry of Kentucky Militia having been circulated through Camp by some person, or persons, unknown a Court of Enquiry, to consist of three members, is hereby appointed at the particular request of Captain Joseph Redding, to Examine, and enquire into the nature of said reports, [A blot, may be "and"] the causes which have given rise to them

Lieut. Col Wm Lewis President

Capt. Uriel Sebree } members
Lt. Wm H. Moore }
Mr. James Clarke will act as recorder

J. Winchester BG.
C. L W N. W. Army

Gen'l Order

Camp Maumee No 3 11th Nov 1812

The officers are enjoined to repress the fireing of small armes contrary to Genl Orders

The several Corps shall parade on sunday next the 13th inst. Beginning on the right the 17 U. S Regt. at 11 oclock A M Colo Scotts at 12 oclock Lewis at 1 oclock and Allens at 2 oclock for the purpose of being mustered & having their Armes inspected.—Every man including waiters and all on Extra Service fatigue or guards that are able to attend shall parade with their armes—

The officer of the Day on the said 13th inst. shall permit the officers and privates on guard to parade with their respective corps for the purpose of being mustered to return to their guards as soon as they are mustered

The several paymaster shall prepair their Estimates and set out on the Day following the Muster to Cincinnati for the purpose of receiving money to pay the troops

Mr. Jas. Clark of the 5th Regt. Kentucky Volunteer Malitia is appointed Assist Depty adjutant Genl. to the Left Wing of the N. W. army pro tem and is to be obeyed & respected accordingly

J. Winchester B Genl.
Comdg. left wing N. W. army

General Orders

Camp No. 3 Miami 12th December 1812

In consequence of certain reports injurious to the honor & reputation of Captain John Martin of the 5th Regiment of Kentucky Volunteer Militia circulated through Camp by some person, or persons unknown. A Court of Enquiry, to consist of three members, is hereby appointed, at the particular request of Capt. John Martin to examine, and enquire into said reports & and the causes which have given rise to them

Major Richd. Gano President
Capt. Thos. Morris } members
Lt. Thos. Story }
Lt. A. Sandford, shall act as recorder

J. Winchester BGl.
Comdg left wing N. W. A.

General Orders

Camp No 3 Miami 17th Decr. 1812

Shall be detailed for duty this day, One Cadet, one Sergeant, one Corporal, and Eighteen privates.

Until bread stuff arrives, all non Commissioned officers, and Soldiers shall be entitled to draw two and one third rations per day of meat, and Salt in proportion: The Commissioned officers shall draw no more, nor shall they until a supply of flour arrives draw for more than two days in advance. I am gratified in informing this army that between three and four hundred hogs left fort Jennings; four days ago; destined for this place. It is expected they are at this time; at Fort Winchester, and will arrive at Camp this day. From the various arrangements made for the transportation of Flour, in the rear & the several messengers sent from this army; to hasten it forward: I have full confidence, that the troops will be supplied with that precious article in a few days. Temporary privations are Occasionally the lot of the best appointed: it may not therefore surprise, to be assured that the present deficiency, is owing to Causes; not within the controul of your General. I am however rejoiced to reflect that a great portion of the troops I have the honor to command are Kentucky Volunteers, Patriots, whom love of Country

alone has placed in the field & who will not shrink from duty on Occasional privations, nor will they anticipate starvation whilst drawing more than two Rations per day of beef or Pork

J. Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg. left wing N. W. Army

Camp No. 3 Miami 18th Decr 1812

General Orders

A Perogue Party to consist of one Subl. one Sergeant, one Corporal and twenty four privts. shall be detailed for duty tomorrow morning Provided with two days provisions.—

Arrangements shall be made for sending the Sick to Fort Winchester in a few days with their baggage &C. An inspection of the arms & amunition shall be had at 12 oClock next Monday if a fair day if not the next fair day—

The Brigade Quarter Master shall at the same time make a return of the Quartermasters Stores in Camp. Artificers tools and water Crafts including Company Perogues &C.

J. Winchester B. Genl.
Commanding left wing N. W. Army

Camp No. 3 Miami Decr. 19—1812

General Orders

General Paynes Brigade being composed of the first second fourth and fifth Regiments of Inft. and first rifle Regt. all of the Kentucky Volunteer Militia commanded by Lieut. Colns. Scott Jennings Pogue Lewis and Allen who shall make their Reports and returns to Genl. Payne accordingly—

The detachments of the 17th and 19th Regt. of the United States Army and Lieuts. Coln Barbees Regt. of Kentucky Volunteer Militia shall form another Brigade to be commanded by Coln Wells of the U. S. Army—

The officer of the day shall cause all the watch Coats issued for the Benefit of the Guards and not used by them to be returned to the store and a receipt for the same taken—

J Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg. left wing N. W. Army

Camp Miami No. 3. 20th Decr. 1812

Genl. Orders

The commanding officers of Brigades shall cause their Sick at this place to be removed to the fort Winchester with as much expedition as their situation will admit of—

The Brigade Quartermaster together with the Regimental Qr. masters shall tomorrow proceed down the river about ten miles and fix on a proper situation for an encampment—Measure, lay off and assign to each Corpse its due distance—

The commanding officers of Regiments will cause slides to be made for the transportation of their Baggage, in case the navigation of the Miami should fail

All useless and unnecessary Baggage must be discarded and such as is of little value curtailed in order that the Army may move as light as possible—

It is contemplated to march at the rising of the sun on thursday the 24th Inst.—at H

Order of March to be observed—

Camp guard No. 1. shall form the advance and no 2. the rear guard—One Captain, three subalterns from the army, and one non commissioned officer and three privates from each company shall compose the corps of Pioneers, and shall march at Reviellee beating with the advanced guard opening the road sufficient for sleds to pass to the place assigned for the encampment

When there the commanding officer of the Pioneers shall cause the non-commissioned officers & privates from each company to remove the snow & make fires for their respective companies at the proper places

The 17th U. S. regt. & 1st R. Regt. of K. V. M. shall march on the right of the Baggage when its not near the river,—when it is shall march in its front—

The 1st and 5th Regt. Ky V. Militia shall march on the left of the Baggage at the usual distance

Shall be detailed for fatigue tomorrow one subl. one Sergt. one corpl. and eighteen privates.

J Winchester B Genl.
Comdg L. W. N. W. Army

After Orders

Camp No. 3 Miami 20th Decr. 1812

With sincere pleasure the Genl. congratulates this army on the information of three Brigades of Packhorses loaded with flower being on the way on this side St. Marys—One of them will probably arrive tomorrow and the other two on wednesday next

A Perogue fatigue to consist of one Capt. two Sergts two Corporals and thirty privates shall be detailed for duty tomorrow and provided with two days provisions—so shall the Lieut. and his party ordered to be detailed in the Genl Order of this morning

J. Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg. left Wing N. W. Army

Camp No. 3. Miami Decr. 22nd 1812

Genl Orders

So much of the Genl. Orders of the 20th Inst. as relates to the moving the sick of Genl. Paynes Brigade to Fort Winchester is rescinded, and lieu thereof a comfortable situation shall be provided for them in this Camp. and a Company from each Regt. selected or detailed to take care of and Protect them untill they are in a situation to follow the army such as are at Fort Winchester Belonging to said Brigade and able to march shall forthwith join their Respective Companies, as well those who have been sentenced to hard labour as others—

The several Corps shall be allowed two dollars for each good substantial sled by them made of good materials according to a plan which may be seen at the artificers or shall be approved of by the Brigade Inspector.

The Court of Enquiry in the case of Capt. Martin of the 5th Regt. of K. V. Militia of which Major Richard M. Ganoe was President hath given the following opinion—

That the expressions of Capt. Martin; at Colonel Allens Guard fire, were unguarded and imprudent; but the Court are also of opinion that no intention to injure the service, or to produce any mutinous effect or improper retrograding was designed, and that Capt. Martin be exonerated from censure—

The whole proceedings together with the testimony may be seen at the tent of the A. D. Adjt. Genl.

J Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg left wing N. W. Army

Camp No. 3, Miami 23rd Decr. 1812

Genl. Orders

That part of the Genl. Orders, relating to the marching of this army tomorrow morning is suspended on account of the deficiency of flower for a fiew days.—The Brigade Quartermaster will issue to the Qr. Master of the 17th Regt. U. S. troops—eight boxes containing four hundred pair of shoes and take Receipts for the same—To the Qr. M. of the 1st Rifle Regt. K. V. M. four boxes containing two hundred and fifty pair of shoes—To the Qr. M. of the 1st Regt. K. V. M. four Boxes containing two hundred & fifty pair of shoes—To the Qr. M. of the 5th Regt. K. V. M. three boxes containing one hundred and fifty pair of shoes

J. Winchester B Genl.
Comdg left wing N. W. Army

17th — 8 boxes
1st R 5 —
1st M 5 —
5th — 3 —
21

Camp No. 3, Miami 25th Decr. 1812

Genl. Orders

All horses taken up and brought into camp shall be reported to the Brigade Qr. Master and shall be held as publick horses for publick service unless it is clearly made appear such horses or horses are private property and the owner thereof in Camp—

It being a holy day the non commissioned officers and privates shall draw one extra ration of Flower each—

The proceedings of the Court of enquiry in the case of Capt. Redding may be seen at the markee of James Clark A. D. Adjutant Genl.—no opinion was required or given by the Court—

Ensign Charles S. Todd has been appointed Judge advocate for the left wing of the North Western army and shall be obeyed and respected accordingly.—

J. Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg. left wing N. W. Army

General Orders

Camp No. 3 Miami 27th Decr. 1812

A Police officer shall be detailed whose duty it shall be with a corporal and file of men from the provost Guard frequently to patrole the interior of the encampment and Visit the deposites of public stores between tattoo & Reveille beating, and take up and confine all stragling non commissioned officers and privates who can not give a satisfactory account of themselves as well as in all other thing to attend to the good order of the encampment

J. Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg left wing N. W. Army

Camp No. 3. Miami Decr. 28th 1812

Genl. Orders

Such Regiments as have their means of transportation in readiness to advance shall march tomorrow at 11 oClock A. M. and continue at their first encampment untill the rear joins them—

Those corpse which can not march tomorrow shall march the next day at 10 oClock in the morning—The Regimental Qr Masters are charged with the execution of the Genl. Orders of the 20th Inst relating to discarding useless baggage and curtailing such as are of little value—

A Genl. Court Martial to consist of seven members will convene at the Markee of Colo. John Allen tomorrow morning at 10 oClock A. M. for the trial of Doctr. Gustavus M. Bower surgeons mate to the 5th Regiment K. V. M. Lieut. Coln. John Allen is hereby appointed president of the Court Martial and Ensign C. S. Todd having been appointed Judge Advocate to the L. W. N. W. Army will perform that duty— The other members to be detailed by the Brigade Inspector & Adjutants

J. Winchester. B. Genl.
Comdg. left wing N. W. Army

Camp No. 3. Miami 29th Decr. 1812

James Rims of the 17th U. S. Regiment who hath lately been acting as an assistant to Doctr. Montgomery shall again Join his Company an do duty therein

J. Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg. L. W. N. W. Army

General Orders

Camp No. 3 Miami December 31st 1812

General Wells will move the Army down the River to the place laid off for the first encampment and there halt and encamp in the Usual order until the rear comes up.—A Captain, Subaltern, two Sergeants, two Corporals, and thirty six Privates shall be detailed to return to this place, and remain to escort Quartermasters, and Commissarys stores as soon as the means of transportation can be had.

J. Winchester BGenl.
Comdg. left wing N. W. Army

Camp Miami January 2nd, 1813

Genl. Orders

The following orders from the President of the United States; and from the commanding Genl. of the North Western Army needs no comment from me to elicit prompt obedience from every officer and soldier in the army.

Head Quarters N. W. Army

Delaware 9th Decr. 1812

Genl. Orders

The commanding Genl. regrets that the conduct of any of the officers or soldiers under his command should have made it necessary for an order like the following to have been issued by the direction of the President. He is convinced however that it will have the effect of

stopping an evil the least ill consequence of which is that of subjecting the army to the contempt & ridicule of all military men—

(Copy)

Adjt. Genls. office Washington City 27th Nov. 1812

Genl. Orders

Certain publications having appeared in the News Papers giving information in detail of the strength and probable object of the armies to which the writers are said to belong; which information if true is calculated to apprize the enemy of the real strength—if incorrect to mislead the public mind: It has become necessary to put a stop to all such publications in future, by requiring the officers and soldiers of the Army, that all communications relative to their duties, or to the public service should be made to their immediate commanding officer; and forbiding them to correspond on these subjects with any other persons reserving to all concerned the rights secured to them by the rules and articles of War

By Order of the Secretary of War

(Copy) T. H. Cushing Adgt. Genl.

L. Heckell A. D Adjt. Genl

There shall be detailed for Guard to morrow two Capts. five Subl. five Sergts. five Corpls. and one hundred and fifty privates—The commissary untill further orders shall issue one pound of fresh pork to the ration and half a gill of salt every other day to each horse—the number to be ascertained by regimental returns and Brigade Orders

J. Winchester BGenl.

Com. L. W. N. W. Army

Camp Miami January 5th 1813

Genl. Orders

A Subaltern Sergt. Corpl. and twenty Privates shall be detailed to return tomorrow morning to escort the baggage and amunition and build bridges for it.

All the musicians shall be detailed for duty; including drum and fife Majors—double Rations of pork and salt shall be issued until flower arrives

J. Winchester BGenl
Comdg. L. W. N. W. Army

Camp Preiarie Demaske 7th January, 1813

Genl. Orders

The troops shall draw two days provisions in double Rations of Pork and Salt, having no flower; and be held in readiness to march at troop beating tomorrow morning—

The 17th United States Regt. and first rifle Regt. shall march on the right flank. The first and fifth Regt. K. V. Infantry on the left flank—The baggage of the first Regt. in front—then the Brigade Baggage—the Baggage of the 5th Regt.—the Baggage of the 17th U. S. Regt. the Baggage of the first rifle regt.—If a sled brakes down it shall be removed out of the road and when repaired fall in the Rear—No person shall be permitted to ride the horses whilst harnessed to the sleds—

The officer of the day is charged with conducting the line of march agreeable to these orders—

The commanding officers of Regts will cause the arms to be cleaned and put in good order—

All officers commanding guards, fatigue parties or detachments shall report in writing when relieved.

J. Winchester B. Genl.
Comdg L. W. N. W. Army

Head Miami Rapids 8th Janry 1813

Genl. Orders

The taps shall be beat tomorrow morning at 5 oClock—the reveille at 6 oClock—the troop half an hour afterwards—the Genl. at 7 oClock the assembly 15 minutes afterwards and the march at half past 7 oClock—The order of march as usual, except the baggage, Coln Scotts will fall in the rear—the rest move in the order it did this day.

The several beats will be particularly attended to, and the adjutants will march their respective quotas for duty to the grand parade at

[The rest of the order torn off.]

Camp Miami Rapids Hulls Road 11th Jany 1813
General Orders

The commanding officers of Regiments shall cause to be delivered to the Brigade Quartermaster; this day all the public horses that have been in the service of their respective Regiments, or satisfactorily account for them as well as all pack saddles, Wintees, halters and sacks; which were received with them. The staff Officers who have received public horses; shall also deliver them up to the brigade Quartermaster.

The Camp shall be fortified, therefore the timber along the lines must be left for that purpose. A fatigue party to Consist of one Subaltern, one Sergeant one Corporal, and twelve Privates shall be detailed for fatigue tomorrow. The Camp Guards as usual

J. Winchester B General
Commd left wing N. W. Army

[Page torn out here.]

Camp Miami rapids 11th January 1813

General Orders.

No noncommissioned officer or private shall be permited to pass the Camp guards without a pass in writing. Com parties will be detailed according to the strength of regiments, when necessary. The Cartridges drawn by the late detachment commanded by General Payne, shall be returned to the brigade Qr. Master leaving each man ten rounds.—Provisions shall be drawn every other day between the hours of 2 & 4 oclock unless otherwise specially ordered. The several Corps shall proceed to fortify in front of their lines; the intervals between will be fortified by a General detail. One Subaltern, one Sergeant, one Corpl and twenty privates shall be detailed to escort packhorses on the way to Fort McArthur

[The rest is torn off.]

Gen. John R. Williams.

Upon the inside of the front cover of the book is written "Doctor A. Montgomery Surgeon to the 17th Regiment," and on the inside of the back cover is written, "Adjutant Robert Logans Book. September 21st 1812."

[The book ends abruptly. The horrible scenes and acts of the next few days are matters of history to be found in other publications.

Detroit, Dec., 1901. C. M. Burton.]

THE BLACK HAWK WAR.

Papers of Gen. John R. Williams, collected and arranged by C. M. Burton.

The troubles with the western Indians culminated in the spring of 1832 in what is known as the Black Hawk war, so called from the leader of the insurrection—one of the most capable of the Indians whose names are connected with the savage wars of America.

With this war Michigan had but little interest except as the fear of the uprising of the Michigan Indians served to frighten the people and to put them on their guard. This fear, for a time, served also to stop immigration, but it only checked that great flow that reached its height a few years later and was then effectually stopped by the panic of 1836.

Where the real danger of war existed, near the Mississippi and among all the settlements around and west of Chicago, the people became greatly alarmed and deserted their homes and property and started for the east, for civilization and protection. The federal government took active steps to protect the frontier and Gen. Winfield Scott set out for Chicago by way of the lakes, with a contingency of soldiers. The trail of his passing forces was much more disastrous than the trail of the savages, for he brought with him to the west the dreaded Asiatic cholera, and consternation and death followed in his wake. Many of his soldiers died at Detroit and on the way to Mackinac, and the deaths were frequent among them from Mackinac to Chicago. At Detroit the scourge increased after the army left and the deaths were many. It was not alone, however, the United States troops that went to protect the front-

ier; the patriotic citizens of Michigan were called upon to assist, and a small army of Militia went overland from Detroit to Chicago. Nearly all of these men were volunteers from Detroit and the neighboring towns —mechanics, tradesmen and farmers—not the class of people that usually compose standing armies, but such as were willing to drop their work and leave their fields, to protect their neighbors and sacrifice themselves and their property for the common good—without hope or expectation of reward.

General John R. Williams was the major general in command of the territorial militia, and he it was who organized the troops and set out with them as their commander-in-chief to make the tedious journey overland, through almost unbroken forests, to Fort Dearborn at the mouth of the Chicago river. I cannot find that the details of this journey have ever been written or that they have ever been put in shape to be used by students of our early history.

General Williams was very methodical in his business habits, and all the letters, orders and other documents pertaining to this affair were retained by him and are now in my possession. Some papers also from other sources, as from Gen. Charles Larned, are also in my possession, and others from Senator Lucius Lyon, have been submitted to me for the purpose of making the list as complete as possible. All of these papers, together, constitute a fairly good history of the expedition across the peninsula taken to succor Chicago; all of them are authentic and very interesting, and I present them herewith that the curious may read and the student may learn of Michigan's connection with the Black Hawk war.

The following are short sketches of the lives of a few of the interested persons who accompanied the expedition:

GENERAL JOHN R. WILLIAMS.

Prepared by his grandson, Lieut. John R. Williams, U. S A.

John R. Williams, first mayor of Detroit under the charter, was the only son of Judge Thomas Williams, a native of Albany, who came to Detroit shortly after the surrender of the town to the English, as early as 1767, and perhaps as early as 1765. The mother of John R. Williams was Cécile Campau, sister of Joseph Campau, to whom Thomas Williams was married by Col. De Peyster, the British Commandant of Detroit, May

7, 1781. John R. Williams was born May 4, 1782, and was baptized by Col. De Peyster, in his father's lifetime, in the absence of an English clergyman.

Thomas Williams died Nov. 30, 1785, leaving a large property for the time. All his property, with the exception of some real estate in Albany, N. Y., was lost or dissipated, through the carelessness or perhaps rascality of John Casety, his partner and former clerk, and the lavishness of his wife Cécile and her second husband, Jacques Lauzon, or Lozon, whom she married May 1, 1790. When at the age of 15 or 16, John R. Williams started out to make his own way in the world, nothing was left of his father's estate in Michigan but a farm of about 600 acres on the river Huron of Lake St. Clair, where he and his mother and her family had been living for some years.

His first employer seems to have been his uncle, Joseph Campau, but he soon seized the opportunity which was presented to him of entering the army. In the spring of 1800 he received an appointment as cadet in the 2d. regiment of infantry, probably through the influence of his uncle, Mr. Robert McClallen, of Albany, who was then state treasurer of New York. Williams joined his regiment at Camp Allegheny, near Pittsburgh, in April or May, 1800, and appears to have served as a cadet about six months, and for about a year more in the commissary department, first as a civil employee and later as the agent for the contractor for commissary supplies.

Early in 1802 Williams is found associated as a partner in business with his uncle, Joseph Campau. There is a story that the young man made his way back to Detroit unattended, through the wilderness, from the camp on the Ohio near Fort Massac. He probably did follow the old French trail, via the Wabash and Miami rivers, but it is likely that he was alone throughout the journey.

When Detroit was incorporated as a township of the county of Wayne, in January, 1802, Williams, then only twenty years old, was one of the officers chosen at the first town meeting on the 5th of April of that year. His office was that of town clerk. Shortly afterwards, in the same year, he was appointed adjutant of the militia of Wayne county.

In the autumn of this year he went to Montreal to buy goods on account of the firm of Campau & Williams. After passing the Niagara portage, and while on board of a small sloop in the river, he engaged in a duel with a Frenchman or French Canadian named La Salle, said to have been a descendant of the famous explorer of that name. The opponents exchanged shots in the tiny cabin of the sloop, from opposite

sides of the cabin table, and La Salle received a wound supposed to be mortal.

For his part in this affair Williams was arrested and confined, first at Niagara and afterwards at Montreal, but as La Salle did not die of his wound his opponent was finally released.

In 1803 he is again found in Detroit. He dissolved partnership with Joseph Campau as soon as he returned, and from that time on conducted business for himself.

In August, 1804, he succeeded in having himself appointed guardian of his two sisters, Catherine and Elizabeth, and about the same time he obtained from Peter Audrain, judge of the court of probate for Wayne county, letters of administration on the estate of his father, Thomas Williams, and a revocation of the "curatorship" on this estate, formerly granted to James Frazer by Judge Powell, of Canada. This revocation aroused so much opposition from certain persons, among whom was Elijah Brush, attorney for Thomas Williams' English creditors, that the letters of administration granted to John Williams* were speedily revoked and the record of the same was expunged.

In 1804 he was one of the trustees of the town of Detroit, and appears to have been re-elected the following year. After the arrival of Governor Hull he was made captain of artillery in Col. Brush's legion, and was also made a justice of the peace shortly afterwards. On account of differences with Governor Hull and the judges he resigned his appointments as captain and justice June 26, 1807.

From this time until after the war of 1812 he held no public appointments in Michigan. He was simply a private of militia in 1812,** having been drafted as a twelve months' man for the legion, and though he furnished a substitute he went with his company whenever it was turned out. He appears to have been at the battle of Brownstown, August 5, 1812, and was certainly with his company when Hull made his disgraceful capitulation.

He was paroled after the surrender of Detroit, and allowed to proceed east with his family. He fixed himself in Albany for the remainder of the war, conducting a mercantile business in that city. For about a year he held an appointment as a captain of a company of militia of the city of Albany. His company was turned out for the defense of New York at a time when it was supposed to be threatened by the British, but saw no active service.

* The middle initial "R" was not inserted into his name until about the year 1807.

** He was not a major during the war of 1812. Statements in Farmer's History and other authorities, to that effect that he held such a commission, are erroneous.

Shortly after the close of the war he returned to Detroit and resumed his business in that town.

In 1817 he was appointed one of the associate justices of the county court, and in the same year was appointed adjutant general of the militia of the territory. When the Bank of Michigan was organized in 1818 he was elected its first president, and was several times re-elected.

He drew the first charter of the city of Detroit, and was elected its first mayor in 1824, and was five times re-elected, serving in 1825, 1830, 1844, 1845 and 1846.

In 1829 he was appointed by the President and confirmed by the senate as major general of the militia of Michigan.

General Cass announced his appointment to him in these words:

Washington, March 10, 1829.

Dear Sir—I have the pleasure to inform you that your nomination as a Major General has been confirmed by the senate. I shall now confidently rely upon your exertions to place our militia on a respectable footing, and I am well satisfied that this confidence will not be misplaced. Larned and Stockton are the brigadiers.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

Sincerely your friend,

Lew. Cass.

Maj. Gen. Williams.

The Detroit Gazette, the democratic organ in Michigan, was burnt out in April, 1830, and in order to provide the faithful of that political party with sound news and doctrine, John R. Williams and Joseph Campau bought out the Oakland County Chronicle and moved the type and presses to Detroit, where under the firm name of Joseph Campau & Co., they commenced the publication of the "Democratic Free Press and Michigan Intelligencer," May 5, 1831. John P. Sheldon, the former editor of the Gazette, was the first editor. After Mr. Sheldon's resignation, which occurred in about three months, Ferdinand Williams, eldest son of John R. Williams, acted as editor for a short time. The paper soon changed hands, but not its politics, and the "Free Press" of today is its direct descendant.

The "Black Hawk" war grew out of the removal of the Sac and Fox Indians to the west of the Mississippi. Black Hawk was one of the prin-

cipal chiefs who opposed the removal, and being in communication with the British authorities at Malden, below Detroit, seems to have relied on some support from Canada. A broil with a band of Menominee Indians, in which a number of the latter were butchered, was followed by a demand for the surrender of the murderers. The troops despatched to enforce this order were under the command of General Atkinson, but before they reached the spot Black Hawk was already in motion. He had crossed the Mississippi into the present State of Wisconsin, then part of the territory of Michigan, and had moved down upon Illinois.

Hostilities soon commenced, and threw the border into a great state of alarm. Govenor Mason of Michigan, acting under orders from Washington, issued a call for volunteers. Two companies responded from Detroit, the Detroit City Guards, and a troop of light dragoons. They were placed under the command of General John R. Williams, the senior militia officer of the Territory, and ordered to march to Chicago. On arriving at Saline they found other companies of infantry concentrated there, but at this point the infantry were ordered to return, but General Williams and the dragoons pushed on to Chicago. The command made an excursion to the Naper settlement which was threatened by the savages, but with this exception remained at Chicago without active employment, and after the defeat of Black Hawk by General Atkinson received orders to return to Detroit.

Other Michigan volunteers were in the field during this war from the Wisconsin part of the territory, and some of them saw very exciting times. A very readable account of the campaign by Col. E. Buckner (Board?), U. S. army, is contained in Michigan Pioneer Collections, xii, 424.

General Williams presided over the "Snap Convention," which assembled at Ann Arbor in December, 1836 (otherwise known as the "Frostbitten Convention"), which accepted the terms imposed by congress for the admission of Michigan into the union. The holding of this convention was a very venturesome and rather revolutionary proceeding, but the peculiar condition into which the community had gotten, neither state nor territory, made a revolutionary move of some sort almost indispensible.

While in active business in Detroit, General Williams was a steady purchaser of real estate. He erected one of the first business buildings of any size in Detroit, the Williams block, long since torn down, which formerly stood at the corner of Bates street and Jefferson avenue. He was enabled by his prudent methods of business and untiring energy

to carry this real estate through various periods of depression, and at the time of his death, in 1854, had accumulated a considerable fortune. Several of the streets of the city, laid out through his property, bear his name and names derived from his family.

He was married at the age of 22 to his own cousin, Mary Mott, daughter of Capt. Gershom Mott, of Lamb's regiment of the revolutionary army. Captain Mott was married to Elizabeth Williams, of Albany, sister of Thomas Williams, in 1779 or 1780. Mary (Mott) Williams died January 18, 1830.

The children of John R. and Mary Mott Williams were:

1. Ferdinand; 2. Theodore; 3. G. Mott; 4. Elizabeth, first wife of Col. John Winder; 5 and 6. Thomas and Cecilia (twins), Cecilia died in infancy; 7. John Constantine; 8. James Mott; 9. Mary Catherine Angelica, married first to David Smart and second to Commodore J. P. McKinstry; 10. John C. Devereux.

All of these are now dead. The last survivor was Ferdinand Williams, who died in November, 1896, aged 90.

General John R. Williams died at Detroit, October 20, 1854. A long obituary order, issued by the adjutant general of the State, John E. Schwartz, will be found in the Detroit Free Press of October 24, 1854.

General Williams is buried in the family lot in Elmwood cemetery, Detroit.

CHARLES LARNED.

Charles Larned was a prominent lawyer of Detroit. He was born in Pittsfield, Mass., but came to Detroit with the Kentucky soldiers in the war of 1812. He was appointed United States attorney shortly after the war of 1812, and subsequently held the office of register for the District of Erie, Huron and Detroit, and judge of probate. He died of cholera in 1834.

ALEXANDER D. FRAZER.

Alexander D. Frazer, a very able Scotch lawyer and "Father of the Detroit Bar" for many years. He was born in Iverness, Scotland, in 1796. He came to Detroit in 1823 and applied for admission to the bar, but his application was denied because he was an alien. He petitioned the Legislative Council to remove this disability, but the petition was denied for the reason that he would be eligible for admission in a very short time. As soon as he became a citizen he became an attorney. He died in Detroit in 1877.

CHARLES W. WHIPPLE.

Charles W. Whipple was a young man, a lew student in the office of A. D. Frazer. He became prominent at the bar and was elected to the office of judge of the Supreme Court which he held from 1835 to 1851. He was born in 1806 and died in Detroit, the city of his birth, in 1851.

EXTRACTS FROM CONTEMPORARY NEWSPAPERS.

INDIAN HOSTILITIES.

A letter from Chicago dated May 18, 1832, states that an engagement had taken place at Fox River, between the hostile Sacs & Foxes, and that the Militia sent out to meet them, had been defeated—that the Indians were approaching Chicago, and intended to cut their way through to Canada.

We have been politely furnished with the following letter from Th. J. V. Owen, Indian agent at Chicago, to Colonel Houston of Niles (St. Joseph.)

Chicago, May 18, 1832.

Sir—The hostile Sacs are in the vicinity of this place, committing depredations of a hostile nature on the frontiers, and it is expected that they will strike at this place and proceed in that direction. Will you endeavor to procure a force of some magnitude, and despatch them by Captain Houston's vessel to our relief. From all accounts, the post and frontiers are in the most imminent danger. In haste no time to be lost.

Th. J. V. Owen, Indian Agent.

Colonel Stewart will despatch a messenger to Detroit, for the purpose of urging the troops intended for this place, to proceed with all possible despatch and to render us aid if possible by means of the militia of Michigan.

T. J. V. O.

A letter of similar import was received by Gen. Brown of Tecumseh.

No cause of alarm exists among the inhabitants of this Territory. The present military movements in this quarter are made in consequence of an order from the Executive to aid the frontier settlements in the vicinity of Chicago, a distance from this place of 300 miles.

[From the "Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser," Wednesday, May 23, 1832.]

General Orders.

Head Quarters,
Detroit, May 22, 1832.

By despatches received at this office, from Chicago and St. Joseph, it seems that the Indians have assumed an attitude of hostility, towards the frontier settlements in that quarter. The public safety requires immediate movements on the part of the Militia of the Territory.

Major General John R. Williams is therefore directed to raise such a number of volunteers, as in his opinion may be necessary, for co-operating with Brig. General Brown, who has rendezvoused at Jonesville. When he arrives there, he will then take such steps as circumstances may require.

By order of the Acting Governor
and Commander in Chief,
John E. Schwarz
Adjutant General.

[From "Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser," Wednesday, May 23, 1832.]

Groundless Alarm.—Our paper of last week contained the order of the Acting Governor requiring the Major General of this division to detach a few companies of the militia to march forthwith to the South-western frontier of the Peninsula, in order to protect it from an apprehended attack of the Fox and Sac Indians. In obedience to this requisition, Gen. John R. Williams, last Wednesday, ordered a muster of the Militia of this county at Tenyck's in the town of Plymouth, and having organized the detachment specified, the next day took up his line of march towards the St. Joseph. Subsequent information received on

Saturday, induced the Executive to countermand the march of the troops, and order their immediate discharge.

A very little reflection served to convince our citizens, that these movements were premature and ill advised, and it was soon found that the effect was likely to be injurious. It was difficult to convince emigrants that they could proceed into the interior, without being exposed to the tomahawk and skalpingknife, and several families, as we are informed, after their arrival here, actually turned about and went back. The remote distance of the scene of alleged disturbance, the peninsular situation of the Territory protecting it almost on all sides from Indian incursions, and the dense population of several of the counties of Illinois and Indiana, adjacent to the Indian country, were considerations wholly insufficient to weigh against the fact, that the militia had actually marched from Detroit to repel an expected invasion

In order to allay this groundless panic, and correct erroneous impressions abroad, it was deemed expedient to call a public meeting of the citizens of this place. Their proceedings, which were published and circulated in an extra, are subjoined.

At a large and respectable meeting of the citizens of the city of Detroit, convened pursuant to public notice, at the city Council Room, on Friday evening, the 25th of May, 1832, for the purpose of taking into consideration the present alarm respecting the Indians, Shubael Conant, Esq. was called to the chair, and R. S. Rice appointed Secretary. The object of the meeting having been stated by Gen. Charles Larned, the following gentlemen, to wit:—Charles Larned, John Biddle, J. Abbott, W. Woodbridge, Sol. Sibley, D. G. Jones, Jonathan Kearsley, T. Palmer, P. J. Desnoyers, W. A. Fletcher, H. V. Disbrow, B. F. Witherell, were appointed a committee to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting, who submitted the following, which were unanimously adopted.

Whereas, By the recent departure from this vicinity of a detachment of militia, it is feared that groundless apprehensions may have been excited;

Resolved, That from the best and most authentic intelligence, this meeting most confidently believe that an Indian hostile to the whites, and in arms cannot be found within 450 miles of Detroit, or within 250 miles of the most remote settlements in Michigan. That if all the Indians on this side of the Mississippi should reach Chicago, five times

their number of Militia, residents within one hundred miles of that place, might be raised in the densely populated counties in Illinois and Indiana.—The United States troops at Fort Winnebago, Fort Armstrong, Prairie des Chiens, and Green Bay, are within from three to five days' march of Chicago; and a gentleman direct from St. Louis, states, that all alarm in that vicinity had subsided.

Resolved, That we anticipate the speedy return of the detachment which left Detroit two days since,—and that, but one opinion prevails among our best informed citizens, that there exists not the slightest cause of alarm.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the Chairman and Secretary, and published in hand bills, and in the several newspapers in the city

S. Conant, Ch'rm

R. S. Rice, Secretary.

Saturday, 1 o'clock P. M.

[From "Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser," Wednesday, May 30, 1832.]

Further Intelligence from Chicago.

The Acting Governor of the Territory has just received by express, the following copy of a letter from the Indian Agent at Chicago, to Col. J. Stewart.

Fort Dearborn, May 21, 1832.

Col. J. Stewart,

Sir—Your despatch of the 19th inst. is received. The nature of the intelligence communicated on the night of the 17th, to me, was of that alarming character, which made it proper that prompt means should be taken to ensure the safety of the people, and country; hence the reason of sending you the express of the 18th. We have however on this evening ascertained that some of the intelligence was greatly exagerated, and much of it, the mere visions of fancy, produced by the fears of a few individuals; and nearly the whole surrounding country, being now within the walls of this Fort, with about two hundred men, well armed, we feel ourselves competent to withstand any force whatever; consequently it is unnecessary for the Militia of Michigan to proceed to this place. I presume the regular troops from Niagara, will be here in due time.

For your promptness in this business accept my thanks, and the disposition to aid us, by our neighbors of Michigan is highly appreciated.

I have the honor to be Sir,
very respectfully
Your obedient servant
Th. J. V. Owen
Indian Agent, Chicago.

[From "Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser," Wednesday, May 30, 1832.]

The above letter, together with others of similar import, have induced the Executive to issue the following

General Orders.

Head Quarters,
Detroit, May 26, 1832

Satisfactory information having reached this office, that there is not the slightest possible danger to be apprehended from hostile Indians on the frontiers of this Territory, the detachment of troops which left here a few days ago, to quiet the alarms of the timid in the St. Joseph country, is hereby recalled.

Major Gen. John R. Williams is herewith ordered to discharge the troops under his command,— and to issue an order to the same effect, to Brigadier Gen. Brown.

By order of the Acting Governor,
and Commander in Chief,
John E. Schwarz,
Adjutant General.

[From "Detroit Journal and Advertiser," Wednesday, May 30, 1832.]

By intelligence from Chicago, which reached this place on Monday, it appears that the hostile Indians had committed further depredations in the vicinity of that place, and that the people there still continued to be under apprehensions of an attack. Gen. Atkinson, with a strong force, was to encamp within 80 miles of that place, on the night of the 21st inst. We are informed that the detachment under General Brown

are on their march towards Chicago.—That which left this place is expected to return here to-day or to-morrow.

[From "Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser," Wednesday, May 30, 1832.]

INDIAN HOSTILITIES.—We extract the following from the St. Joseph Beacon, which is the latest authentic intelligence from that quarter.

South Bend, May 30.

We are glad to say that the information which we stated last week as having reached this part of the country, in relation to the expected passage of a party of hostile Indians through here to Malden, has proved, as yet, to be nothing more than vague rumor. This rumor no doubt originated from the fact that there has been an *appearance* of hostility among a party of Indians in the vicinity of Rock Island, Illinois!! With this foundation, nothing was easier to give a start to a 'tale of bloodshed,—of cruel depredations, and all the horrors incident to savage warfare. Rumor immediately seized the tale as lawful prize, and from the 'orient to the drooping west," making the winds her 'post horse' she has noised abroad as many different versions of the story as she hath tongues, and we expect, ere now, it has gone forth to the world that the whole St. Joseph Country has been burnt, ravaged, tomahawked, and scalped, while in fact, we are at this time, pursuing our several occupations in peace and quietness. Although rumor is still busy in this quarter, there are very few who apprehend any danger. The report now is that the hostile party have been within a few miles of Chicago, and killed several families. We understand that Gen. Brown and Col. Huston, marched, yesterday, from Niles, with several hundred volunteers, to protect the people at Chicago.

[From the "Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser. Wednesday, June 6, 1832.]

Two companies of U. S. troops from Fort Niagara, under the command of Maj. Whistler, left this place for Chicago, in the Austerlitz, on Sunday.

[From the "Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser, Wednesday, June 6, 1832.]

INDIAN DISTURBANCES.—Upon the subject of the late disturbances at the west, the St. Joseph Beacon observes.—

From all the CORRECT information which we have been able to collect, we do not hesitate in saying that there is not now, nor never has been, any cause of fear in any other place than in the neighborhood of Rock River. The prompt and decisive measures adopted by the Governor of Illinois and Gen. Atkinson, have been such as not to 'leave a loop whereon to hang a doubt,' but that the few Indians who had determined to raise corn in the vicinity of Rock Island, or so alarm the whites as to cause them to give a years provisions, are, long before this, driven far beyond the Mississippi, and scattered to the "four winds." We regret very much that so many false rumors have been put into circulation—not only on account of the injury done some of our farmers who left their fields before putting in their corn crops, but it may have a tendency to check the tide of emigration which had commenced flowing so early into this promising region. We assure persons at a distance, who are anxious to emigrate to the St. Joseph, there is no danger—no more probability of an invasion by Black Hawk's party than there is from the Emperor of Rusia.

[From the Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser, Wednesday, June 13, 1832.]

INDIAN WARFARE.—The Missouri Republican of the 22d, confirms the accounts received, of the commencement of Indian hostilities, with the defeat of a party of militia. The latest accounts, however, reduce the killed to between 25 and 30. The militia and regulars were assembled at Dixon's Ferry, about 1200.—Great consternation prevailed in the country. Further particulars shall be given to-morrow.

[From the Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser, Wednesday, June 13, 1832.]

Intelligence from the Seat of War.

Office of the *Daily Cincinnati Gazette*,
Friday, June 1st, 3 o'clock, P. M.

We have received a letter from a respectable and intelligent gentleman, dated Lafayette, Tippecanoe county Indiana, May 25, 1832.

The writer states that a letter had just been received there from W. Newel, Esq., who resides on the Grand Prairie, in Illinois, urgently calling for aid to repel the incursions of the Indians.

Mr. Newel is represented to have stated that the Indians, in strong force were advancing into the settlements on Grand Prairie, carrying desolation before them. On the 23d of May, they were on Hickory Creek in Illinois, about seventy miles from La Fayette. On Monday the 21st, about three hundred persons collected on the frontier of Indiana, that had fled from their habitations on the Grand Prairie, and abandoned their homes.

La Fayette is situated on the Wabash, directly east of the Grand Prairie, about 45 miles distant from the line, and near the battle ground of Tippacanoe. The hostile Indians are the Sioux and Foxes, who inhabit the northern part of Illinois, on the Rock River and the Fox River, one of the head waters of the Illinois river. The Grand Prairie is chiefly in Illinois, and is of great extent, and covered with a considerable population, many of whom are from Ohio and Kentucky. Between the Grand Prairie and the Mississippi, there is a dense population, in the Sangamo country, and in the counties north and northwest of it, and at Galena.

On Wednesday, May 23d, about 300 volunteers, all mounted, left Danville, Illinois, for the scene of War. On Thursday a company of fifty left Covington, Fountain county, Indiana, for the same purpose. From fifty to an hundred volunteers left Warren county Indiana, on the same day. It was expected that about two hundred men would leave La Fayette on Sunday the 17th of May. The whole country was in great agitation; but we learn that the Indians did not murder and scalp as heretofore, but only laid waste the country.

[From the "Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser, Wednesday, June 20, 1832.]

From the *St. Louis Times* of May 26.

INDIAN WAR.—The steamboat Java, Capt. Reynolds, arrived here yesterday morning from Galena. We were obligingly favored by a passenger, a gentleman of varacity and intelligence, with the information of another act of hostility on the part of the Indians.

On Friday, the 18th inst. a party of five men, commanded by Mr. F. Stahl, set forth from Galena on a scouting expedition through the country, supposed to be occupied by the enemy. They had gone about fifty miles, in the direction of the station of the militia of Illinois, without meeting any obstruction, when they were suddenly attacked by a small ambuscade of the Red men. The whites had passed the ambush, when the Indians arose and fired; and the first knowledge the surprised party had of the immediate presence of the foe, was the discharge of the murderous rifle. The Indians were painted green, and lay concealed in the grass on a slight declivity. One of the whites, a Mr. Durley, was killed instantly, and two others had their clothing pierced by the balls. After the first fire, the whites perceiving the Indians to be superior in force, turned and fled,—and made their way back to Galena without any further loss.

Since the above was in type, we have understood that Gen. Atkinson and Gov. Reynolds have formed a junction, and proceeded with their forces in pursuit of the Indians. The main body of the latter is said to be on Rock River, about fifty miles from its mouth.

[From the "Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser, Wednesday, June 20, 1832.]

From the *Washington Globe* of June 9.

Latest Intelligence by Express from the Seat of War.

Mr. Mills has just arrived at this place by express from Galena, which place he left on the 23d of May, and his accounts are of a very distressing character. In the late skirmish upon Sycamore Creek, on the 14th ult. our loss, as reported officially, is 12 killed and 12 wounded. The killed were treated with the usual Indian barbarities. On the succeeding day, a small party of our spies were attacked at the head of Buffalo Grove, distant about 25 miles from the scene of the skirmish spoken of, and one of their number killed. On the 16th, the small settlement at the mouth of Plum River, only 30 miles from Galena, was attacked and retreated to a blockhouse, which they had erected. After an hour's ineffectual firing, the Indians retired, and at the approach of night, the inhabitants made their way to Galena in a canoe.

A letter written at Cincinnati, on the 2d inst. says—"Last evening we had the largest meeting ever held in this place—the Court House being filled to overflowing—to consult on the propriety of sending relief to the citizens of Illinois. Two volunteer companies of horse were formed; and the light battalion meets this evening, to consult on the same subject. Kentucky is doing the same

"A letter received to-day by a gentleman of this city, from a passenger in the steamboat Illinois, states that the Indians have commenced murdering and scalping men, women and children."

[From the Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser, Wednesday, June 20, 1832.]

Later accounts from Illinois represent the frontier as being still in danger. Several murders have been committed, and prisoners have been taken by the Indians. They are spreading devastation in every part of that country, and for that purpose, have separated in small bands. Much distress prevails among the inhabitants of that vicinity for the want of provisions; and unless some immediate steps are taken to relieve them, actual starvation must ensue

Volunteer companies are organizing in all quarters, and by this time there must be a body of Militia and troops, assembled to protect the frontier, sufficient to exterminate the whole body of hostile Indians west of Lake Michigan.

We learn that the Indian Agent of Chicago and three other persons, with him, while on their way to Fort Armstrong, with despatches from Gen. Atkinson, were all killed by a party of Indians.

[From the Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser, Wednesday, June 20, 1832.]

We learn by a letter from a gentleman at Green Bay, under date of 4th June, that Brigadier General Brady had left Fort Winnebago, a week before, with two companies of troops to join General Atkinson. Nearly all the troops at Fort Howard have marched to reinforce Fort Winnebago. The former post is now garrisoned by only 18 men, besides the sick in hospital. Apprehending danger, Col. Irwin has ordered out the militia, and the whole settlement is under arms.

We further learn that the Menominies have become troublesome, in that quarter, in consequence of the delay which has attended the settlement of the difficulties between that tribe and the Sacs and Foxes. It has been necessary for the Agent of Indian Affairs, Col. Stambaugh, to use the utmost skill and assiduity to prevent them from uniting with the hostile tribes in a war against the whites. A party had even started for the seat of war, but through the influence of Col. Stambaugh, who took occasion to assemble all the chiefs in open council, they were constrained to delay their purpose for the term of three months. As the danger approaches that neighborhood, their impatience is more and more inflamed, and it is thought that any influence short of actual force cannot much longer prevent them from obtaining, by open hostilities, a satisfaction for the injury they have sustained.

[From the Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser, Wednesday, June 20, 1832.]

Military Movements.—The following interesting intelligence we extract from a letter from Washington, dated June 17, 1832.

"General Scott is ordered with 17 companies, (900 men) to proceed without delay to Chicago, which is to be his Head Quarters, with directions not to return, until he has killed or taken Black Hawk and his principal warriors, and entirely subdued the Indians upon the whole northwestern frontier. This will bring into requisition for some time, nearly all the steam boats and vessels on Lake Erie, and make Michigan for some time quite a thoroughfare for military operations. I fear it will check our emigration, and on the whole be an injury to our Territory.

Gen. Dodge of the mining country, is to be appointed the Major to take command of the 600 mounted men, which the President is authorized to call immediately into service. The companies will be raised in Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Arkansas. They will doubtless remain a permanent corps, added to our military peace establishment."

The troops may be expected here in about two weeks—

The plan of operations will be by a combined movement of the troops under General Scott and those under General Atkinson from Chicago and the Mississippi, to attack the Indians on both sides, and scour the country, till they are entirely subdued. We are informed that General Scott has orders to reduce them to unconditional submission, and not

to suspend his operations, while any of the hostile Indians remain east of the Mississippi. They will be required to cross that river, and to repair to such district as may be assigned to them. And such arrangements are contemplated concerning boundary lines, as effectually to prevent the recurrence of similar aggressions. The surrender of the Black Hawk, and some of his principal Chiefs, as hostages for these people, and to secure the frontier against their future cruelties, is made indispensable.

There is reason however to hope, that the force now under General Atkinson, if the last call of the Governor of Illinois has been fully obeyed, will have checked, if not subdued, the Indians, before the arrival of General Scott. Still as the operations are remote, and the result of our Indian campaign always doubtful, and more particularly as the nature of the warfare is of the most distressing character, it is certainly prudent to guard against any consequences, and to take such measures, as will effectually reduce the hostile Indians, and overawe the disaffected. It is the dictate, not only of policy and humanity, but of true economy. If our operations are not vigorously conducted, and if one or two more reverses should befal our arms, no one, who knows the Indians, can venture to predict how far the spirit of disaffection would extend, nor what tribes would remain quiet.

From the known talents and experience of General Scott, and from the ample means, placed at his disposal, as well as from the plan of operations which has been directed, we anticipate the most vigorous measures, and a speedy termination of this murderous and most unprovoked contest.

We cannot but hope, that in the state of things in the north-west, every dispassionate man, of whatever party, will see the necessity of an immediate removal of the Indians beyond the sphere of our settlements. The scenes that are now acting, form a lesson worthy to be remembered by all who are the real friends of the Indians.—*Globe.*

[From the "Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser, Wednesday, June 27, 1832.]

Extract of a letter from a highly intelligent gentleman, dated May 26, (Camp Rock River) to his friend in this city.

"I am sorry to say that your anticipations of an amicable termination of our Indian disputes in this quarter are not realized. The Sacs

(whole strength differently reported, from 500 to 900 warriors,) have refused absolutely to surrender the Menominee murderers, and have also, in violation of the treaty of last year, again crossed the Mississippi, and ascended this river. Gen. Atkinson has orders to *drive them* from the country, and Gov. Reynolds has also ordered out 2,000 militia for the same purpose. The Indians steadily persisted that they should not *commence* a war; but if others began, that they would fight; and they have been as good as their word. They steadily ascended Rock River, without molesting a white person, and, although pinched by hunger, and tempted by well stocked farms committed not the slightest depredation. The militia, mounted, had preceded the regular force, (the whole having been placed under Gen. Atkinson's orders) to their place; and before the troops (four companies of the 1st, and 6 companies of the 6th Regiment) could reach this point, Gov. Reynolds detached 275 men, under a Gen. Stillman, who, coming up with the Indians, only about 100 in number, about 35 miles above here, attacked and killed two of the Sacs, who were unresisting, on which the remainder of the 100 attacked the militia, who instantly fled in the most cowardly manner, and never halted until they reached this place. The Sacs pursued them 8 or 10 miles, killing and scalping eleven, and wounding several more. The Indians lost but three; two before, and one after the fight. Thus the war was begun. The Indians have since commenced devastating the frontiers; they have burned and plundered the Ottaway settlement, thirty miles from this on the head waters of the Illinois river, and destroyed 15 persons. They have also committed murders in other parts; so that we know of at least thirty who have been killed already in this disgraceful affair. The Indians are now supposed to be (their main body) in a forest on the Fox River, of the Illinois, some thirty-five miles hence, and we shall probably move against them, so soon as Gen. A. hears from Gov. Reynolds, or Gen. Whiteside, the militia commanders who are now in that direction, but will not fight until 'the regulars,' come up. The Indians will make a desperate resistance, and unless they are speedily subdued, there is great reason to fear that the Winnebagoes and Pottawattomies will join them, when a general Indian War, with all its horrors, may be anticipated along the whole Indian frontier."—*N. Y. Amer.*

[From the "Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser, Wednesday, June 27, 1832.]

THE INDIAN WAR.

St. Louis papers of the 2d instant state, that the Illinois militia, under General Whiteside, were disbanded and had returned home, their term of service having expired. "About 300 volunteered to remain in the fortifications at Otaway, until the new levies should arrive." It is said Governor Reynolds had called out 3,000 additional troops. The Governor and his aid arrived at St. Louis, in the Caroline—and it was said he was proceeding home to expedite the marching of troops to the seat of war. Gen. Atkinson was still at Dixon's Ferry, on Rock River. The regular troops at cantonment Leavenworth and Fort Winnebago had been ordered to join General Atkinson, and it was supposed they would reach Dixon's Ferry on the 16th inst.

It is stated that the Sioux and Menominees, with a thousand warriors, were anxious to join the whites, and to revenge the wrongs they have suffered from the hostile Indians. Their aid was, at first, declined, but will now be accepted. It was believed that the Indians would gather strength in consequence of their success in the commencement of the struggle, and the subsequent inactivity of the whites. Intelligence was daily received at St. Louis, of murders and massacres on the defenseless frontier—and these outrages will be continued "until the frontier is cleared of the enemy."

[From the "Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser," Wednesday, June 27, 1832.]

(From the Illinois Herald, May 31.)

From the Army.—We learn from several of the volunteers from this place, who have returned, that the mounted men under Gen. Whiteside are disbanded, and that most of them are on their way home. This measure has been adopted in consequence of the difficulty in obtaining provisions, and co-operating advantageously with the footmen. The infantry under Gen. Atkinson have descended Rock River. The Indians are divided into several parties, which enables them to act with more facility, and renders a pursuit of them, by a large body of men, unavailing. By their trails, most of them are supposed to have returned to Rock River, and the remainder to have ascended Fox River. A detachment of the volunteers will remain at Ottawa, to guard the frontier, till the arrival of those who are now on their way from the eastern and southern counties. From pres-

ent appearances, there is a prospect of a protracted campaign, the Indians still retaining their foothold in the State, and their movements being conducted with great caution and secrecy.

[From the "Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser," Wednesday, June 27, 1832.]

We understand that Mr. Adam Payne, a travelling preacher, who passed here on his way to the State of Illinois, was killed a week or two since, 60 or 70 miles on the other side of Chicago, by the Indians.—*St. Joseph Beacon.*

[From the "Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser," Wednesday, June 27, 1832.]

INDIAN SUPPLIES.—We learn that a supply of powder, &c., probably intended for the tribes in the interior, has been intercepted by order of General Brown of Lenawe. The conduct of the western savages would seem fully to justify, at the present time, our constituted authorities in cutting off their usual supplies of ammunition, whether furnished at home, or sent as a gratuity from his Royal Majesty on the other side.—*Monroe Sentinel.*

[From the "Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser," Wednesday, July 27, 1832.]

LATEST FROM THE SEAT OF WAR.—A letter from an officer in the U. S. Army, dated at Fort William (Ill.) June 10th, states that Gen. Atkinson and staff were at Ottoway, about 20 miles from that place.

The letter adds that the troops would wait the arrival of the militia, who were expected to arrive on the 15th, when the army would advance and follow the Indians across the Mississippi. Gen. Atkinson has called in the aid of a large body of Indians. So, says the letter, "the fight will now be Indian against Indian, and of course it will be of no great importance to the United States which side beats."

[From "Detroit Journal," July 4, 1832.]

(From the Missouri Republican.)

"A New Frontier War.—We learn from an article in the Missouri Intelligencer, of June 2d. that expresses have been detached to Gov. Miller, apprising him that our own frontiers are likely to be the scene of an Indian war. The Indians are stated to have been killing or driving off the hogs and cattle of our western frontier settlers, and exhibiting demonstrations of hostility. In the south the Indians are preparing to join Black Hawk. The Governor has, in consequence, ordered Maj. Gen. Gentry, of the 3d division Missouri Militia, to have *one thousand* men in readiness to march at a moment's warning to the frontier."

[From "Detroit Journal," July 4, 1832.]

General Scott and his staff, and several companies of U. S. Troops arrived here on Saturday. They will proceed to Chicago to day or to morrow, together with several companies which are expected in the Henry Clay.

[From "Detroit Journal, &c."
July 4, 1832.]

INDIAN HOSTILITIES.

Extract of a letter from an officer of the Army, dated
St. Louis, June 18, 1832.

"I am informed by a letter from Gen. Atkinson, dated Ottoway, 15th inst, that the militia had arrived, as many at least, if not more, than he wanted, and that he would march in three or four days for the Indian frontier, with the hope of speedily finishing the present war. I endeavored to obtain a drawing of the Indian position, but failed; it is reported, however, to be situated on what is called the four lakes, on the waters of Rock river, surrounded by marshes and of very difficult access, and is called by the Indian Coush-co-nang, or the fort.

The troops, about 3,000 mounted volunteers, will leave Ottoway, Illinois river, in three days, to march upon the Indians. Gen. Atkinson commands the whole volunteers and regulars Gov. Reynolds will accompany the Army in all its movements. It is thought that the troops

will come upon them in about seven days.—The number of the Indians is estimated at from one to two thousand."

[From the "Detroit Journal" July 11, 1832.]

Information has been received at the War Department from St. Louis, of the 18th inst, stating that the Militia of Illinois, amounting to nearly 3,000 men, had assembled at the rapids of Illinois, where General Atkinson was attending to their organization, and expected to move upon the hostile Indians on the 19th or 20th; that the spies sent to examine the position of Black Hawk's force, report that they were twenty miles above Tushcananong, on Rock river, having taken a strong position which, it is understood, they intend to maintain; that to prevent their crossing the river to elude the army, strong parties of troops were in motion between Rock river and the Ouisconsin—that Gen. Atkinson had with him about 100 Pottowattamies, identified in the war, whom he used as guides—and that two or three hundred Menominees and Sioux has passed Galena, on their way to join the Army, and that the body of Felix St. Kane, late Indian Agent, had been found and buried by General Dodge.—*Washington Globe.*

[From "Detroit Journal" July 11, 1832.]

It is stated in some of the papers, that an engagement had taken place near Dixon's Ferry on Rock River, between the troops under Gen. Atkinson and the Indians under Black Hawk; that the force under General Atkinson amounted to between two and three thousand men, and that under Black Hawk to between three and four thousand. The loss of the American army is said to be 125. The report is not generally believed.

[From the "Detroit Journal, &c."
July 11, 1832.]

Information has reached the War Department from the Head Quarters of Gen. Atkinson, foot of Illinois Rapids, the 23d June, stating that Gen. Atkinson was to march on that day with the Illinois Militia, and about

400 regular troops, to attack the Indians who were stationed on Rock River, in the neighborhood of the Four Lakes, where they detach small parties of 12, 20, and 40 men to annoy the frontiers and commit depredations—that on the 16th, Capt. Snyder's company of volunteers had a rencontre on the head of Plain river, with a party of 40 or 50 Indians, and killed five, with a loss of three on the part of the whites—that on the same day Gen. Dodge, at the head of 21 men, fell in with a party of 11 Sac Indians, strongly posted on the bank of a lake on the Peketalica, and succeeded in killing the whole number, having three of his own party wounded—that about the same time one white man was killed on the Da Paye River, another on the Bureau, and five near the Blue Mound Diggings—that Gen. Atkinson expected to be upon the ground at that time occupied by the Indians on the 30th June.—*Globe.*

It is with no pleasure we prepare our readers for news of blood shed from the West. But we are confident in the expectation that if the Indians do not decamp before our troops and militia reach the ground where they are said to be stationed, few will be suffered to escape alive. A general massacre will be the inevitable consequence. Gen. Atkinson could not prevent it if he would; and we doubt whether it be not a part of his orders that it should take place. Ordered or not, the blood of the whites is up, and nothing but blood will appease them.

[From "Detroit Journal, &c."
July 18, 1832.]

NEWS FROM THE FRONTIERS.

We have received the "Galenian," published at Galena (Ill.) near the seat of the Indian war, dated June 27th., from which we make the following extracts:

JUNE 20. Captains Stephenson and Craig's companies of mounted men left town to-day, under the command of Col. Strode, for the purpose of burying the dead who fell in the action of the 18th, between a party of Indians and a detachment of Capt. Stephenson's company.

JUNE 21. An express arrived late last night with a letter from Gen. Dodge. Gen. D. states that he had that moment received information, by express, that from fifty to one hundred hostile Indians were, on yesterday, in full view of all the people within the stockade of the

Blue Mound, and that a Mr. Force and a Mr. Green were supposed to have been killed. Thus again we hear of the murder of our citizens before we have even had time to inter the bodies of those who have fallen in battle in another quarter.

JUNE 22. We learn this evening that Mr. Emerson Green and Mr. Force were killed by the Indians near the Blue Mound, as was supposed. They were buried yesterday.

One of the companies (Capt. Stephenson's) which left town on the 20th, under command of Col. Strode, returned after burying those who fell in the late battle.

They marched to the spot and commenced a search for the bodies, by plunging into one of the most dense thickets that could be imagined. The bodies were soon found, lying within six feet of the beds where the Indians had concealed themselves to be able to get the first fire.

One Indian was found dead and scalped, near our fallen friends. There were places found too, where other Indians had been killed and drawn off. Puddles of blood, and places where the bushes had been broken down in their struggle, clearly proved there had been, at least, four Indians killed. It is the custom of Indians to conceal the bodies of those who fall in battle, except such as have been scalped.

Our friends who fell in the charge were not scalped, their guns were beside them, and their horses grazing in the prairie. They were buried with all the honors of war.

JUNE 25. Apple River Fort was attacked last night by 150 Indians. They continued the fire for about three quarters of an hour. The circircumstances are these:

F. Dixon and a Mr. Welch started to go as an express to General Atkinson, and after passing Apple river fort, about 14 miles from this place, were fired on by a party of Indians, when Welch fell from his horse, badly, though not mortally wounded. The Indians were very numerous in all directions. Mr. Dixon assisted Welch to mount his horse again, and they retreated amidst the fire of the Indians, to the fort.

Welch was left there, and Dixon came on to Galena. While yet in sight, he looked back and saw the Indians rushing with great fury towards the fort. Shots were exchanged in quick succession. Mr. Kirkpatrick, who was at the fort during the fight, says that every man, woman and child took an active part in the defence of the fort.

They killed one man in the fort, by the name of G. W. Herclerode, who was shot in the head while climbing above a picket to get a fair

shot at an Indian. He was taking deliberate aim at one when he was shot.

There were several Indians killed, but all taken off the ground.

The Indians drove off a large herd of cattle and many horses.

An express arrived from General Atkinson, at the head quarters of Gen. Dodge, the news of which may be known by reading the following letter from Gen. Dodge.

Fort Union, June 25, 1832.

Dear Sir—I have had a return of my express from the rapids of the Illinois river.

I received a letter from Gen. Atkinson dated on the 22d instant, from that place. He has organized three brigades of the Illinois Volunteers, 1,000 men each. Two of the brigades will reach Dixon's ferry on the 22d instant. The remaining brigade would arrive at that place on the 24th inst. Gen. Atkinson states that he will direct one brigade to act with us immediately, and that Gen. Brady would detach to our assistance one battalion on the 24th inst. The General thinks he will overtake the Indians in seven or eight days. He will not halt a moment at Dixon's ferry.

Sergeants Lensey and Willard, the bearers of my express, are men in whom I have confidence. They state they saw a large trail of Indians, horse and foot, supposed to be at least 500, steering their course in the direction of the Mississippi about southwest. I have always believed the Indians would escape to the west side of the Mississippi by that route; it was the direct course to the Mississippi from the point where they were stationed on Rock River. Our not having a sufficient force in that quarter was an additional reason why I believed and told my men frequently they would escape by that route.

General Atkinson will pursue them, and will give a good account of them, I hope, before he is done with them. Whether we are to have peace or war on this frontier, is to be decided by the course taken with this band of murderers. They deserve nothing but death, and no quarters from us.

Your friend and and obt. servant
Henry Dodge.

Dr. A. Philleo, Galena.

We learn that Capt. A. W. Snyder had an engagement with a party of Indians, killed four, and lost two men, and had to retreat before a superior force.

JUNE 26.—An express arrived from Col. Wm. S. Hamilton, bringing a letter to us, from which we extract the following:

"Fort Hamilton, M. T.
26th of June, at night

Dr. A. Philleo

Sir—Several Winnebagoes have just arirved at my house who informed me that the main body of the Sacs are still on Rock river, and that the party, which we have just learned, had attacked the fort on Apple river, is from 100 to 140 strong. They left the main body four days since—but will return immediately to the main body as soon as they have struck a blow.

The men who were killed below my house, killed four Indians. So say the Winnebagoes.

We may expect an attack from another party as soon as they return. So say the Winnebagoes.

[From "Detroit Journal, &c."
July 25, 1832.]

INTELLIGENCE FROM THE FRONTIER.

By an express which arrived here last Sunday, we have dates from Chicago as late as the 24th ult. The William Penn had reached that place with 4 companies of troops, and we are happy to learn no case of sickness occurred while on the voyage. Two or three cases of cholera occurred, however, soon after the troops had landed, and about the same number had occurred among those under the command of Major Whistler. A few of the citizens had been attacked with the common disease, but it was not apprehended that it would spread much. The general health of the troops was much improved. The schooners Huron, Commerce, and Marengo, freighted with public stores, had arrived; and the Napoleon was near at hand.

Intelligence from Gen. Atkinson had been received at Chicago by express, up to July 22. The swamp occupied by the main body of Indians had been penetrated, and Black Hawk and his warriors, with women and children, had fled as was supposed, towards the Mississippi, with intent to cross. They were pursued by Generals Dodge and Henry, with 900 mounted men.

When the express left Chicago, Gen. Scott was about to join the pursuing army in person, leaving the troops to follow when fit for field service. Gov. Miller of Missouri had called out 1200 militia.

In consequence of the above intelligence the requisition for militia from this Territory, has been countermanded.

["Detroit Journal &c."
August 1. 1832]

DEFEAT OF BLACK HAWK.

By the Schooner President, which arrived here yesterday, letters have been received from Fort Howard, which announce the gratifying intelligence of the defeat of Black Hawk and his warriors. The details of the engagement are contained in the following letter, which has been politely furnished us.

"Fort Howard, July 25th, 1832.

Dear sir,—Last evening we received the intelligence of a battle having been fought between Gen. Dodge and his division, and the Sacs & Foxes, in which the former were victorious. The particulars, as stated in Capt. Plympton's letter to Capt. Clark, are these. Parquett, with a few Winnebagoes, left the Portage a few days since, to proceed to Gen. Dodge's army, and guide them to the Sac camp. On Saturday morning last, 21st inst., Gen. Dodge sent his adjutant to report to Genl. Atkinson of his movements. He had not proceeded far, before he came upon the Sacs' and Foxes' trail, directing their course to the Wisconsin river. He immediately returned and reported the circumstance to Gen. Dodge, who pursued and overtook them about sundown of the same day, (Saturday) on the left bank of the Wisconsin, and about 40 miles from Fort Winnebago, when the fight ensued—the Indians at the same time retreating. The night being very dark, they found it impossible to pursue them. They had found, when Parquett left them, which was early the next morning, 16 Indians killed, and but one white man killed, and 4 wounded. Parquett thinks not less than 40 Indians fell in the engagement.

Gen. Dodge was to start early that morning (Sunday) in pursuit, and had no doubt of overtaking them in the course of the day. Their object is to cross the Wisconsin, at what is called the Ford, and go down on the right bank, to the Mississippi. The force of "Gen. Black Hawk" was reported to amount to about *three hundred*; and Parquett is of the opinion

that is was nearly all of Black Hawk's army. The force under Gen. Dodge being about nine hundred men, with but six days' provisions, he has sent to Gen. Atkinson to request that all the mounted men under his command might join him, which will probably put an end to the war in a short time.

The Sacs and Foxes are in a starving condition, many of them being found dead on their trail, and at their camp, perfectly emaciated.

Gen. Atkinson is reported to be somewhere on Rock River, and engaged in building a fort. Capt. P. says it is probable company A. will be ordered home in a short time."

[From the "Detroit Journal, &c"
August 1, 1832.]

LATEST FROM THE FRONTIER.

DEFEAT OF THE INDIANS.—Despatches from Gen. Scott, were received last Thursday by the Hon. Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, which bring the intelligence of another engagement between the Indians and the pursuing army, in which the former were completely defeated.

The details of the engagement are contained in the following official letters, for which we are indebted to the Secretary of War.

Extract of a letter from Gen. Scott to Hon. Lewis Cass, dated

Head Quarters, North-Western Army,
Steam boat Warrior, near Galena, Aug. 10, 1832.

Sir:—I have the honor to enclose copies of two letters from brigadier general Atkinson, dated, respectively, the 5th and 9th inst. both relating to the battle on the Mississippi of the 2d.

The action following closely on that fought on the Wisconsin, the 21 ultimo, has greatly reduced the number of the enemy, broken his spirits, and probably terminated the active operations of the war.

Several small parties, consisting principally of old men, women and children, have been captured since the 2d inst. on the east side of the Mississippi—some above, and some below the Wisconsin. The latter broke of from the main body of the enemy at the battle of the 21 ult. Measures have been taken to scour the country east of the Mississippi and to pick up other fugitives.

The number of the enemy, (warriors) who have escaped across the Mississippi, principally just before and during the last battle, is variously estimated. Probably about 300 have passed.

A party of 100 Sioux was sent on the morning of the third inst. on the principle trail of the enemy (opposite the battle ground—40 miles above Prairie du Chien) to ascertain and report the direction of the enemy's retreat. No report has, as yet, been received from this party. The day before yesterday a smaller one was sent out to the distance of twenty odd miles, opposite to Prairie du Chien, but returned without discovering any trail.

The prisoners report, and all circumstances induce the belief, that the remnant of Black Hawk's band are proceeding down the country to throw themselves on the kindred, though neutral bands, of Sacs and Foxes, near Rock Island, for the purpose of surrender or negociation.

Detained by the cholera and circumstances connected with it, I could not leave Chicago until the 29th ultimo. By a forced movement, with three individuals of my staff, without an escort, I arrived at Galena on the 3d, and at Prairie du Chien the 7th inst. I was detained at Galena two days waiting for a steam boat—our horses and ourselves being unable to proceed further by land without rest.

It will be seen that I joined Brigadier General Atkinson after events which, as we suppose, are likely to terminate active operations in the field. I do not think, after much inquiry, that that officer reports too highly of the brave regulars and volunteers, who, under him were in constant pursuit of the enemy from the 23d of June; not to speak of the previous marches of the United States Infantry.

The campaign, under great difficulties in respect to marching and the transportation of subsistance, appears to me to have been judiciously planned and perseveringly executed. The enemy being mounted to a man, and perfectly acquainted with the country, had it long in his power to fly from prairie to swamp and from swamp to prairie, and thus, by traversing extensive regions, to exclude a general engagement; but finally he has been twice overtaken and beaten with great loss. The persevering ardor both of the General and troops under unusual difficulties and privations, richly merited the success which has been won.

On leaving Chicago I instructed Col. Eustis to follow my general route with all the well troops which had arrived or might arrive before the 3d inst. He is now probably at Dixon's Ferry, and I shall order him (by an express from Galena) to march upon Rock Island. Similar instructions

will be immediately sent to the companies of U. S. regulars who are now supposed to be in route to join me. Gen. Atkinson, with eight companies of the 6th Infantry and two of the 4th, are on board of this boat. We expect to be at Rock Island on the morning of the 12th inst.

Head Quarters, 1st Army Corps,
North-Western Army.
Prairie du Chien, August 5, 1832.

Sir—I have the favor to report to you, that I crossed the Ouisconsin on the 27th and 28th ult. with a select body of troops, consisting of the regulars under Col. Taylor, four hundred in number—part of Henry's, Posey's and Alexander's brigades, and Dodge's battalion of mounted volunteers, amounting in all to thirteen hundred men, and immediately fell upon the trail of the enemy, and pursued it by a forced march, through a mountainous and difficult country, till the morning of the 2d inst., when we came up with his main body on the left bank of the river, opposite the mouth of Ioway, which we attacked, defeated, and dispersed, with a loss on his part of one hundred and fifty men killed—thirty-nine women and children made prisoners. The precise number of killed could not be ascertained, as the greater portion were slain after being forced into the river. Our loss in killed and wounded, which is stated below, is very small in comparison with the loss of the enemy, which may be attributed to the enemy being forced from his position, by a rapid charge at the commencement, and thro'out the engagement. The remnant of the enemy, cut up and disheartened, crossed to the opposite side of the river, and has fled into the interior, with a view, as is supposed, of joining Krokuek's and Wapello's bands of Sacs and Foxes.

The horses of the volunteer troops being exhausted by long marches, and the regular troops without shoes, it was not thought advisable to continue the pursuit—indeed a stop to the further effusion of blood seemed to be called for, till it might be ascertained if he would not surrender.

It is ascertained from our prisoners, that the enemy lost in the battle on the Ouisconsin, 68 killed, and a very large number wounded. His whole loss does not fall short of three hundred.

After the battle on the Ouisconsin, those of the enemy's women and children, and some who were dismounted, attempted to make their escape by descending that river; but judicious measures being taken here by Capt. Loomis and Gen. Street, the Indian Agent, thirty-two

women and children, and four men have been captured, and some fifteen killed by a detachment under Lieut. Ritner.

The day after the battle on this river, I fell down with the regular troops to this place by water, and the mounted men will join to day. It is now my purpose to direct Keskuk to demand a surrender of the remaining principal men of the hostile party, which from the large number of women and children we hold as prisoners, I have every reason to believe will be complied with.

I cannot speak too highly of the brave conduct of the regular and volunteer forces engaged in the battle, and fatiguing march which preceded it.

As soon as the reports of officers of brigades and corps are handed in, they shall be submitted with further remarks.

I have the honor, &c &c.

(Signed) H. Atkinson,
Brig. Gen. U. S. Army,

To Major Gen. Scott
Commanding N. W. Army Chicago, Ill.

Head Quarters 1st Army Corps
North-Western Army
Fort Crawford, Prairie de Chien, Aug. 9.

Sir—I informed you on the 5th inst. by a short official note, of the action on the morning of the 2d inst. between the troops under my command and the *Sac* enemy, on the bank of the Mississippi, opposite Ioway river.—Having received the reports of the officers commanding brigades and corps, I have the honor of reporting more in detail the events of the day.

After having pursued the enemy five days by forced marches, from his passage of the Ousconsin, we found ourselves at dusk, on the evening of the 1st inst. after a march of 25 miles, within a few miles of his position.

The troops were ordered to encamp and repose till 2 o'clock in the morning, and then take up the line of march. The signal to assemble was given at this hour, and at dawn I marched with the regular troops, under Cols. Taylor and Dodge's battalion, leaving Posey's, Alexander's and Henry's brigades to follow, as they were not yet ready to march, their horses having been turned out before the order to march was received by them. After marching about three miles, the advance of

Dodge's battalion came up with a small party of the enemy, and killed eight of them, and dispersed the residue. In the meantime, the troops then with me were formed in order of battle—the regulars in extended order with three companies held in reserve. Dodge's battalion was formed on the left: the whole advanced to the front, expecting to meet the enemy in a wood before us. Posey's command soon came up, and was formed on the right of the regulars. Shortly after, Alexander arrived, and was formed on the right of Posey, a position at the time considered of great importance, as it would intercept the enemy in an attempt to pass up the river.—Not finding the enemy posted as I anticipated, I detached Capt Dixon with a few of Dodge's spies, to the left, to gain information, and at the same time sent an officer of my staff to hasten the march of Henry. Soon after another was dispatched with orders to him to march upon the enemy's trail with one of the regiments of his brigade, and to hold the remainder in reserve. Finding the enemy to be in force in that direction, his whole brigade was ordered on that point. The order was promptly executed by the brigade, having in its advance, the small body of spies under Dixon, who commenced the action seconded simultaneously by Henry. The enemy was driven across several sluices down the river bottom, which was covered with fallen timber, underwood and high grass.

The regular troops, and Dodge at the head of his battalion, soon came up and joined in the action, followed by a party of Posey's troops, when the enemy was driven still farther through the bottom to several small willow islands successively, where much execution was done.

The main body of the enemy being in the bottom and adjoining small islands, Alexander was ordered to move with his brigade to the point of action; but from the distance of his position he came up too late to participate in the combat, except two companies of his brigade that had previously joined the brigade under Brigadier General Henry.

The small bodies of spies of Dodge's battalion and Henry's brigade, from their earlier position shared more largely in the combat than those who, from their distance, came later into the engagement. As soon as the enemy were slain or dislodged from the *willow bars*, the regular troops under Col. Taylor, and a company or two of volunteers, were thrown aboard of the steam-boat "Warrior" that had just arrived, and were landed on the two adjacent islands to scour them of the enemy. Assisted by a detachment from Henry's and Dodge's commands on the river bank some three or four Indians were found and killed.

Both the regular and volunteer troops conducted themselves with the greatest zeal, courage and patriotism, and are entitled to the highest approbation of their country. To Brigadier General Henry, of the 3d brigade of Illinois volunteers, Gen. Dodge, of the Michigan volunteers, and Col. Taylor of the United States' Infantry, the greatest praise is due for the gallant manner in which they brought their respective corps in, and conducted them through the action. They report a like meed of praise to the officers under their respective commands. To Generals Posey and Alexander every credit is due for their conduct and exertions in endeavoring to throw their commands into action, from which, by the arrangement of the order of battle they were unfortunately precluded, excepting a detachment of each. I cannot omit, without injustice to my staff, consisting of Lieuts. Johnston, Anderson, Wheelright, Drane, Brooks, and Clarke, of the Army, and Col. March of the volunteers, to mention the zeal, promptitude, and efficiency they displayed in the discharge of their duty during the action and the events of the day.

The enemy sustained a loss of about 150 men, killed—the precise number could not be ascertained, as a large proportion were slain in endeavoring to swim to the islands. Forty women and children were taken prisoners, seventy horses captured, &c., &c.

The loss on our part, was—of the U. S. Infantry, 5 privates killed, and 4 wounded—Gen. Posey's volunteers, 1 private wounded—Gen. Alexander's, 1 private wounded—Gen. Henry's, 1 lieutenant and 5 privates wounded—Gen. Dodge's, 1 captain, one sergeant, and 4 privates wounded.

The steamer "Warrior," by the direction of Capt. Loomis, had ascended the river, with a small detachment of the 4th U. S. Infantry, under the command of Lieut. Kingsbury, accompanied by Lieuts. Holmes and Torrence, on the day previous to the battle, to warn the Sioux of the approach of the Sacs:—in returning, near the battle ground, a party of Sacs was discovered, and fired upon, when a smart skirmish ensued. The Indian loss is since reported to be 23 killed—one now on board the steamboat, slightly wounded. Lieuts. Holmes, Kingsbury and Torrence, as well as Captain Throgmorton, the commander of the boat, were conspicuous in the affair. A great advantage was derived from the presence of the steamboat, on this occasion, as it retarded the enemy in crossing the river.

I enclose here with a list of the officers of the volunteers under Generals Henry and Dodge. A list of the officers of the other volunteer

corps will be transmitted as soon as received, which I request may be placed on file in the War Office.

I have the honor to be, sir,
With great respect,
Your most ob't serv't
H. Atkinson,
Brig. Gen. U. S. Army.

Commanding N. W. Army.

To Maj. Gen. W. Scott.

[From the "Detroit Journal, &c"
August 29, 1832.]

In another column will be found the official details of a second defeat of the hostile Indians. The low state to which they were previously reduced by the want of provisions and ammunition, might well justify the expectation that they would speedily be subdued. Through the efficient means adopted by the War Department, and the officers immediately engaged in service, the Indian war, which has for months disturbed our frontiers, may be considered as at an end. One thing yet remains to be done; Black Hawk, the Prophet, and the Chiefs who have acted in concert with them, must be humbled, by a surrender of themselves as prisoners of war. From the state of things at the last dates, we have no doubt that object will be, if it has not already been accomplished.

The Indian disturbances on our frontier, have no doubt operated extensively in retarding emigration to this territory. Though emigrants might have come here at any time during the present season, without any possible danger from hostile Indians, we are happy to say that there is now no cause of alarm from the depredations of those deluded people, even in the most distant parts of our territory, where their ravages have been confined. That portion of Michigan which is settled, and to which emigration is chiefly directed, has not been molested. The settlements are quiet and prosperous, and the same inducements to those who wish to better their circumstances, by locating on the fertile plains and prairies of the west, are still held out.

[From the 'Detroit Journal, &c.
August 29, 1832.]

Black Hawk.—Through the politeness of His Excellency, the Secretary of War, we have had access to the last despatches from the seat of war. In a letter from Gen. Scott, dated at Fort Armstrong, 19th August last, he was engaged in the examination of the prisoners taken, and those who have since surrendered,—in all 118. From the information derived from prisoners and other sources, it appears that the Winnebagoes are likely to be implicated. It is stated by some of the witnesses that there were, at one time, ten lodges of Winnebagos with Black Hawk's party, and that Winnebagos brought in scalps eight different times. They also stated that the Agent St. Vrail was killed by Winnebagos; in consequence whereof, the General has sent a talk to them, and demanded of them that their chiefs, warriors and principal men meet him on the tenth of September inst.; and that they bring such Sacs, Foxes and Kickapoos of Black Hawk's party, as may have taken refuge amongst them, and such Winnebagos as may have been engaged in the war, or may have given assistance to the enemy.

Na Pope, the principal war chief of Black Hawk's band, in his examination, says "That he always belonged to Black Hawk's band: last summer he went to Malden; when he came back, he found that, by the treaty with Gen. Gaines, the Sacs had moved across the Mississippi: he remained during the winter with the Prophet, on Rock river, 35 miles above the mouth. During the winter, the Prophet sent him across the Mississippi, to Black Hawk, with a message, telling him and his band to cross back to his village and make corn. That if the Americans came and told them to move again, they would shake hands with them —if the Americans had come and told us to move, we should have shaken hands, and immediately have moved peacefully. We encamped on Sycamore creek,—we met some Pottawatamies, and I made a feast for them.—At that time I heard there were some Americans near us (Stillman's.) I prepared a white flag to go and see them, and sent two or three young men on a hill to see what they were doing. Before the feast was finished, I heard my young men were killed; this was at sunset. Some of my young men ran out; two were killed, and the Americans were seen rushing on to our camp. My young men fired a few guns, and the Americans ran off, and my young men chased them about 6 miles." Na Pope goes on to state that the Pottawatamies of the village immediately left them, and that no Kickapoos joined them but those who were originally with Black Hawk; but the Winnebagos did, and brought in scalps, frequently—that, at last, when they found the Sacs would be beaten, they turned against them.

Na-ni-sa, a Sac woman, aged 25, sister of a head warrior, stated that, in the hottest of the fight on the 2nd August, she kept her infant close in her blanket by the force her teeth,—seized a horse's tail, and got across the Mississippi, where they were afterwards attacked by the Sioux. She ran off, but during the firing, she heard some of those who fired halloo—"I'm a Winnebago."

The persons examined say that, when the boat appeared in the Mississippi, Black Hawk told the women and children that he pitied them—that he would surrender to save them. He got a white flag and hallooed to the boat twice. The boat, however, fired on them twice, when Black Hawk told the men to fire too. None of them know where Black Hawk or the Prophet have taken refuge, but suppose they may have gone to the Pottawatamies or Ottoways, between Green Bay and Chicago.

[From the "Detroit Journal, &c."
September 5, 1832.]

THE BORDER WAR:—The St. Louis Republican received by the last mail, furnishes the following information:

"The Illinois militia have been disbanded, and they are now returning to their homes. General Atkinson passed this city on Saturday night last in the steamboat Warrior, for Jefferson Barracks. A report was brought to Rock Island just as the Warrior was leaving, by some friendly Sacs, that a band of Siouxs had encountered the hostile Sacs and Foxes, and in the engagement which ensued from 100 to 140 of the latter were slain. Black Hawk was said to have been of the number. The report rests upon the authority of two hostile Indians who alone escaped to the camp of the friendly Sacs. We learn, further, that Keokuck, the chief of the friendly Sacs, had given up his nephew, a young warrior, as being the murderer of a man named William Martin, in Warren County, Illinois.

Gen. Scott, it is said, has determined to chastise the Winnebagoes, for suffering their young men to engage in hostilities against the whites, and for affording protection and subsistence to the Sacs and Foxes."

[From the "Detroit Journal, &c"
September 12, 1832.]

Extract of a letter from an officer of the Army, to the Editor of the Buffalo Journal, dated "Camp, near the mouth of Rock River, Sept. 3."

"Gen. Scott is of the opinion that there will be a break up among the troops about the first of Oct. There is no certainty, however. It will depend mainly upon the Winnebagoes, who are represented as being very humble since they have discovered the ease with which the long and the strong arm of government can wipe off an Indian nation. There is a report in circulation that Black Hawk is dead. I understand that his horse has been found in a swamp with the saddle turned under his belly. This may be a report got up by the Indians to divert pursuit. They usually resort to such artifices, to save the life of some favorite chief. Still it may be true.

I am sorry to inform you that the Cholera has reached the troops on Rock Island, and that there have been a number of cases. Our camp is now perfectly healthy."

[From the 'Detroit Journal, &c.
September 26, 1832.]

The Steam Boat Winnebago, Captain Hunt, from Galena, stopped for a few minutes yesterday at the wharf, on her way to Jefferson Barracks (ten miles below the city.)

The boat left Galena having on Board *Black Hawk*, the Prophet and eleven other head men of the Sacs and Foxes, together with about fifty warriors of less distinguished fame. The latter were landed on this side of the lower rapids, on their pledge of remaining quiet and inoffensive. Black Hawk, the Prophet and the other eleven have been taken to Jefferson Barracks, there to remain as hostage for the peaceable conduct of their tribes until a final settlement of all difficulties shall be made. A Mackinaw boat passed the city on Thursday on her way to the Barracks with five men under the Command of Lieut. Cross, of the army, having with them in custody Neopope and some six or seven other warriors.

We understand that Black Hawk and the Prophet were Captured by a party of the Winnebagoes and by them delivered to their Agent at the Prairie.—These two Chiefs were not taken together, although they were delivered up to the whites at the same time.

The capture of the chiefs of the hostile Indians insures the permanent tranquility of the frontier; and we confidently trust that the pioneers

of civilization on the northern borders of our own state and of Illinois will never again be disturbed by the inroads of the red men. * * * * —*St. Louis Times.*

[From the "Detroit Journal, &c"
October 3. 1832]

COPIES OF PAPERS IN THE WILLIAMS PAPERS NOW IN POSSESSION OF C. M. BURTON.

General Orders.

Head Quarters Detroit
Jany 13th 1830.

Whereas by an act of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Michigan it is provided, that in addition to the Brigades & division of the Militia as at present established, the County of Lenawe, and all that part of the Peninsula of Michigan lying west of the Counties of Lenawe and Washtenaw shall form the Third Brigade.

It is hereby ordered by the acting Commander in Chief, that Brigadier General Charles Larned be designated to execute the duties of Major General of the Second division, and Colonel Joseph W. Brown of the Eight Regiment is hereby designated to execute the duties of a Brigadier General of the Third Brigade.

By order of the
Acting Commander in Chief,
Walter L. Newberry,[1]
Adjt. Genl.

General Orders,

Head Quarters,
Detroit April 15, 1830.

The two Infantry companies comprised within the towns of Plymouth, Nankin & Pekin, in the County of Wayne, will form a separate Battalion. Brig. Genl. Larned will cause the necessary measures to be taken for the election of a Major, and the Organization of the Battalion—

[1] Appointed Adjutant General September 18, 1829.

The following appointments have been made in the 8th Regiment.

Regimental Staff.

Daniel Pitmon Adjutant.
Hudson Hall Quarter Master.
Warner Perry Pay Master.
Michael A. Patterson Surgeon.
Alanson Darwin Chaplain.

In the Rifle company attached to said Regiment.
James T. Bosland Captain.
Ashbell Robertson Lieutenant.
David M. Drum Ensign.

In the Infantry company in the town of Blissfield.
Jacob Lane Captain.
Sewal Goff Lieutenant
John Preston Junr. Ensign.

In the Infantry company in the town of Tecumseh.
Apollos Drown Captain.
William H. Patchin Lieutenant.
Horace Case Ensign.

In the Infantry company in the town of Logan.
E. Conant Winter Captain.
Richard Lewis Lieutenant.
Derastus Torrey Ensign.

In the 6th Regiment, John L. Rose has been promoted to be Captain of the 1st Light Infantry Company, Vice Foster removed out of the limits of the company.

Josiah Burton has been appointed Lieutenant of the same vice Rose promoted. Alvey Brown has been promoted to be Captain of the 1st Company of Infantry vise White promoted. George Allen to be Lieutenant of the same vice Brown promoted. And John Geddes has been appointed Ensign of the same vice Allen promoted.

John E. Schwarz has been appointed Aid-de-Camp to Act. Maj-Genl. Larned, with the rank of Major.

By order of the Commander in Chief
W. L. Newberry
Adjt. Genl.

The following completes the list of Commissions with their dates which have been issued since the appointment of the present Adjt. Genl. up to this date June 20, 1830.

John Kirby	Colonel	Com. dated Oct. 5, 1829.
Peter Godfroy	Lt. Colonel	Do. Do. Oct. 5, 1829.
Daniel Goodell	Major	Do. Do. Oct. 5, 1829.
Zenas Bird	Ensign	Do. Do. Oct. 8, 1829.
Benajah Holbrook	Junr. Lieutenant	Do. Do. Oct. 8, 1829.
Robert Irwin, Junr	Colonel	Do. Do. Oct. 14, 1829.
Henry Dodge	Colonel	Do. Do. Oct. 15, 1829.
John L. Chastain	Lt. Colonel	Do. Do. Oct. 15, 1829.
Robert P. Gayard	Major	Do. Do. Oct. 15, 1829.
John Norton	Captain	Do. Do. Oct. 29, 1829.
Jabez Hawkins	Lieutenant	Do. Do. Oct. 29, 1829.
James Barr	Ensign	Do. Do. Oct. 29, 1829.
Jonathan D. Daves	Major	Do. Do. Nov. 3, 1829.
Elisha P. Champlin	Major	Do. Do. Nov. 10, 1829.
William McNair	Lt. Colonel	Do. Do. Nov. 10, 1829.
Joseph W. Brown	Colonel	Do. Do. Nov. 10, 1829.
Edward Brooks	Inspector General	Do. Do. Nov. 10, 1829.
Robert D. Power	Captain	Do. Do. Dec. 28, 1829.
William Tibbits	Lieutenant	Do. Do. Dec. 28, 1829.
Henry B. Holbrook	Ensign	Do. Do. Dec. 28, 1829.
Sabin Ingram	Adjutant	Do. Do. Dec. 28, 1829.
Daniel B. Brown	Quarter-Master	Do. Do. Dec. 28, 1829.
John Beedon	Pay-Master	Do. Do. Dec. 28, 1829.
Silas A. Holbrook	Captain	Do. Do. Jan. 28, 1830.
Jesse Ballard	1st Lieutenant	Do. Do. Jan. 28, 1830.
Timothy Mitchell	2d Lieutenant	Do. Do. Jan. 28, 1830.
James T. Borland	Captain	Do. Do. Jan. 28, 1830.
Ashbell Robertson	Lieutenant	Do. Do. Jan. 28, 1830.
David M. Drum	Ensign	Do. Do. Jan. 28, 1830.
E. Conant Winter	Captain	Do. Do. Jan. 28, 1830.
Richard Lewis	Lieutenant	Do. Do. Jan. 28, 1830.

Derastus Torry	Ensign	Do.	Do.	Jan. 28, 1830.
Jacob Lane	Captain	Do.	Do.	Jan. 28, 1830.
Sewal Goff	Lieutenant	Do.	Do.	Jan. 28, 1830.
John Preston, Junr	Ensign	Do.	Do.	Jan. 28, 1830.
Apollos Drown	Captain	Do.	Do.	Jan. 28, 1830.
William H. Patchen	Lieutenant	Do.	Do.	Jan. 28, 1830.
Horace Case	Ensign	Do.	Do.	Jan. 28, 1830.
Daniel Pitmon	Adjutant 8th Regt	Do.	Do.	Jan. 28, 1830.
Hudson Hall	Qr. Master Do.	Do.	Do.	Jan. 28, 1830.
Warner Perry	Pay Master Do.	Do.	Do.	Jan. 28, 1830.
Michael A. Patterson	Surgeon Do.	Do.	Do.	Jan. 28, 1830.
Alanson Darwin	Chaplin Do.	Do.	Do.	Jan. 28, 1830.
John E. Schwarz & Norman S. Sprague	Aids-de-Camp to Act. Maj. Gen. Larned	Coms. dated Feb. 20, 1830.		
Chauncey Reynolds	Captain	Com. Dated March 18, 1830.		
Richard Boughton	Lieutenant	Do.	Do.	March 18, 1830.
Alvah Smith	Ensign	Do.	Do.	March 18, 1830.
Alvey Brown	Captain	Do.	Do.	April 14, 1830.
George Allen	Lieutenant	Do.	Do.	April 14, 1830.
George Geddes	Ensign	Do.	Do.	April 14, 1830.
John L. Rose	Captain	Do.	Do.	April 14, 1830.
Josiah Burton	Lieutenant	Do.	Do.	April 14, 1830.
Larkin Ball	Lieutenant	Do.	Do.	April 14, 1830.
William F. Fowler	Ensign	Do.	Do.	April 14, 1830.
Sylvester Scott	Captain	Do.	Do.	April 29, 1830.
Ira M. Hough	Major	"		June 21, 1830.
Almanzan Hustin	Colonel	"		June 21, 1830.
Othni Beardsley	Lieut. Colo.	"		June 21, 1830.
Duncan R. Clark	Major	"		June 21, 1830.
Hart L. Stewart	Colonel	"		June 21, 1830.
Neal McGaffy	Lt. Colo.	"		June 21, 1830.
Jerome Loomis	Captain in 6th Regt.	"		July 27, 1830.
Spencer Williams	Lieutenant "	"		July 27, 1830.
Samuel Gorden	Ensign	"		July 27, 1830.
Augustus Root	Captain in 6th Regt.	"		July 27, 1830.
Charles H. Kellogg	Lieutenant	"		July 27, 1830.
John Brewer	Ensign	"		July 27, 1830.
Norman Perry	Captain	"		July 31, 1830.
James Starkweather	Lieutenant	"		July 31, 1830.
Elisha Webster	Ensign	"		July 31, 1830.
Henry Pratt P. M. 3d Regt.	Rank Lieut.	"		July 31, 1830.
Ezekiel Allen Adjutant 3d Regt.	Rank Lieut.			July 31, 1830.

Chauncy G. Cady Brigade Qr. Mr. 2d Brigade	Rank Major	31 July, 1830.
Chas. S. Mathews Brigade Insp. 2d Brigde	Rank Major	" " "
Wells Waring	Major	" " "
Addison Chamberlain	Lieut Colo	" " "
John B. Hollister	Colo	31 July, 1830.

Endorsed: List of Commissions
issued—recd from the
Adjt. Genl. June 30, 1830.

General Orders
Head Quarters,
Detroit June 23, 1830.

Eighty four copies of the system, printed by order of Congress for the instruction & discipline of the Militia have been received from the War Department. One Copy will be delivered to each General Officer, & the Inspector General, five copies to each Colonel, & three copies to each Major of a separate Battalion, upon application being made to the Adjutant General, who will take receipts for the same—These books will be considered as public property, & the copies held by the Colonels & Majors will be loaned from time to time to the Officers of their respective Regiments & Battalions.

The boundaries of the Seventh Regiment are hereby restricted to the Counties of Cass, Berrien, & Van Buren, & the following Officers have been appointed to the same Almanzan Huston Colonel, & Othni Beardsley Lieut. Colonel, Timothy S. Smith will continue to perform the duties of Major of said Regiment.

The Militia of the Counties of St. Joseph's, Kalamazoo, Calhoun, Barry, & Eaton, will form the eleventh Regiment, & the following Officers have been appointed to the same Hart S. Stewart Colonel, Neal McGaffy Lieut Colonel, & Duncan R. Clark Major.

The Militia of the Counties of Branch & Hillsdale will form a separate Battalion, the Commanding Officer of the third Brigade will cause the necessary measures to be taken for the election of a Major, at such time & place as he shall judge proper.

The Counties of Jackson & Ingham, will constitute a separate company, to be attached to the Sixth Regiment. Col. McKinstry will cause the necessary measures to be taken for the organization of this Company.

The resignations of Col. John Kerby & Lieut Colonel Peter Godfroy of the 1st Regiment are hereby accepted.

Chancey Reynolds has been appointed Captain, Richard Boughton Lieutenant, & Alvah Smith, Ensign in a Rifle Company in the towns of Plymouth & Nankin.

Sylvester Scott has been promoted to be Captain of the Ann Arbor Rifle Company vice Higby declined accepting his commission—

Larkin Ball has been appointed Lieutenant of the same vice Brown transferred to the Staff of the Rifle Battalion. William F. Fowler Ensign of the same vice Scott promoted.

The Commanding Officers of the 7th & 11th Regiments, will proceed without delay to the organization of their respective Regiments, by causing them to be divided into Companies, Election for Officers to be held, & reports thereof to be made to the Adjutant General, that Commissions may be issued.

By order of the Commander in Chief
Walter L. Newberry
Adjt. Genl.

To the Hon. John R. Williams, Major General of the Militia of the Territory of Michigan—

The undersigned members of the Ypsilanti Light Infantry Company, considering the length of time which they have waited to receive their arms from the National Armory, and the uncertainty which still exists as to the time when they would be received, and being desirous to be armed and equiped as soon as may be, have come to the determination to procure their arms and equipments at their own expense, provided they can be allowed rifles; and with a view to that object, they would pray, that the name and style of said Company may be changed to that of the Ypsilanti Rifle Company and be enrolled as such—And as in duty bound would ever pray—Ypsilanti June 28, 1830.

J. L. Rose Capt
Josiah Burton Lieut
Orrin Derby Ensign
Abner Stone
Uriah Coulson
Martin Barnhart
Thoms Reed
Z. H. Smith
John Combs
John Wilson
Samuel Stone
James Rose
Walter Brown
Wm. Williams
W. L. Barney
Judson Derkey

David Russell
Jonathan Gorton
Carnahan McCord
David McCord
W. A. Ballard
Hiram Hall
Oratio How
James B. Frazer
Hugh Anderson
David Freeman
David Davis
Saml. B. Woodruff
John Stewart Jr.
Richard Williams
Siles Diceson
Sterns Kimberley
Stafford Brown
James Gaines
John Hatfield
John Garton
Daniel Garton
Leonard Russell
W. Smith
F. Jacobs
Samuel Parsons
H. C. Camp
Peter Crain
John Terhune

Endorsed:

Petition of Ypsilanti Light Infantry Company.

Considering the circumstances of the within named Company, it is my wish that the prayer of this petition may be granted—

Andrew McKinstry
Col of the 6th
Redgement.

General Order.

Detroit Augt. 2d, 1830.

Upon the representations made to the Major General, The Company of Light Infantry attached to the 6th Regt. of the Militia of the Territory, is hereby transformed into a Company of Riflemen.

Jno. R. Williams
Major Genl. M. M.

Detroit Sept 25, 1830.

Sir,

I received the enclosed note from Gov. Cass a short time before he left here, you will recollect that an order was issued directing Col. Dodge to proceed in the organization of his regiment on the 14th of Oct. last. You will please take such steps in the matter as you think proper.

Respectfully your
Obdnt Svnt
W. L. Newberry.

Maj. Genl John R Williams

General Orders.
Head Quarters,
Detroit Sept. 25, 1830.

So much of the Act of the Legislative Council approved Nov. 2, 1829, as provides for an additional division and brigades in the Militia of the Territory having been repealed, there will remain one division and two brigades to be commanded by the general officers appointed by the President of the United States.

All commissions bearing date previous to the 21st day of June last, held by persons within the bounds of the 7th and 11th regiments, are hereby annuled.

The resignations of Major Daniel Goodell of the 1st regiment, Col. Wm. Meldrum of the 3d regiment, Major T. S. Smith of the 7th regiment, and Capt. I. P. King of the separate company at Mackinac, have been accepted.

The following promotions and appointments have been made in the Militia of the Territory.

In the separate battalion Wayne county—Ira M. Hough has been promoted to be Major.

In the 6th regiment—Jerome Loomis has been appointed Captain, vice Provost promoted. Spencer Williams Lieutenant, vice Asa Williams removed from the Territory. Samuel Gordon Ensign, vice Parker removed out of the beat of the company. Augustus Root has been promoted to be Captain, vice Kirk removed out of the bounds of the company. Charles H. Kellogg to be Lieutenant, vice Root promoted, and John Brewer has been appointed Ensign vice Kellogg promoted.

In the 7th regiment—George Meacham has been appointed Adjutant, Israel Markham Quartermaster, Obed W. Lacy Paymaster, Hiram H. Fowler Surgeon, Erastus Winslow Surgeon's mate, Joseph Gardner, Thomas Vanderhoof Martin Sheald Thomas A. H. Edwards and James Webster Captains, Joseph L. Jacks Isaac Stewart John Reed Sylvester Meacham and David Wilson Lieutenants—and Samuel Markham Gamaliel Townsend Samuel Rinehart Oliver Drew and Adolphus Walrath Ensigns.

In the 11th regiment—Peter Cook has been appointed adjutant, Robert Clark Junr Quartermaster, Lewis B. Judson Paymaster, Hubbell Loomis Surgeon, Alanson C. Stewart, Arba Heald, William Hunter, John Foreman, Ephraim Harrison, William Hunt, and Carlos Barns Captains—Adolphus Chapin, Alvin Calhoon, Samuel M. Stewart, Vincent Glasgow, James Fellows, Henry Gawes and Daniel Plummer, Lieutenants. and Philander Paine Otis Newton Philip H. Buck, I. W. Fletcher Peter Weigant Thomas McElvain and Gideon Matthews Ensigns

Benaiah Jones has been appointed Major of the Separate Battalion in Branch and Hillsdale.

By order of the Commander in Chief,
Walter L. Newberry
Adjt. Genl.

Brigade Order,
Mount Clemens, September 27, 1830.

A majority of the Field Officers of the 2nd Brigade, Michigan Militia, having signified their assent that the annual muster of the Commissioned, Non-Commissioned Officers and Musicians should be held by Brigade, and the same are hereby required to rendezvous at Romeo, in Macomb county, on the 19th, 20th, and 21st days of October next, at 9 o'clock, A. M. of the 19th, for the purpose of improvement in martial exercise.

The annual Inspection and Review of the several Regiments in said Brigade, will take place as follows:—The Third Regiment, at such place as the Colonel shall designate on Saturday the 23d day of October next, at 9 o'clock, A. M. The Fourth Regiment, at such place as the Colonel shall designate on Tuesday the 26th October next at 9 o'clock, A. M. The Fifth Regiment, at such time and place as the Colonel shall designate.

Major S. H. Giles, will perform the duties of Brigade Inspector, during the convalescence of Major C. S. Mather.

By order of
Brigadier General Stockton,
Elisha Beach, Aid-de-camp.

(A true Copy.)
E. Beach, Aid-de-camp.

Detroit October 16, 1830.

To Major Gen. Williams
Sir:

The review of the 3rd Regiment will take place at Harlow Macomb County and that of the 4th Regiment at Auburn in Oakland County.

Very Respectfully
Yr Obst—
Jno Stockton
Brg. Genl.

General Orders.
Head Quarters,
Detroit Novr. 3rd 1830.

The resignations of Colnl. Oliver Johnson of the 2d regiment, Major H. V. Disbrow, Division Quarter Master, Ensign Orin Derby of the Ypsilanti Rifle Company, and Capt. S. C. Munson of the 4th regiment, whose resignations has been heretofore transmitted, have been accepted.

The following promotions and appointments have been made in the Militia of the Territory:

In the 1st regiment, Levi Cook to be Colonel, vice Kerby resigned, John Roberts, Lieut. Colnl, vice Godfroy, resigned. Charles Jackson, Captain, vice Cook promoted, Elisha Warren, Captain, vice Roberts promoted, Jeremiah Moors, Lieutenant, vice Warren promoted, John Connor, Lieutenant, vice Edwards, removed out of the beat of the company.

In the 2nd regiment, Anthony L. Briggs, to be Colonel, vice Johnson resigned, Levi S. Humphrey, Lieut. Colonel, vice Briggs, promoted, Wm. L. Riggs Quarter Master, vice Anderson.

In the 3rd regiment, John B. Hollister, to be Colonel, vice Meldrum, resigned, Addison Chamberlin, Lieut. Colonel, vice Hollister, promoted, Wells Waring, Major, vice Ketteredge—Norman Perry, Captain, vice Chamberlain, promoted, James Starkweather, Lieutenant, vice Perry, promoted, Elisha Webster Ensign, vice Starkweather, promoted, Ezekiel Allen, Adjutant, vice Doty, removed from the bounds of the regiment, Henry Porter, Paymaster, vice Thorn, transferred to the 5th regiment, William Canfield, Quarter Master, vice Allen, promoted. Joel Dudley, Captain, vice Warring, promoted, Josiah Lockwood Lieutenant, vice Porter—Benjamin F. Hayes, Ensign, vice Dudley promoted. James C. Edgely, Captain, vice Rice, removed out of the beat of the Company.

In the 6th regiment Archy McMath, to be Adjutant, John Geddes, Quarter Master, James Kingsley, Paymaster, Edward Clark, 1st Lieutenant, vice Kingsley, appointed Paymaster, and Charles Thayer, 2d Lieutenant, vice Clark, promoted.

In the separate Battalion Wayne County, Benajoh Holbrook to be Captain, vice Hough, promoted, Zenas Bird, Lieutenant, vice Holbrook promoted, Rufus Thayer, Ensign, vice Bird, promoted, Robert Morris, Captain, John Briggs, Lieutenant, and Ebenezer Smith, Ensign.

In the Rifle Battalion, Richard Boughton to be Lieutenant, vice Smith, who declined accepting his commission, Ira Steward, Ensign, vice Boughton, promoted.

In the 4th regiment, Calvin Hotchkiss to be Major, and Thomas I. Drake, Captain, to take rank from the 28th Septr. 1827, their appointments having been announced in Orders, but their commissions not having issued untill the 16th Inst. Since which Calvin Hotchkiss has been promoted to be Lieut. Colonel, vice Brunson, removed from the Territory. Elisha Taylor has been promoted to be Major, in said Regiment, vice Hotchkiss promoted, Otis C. Thompson Captain, vice Munson, resigned, Almon Mack has been appointed Adjutant, vice Williams,—Samuel Murlin, Lieutenant, vice Mack, appointed Adjutant, Alexander Ostrander, Ensign, and George Davis, 2nd Lieutenant, Vice Waugh—

Charles S. Matthews has been appointed Brigade Inspector, of the 2nd Brigade, vice Chamberlain, promoted, and Chauncy G. Cady has been promoted to be Brigade Quarter Master of the same, vice Allen, appointed Adjutant of the 3d regiment.

A light Infantry Company is hereby established in the County of Oakland, to be attached to the 4th regiment, to be styled the Governor's Guards, and Capt Thos. I. Drake is hereby transferred to the

same, and Horatio N. Howard has been appointed Lieutenant, and John I. Garland, Ensign in said Company.

A Grenadier company is hereby established within the bounds of the 8th regiment, to be attached thereto, and Wm. H. Hoag has been appointed Captain of the same.

By order of the Commander in Chief,
Walter L. Newberry,
Adjt. Genl.

Detroit, May 17, 1831.

Sir:

A Volunteer Company of Infantry called the City Guards has recently been organized in this place. Captn. E. Brooks late of the U. S. Army and Inspector Genl. of the Michigan Ma. has been elected Captn of the Company and has accepted the Command, the Subaltern Officers are also highly respectable and will sustain their appointments very creditably. It gives me great satisfaction to notice this fair prospect of improvement in our Militia particularly in this City. From a variety of causes everything like Military spirit seems to be at a very low ebb—and our elite for a time appeared only desirous of sheltering themselves under various exemption Laws to get rid of Militia duty. Such a state of public sentiment could not but be viewed with regret by those whose duty it is to preserve and encourage our National Militia System: Considering it indispensable both to the preservation and protection of our property and rights, and to the security of our Frontier Towns & Territory.

The City Guards have adopted the uniform of the United States army in every particular and I entertain no doubt but that their appearance and example will create a desirable spirit of emulation throughout our Territorial Militia. Measures will also be taken to provide musical instruments for a Band.

But considering the expenses which must be incurred by the members of the Company alluded to it would be very desirable that the Government of the U. S. by way of encouragement would supply them with Muskets. If you will direct Lt. Howard the Superintendent of the Arsenal to issue 60 or 70 stands to be charged to the Territory on account of our quota of arms—such a measure would tend greatly to infuse a proper spirit throughout our Militia, and be productive of the

happiest consequences in accelerating a system of regularity and order which would in future insure Regular Annual Returns of the Militia.

With perfect respect and esteem
I have the honor to be Sir,
Your Obedr Servt.

To Colo. George Bomford
Ordnance Dept.
Washington

Edwardsville, Illinois, Ap'l 21, 1832.

Dear Sir,

Your letter of March 23d, enclosing a deed for G. Y. Cutler and a $5 note, Illinois State Bank paper, was received last evening.

The $5 I have placed to your credit as $6.05 cts the interest on the same being $1.05 cts. and being now equal to specie.

Although the 3 other qr. sections have been past redemption for a year and 3 months, I will reconvey them to you on as moderate terms as I can afford. I was offered by a speculator, more than a year ago, $22.50 cts. each for them; but declined, expecting daily to hear from you. Since that time I have paid the tax of 1831 on them, which was $2.40 cts. each.

Such is the demand for money in this state that the current rate of interest is from 25 to 50 per cent per annum.

A detachment of about 2500 militia is about to march to Rock Island to expel the Indian Chief *Black Hawk* and his followers of the Sauk, Kickapoo, and Pottowatomie tribes, who have again intruded into this state.

In haste
Yours,
George Churchill.

J. R. Williams, Esqr
Detroit, M. T.

Fort Dearborn May 21st 1832.

Col. J. Stewart

Sir,

Your dispatch of the 19th inst is rec'd. The nature of the intelligence communicated on the night of the 17th to me was of that alarming character which made it proper that prompt means should be taken to insure the safety of the people and the Country hence the reason of sending you the express of the 18th we have however on this evening ascertained that some of the intelligence was greatly exagerated and much of it the mere visions of fancy produced by the fears of a few individuals and nearly the whole of the surrounding country being now within the walls of this fort with about two hundred men well armed we feel ourselves competent to withstand any force that may probably venture an attack consequently it is unnecessary for the Militia of Michigan to proceed to this place and I presume the regular troops from Niagara will be here in due time.

I would advise the people of St. Joseph to remain in a state of preparation for defence for a short period at least. should anything occur You will be apprised of it without delay for Your promptness in this business accept my thanks and the disposition to aid us by our neighbors of Michigan is highly appreciated.

I have the honour to be
Sir Very Respectfully
Your Obt. Servt.
Th. J. V. Owen
Indian Agt
Chicago

True Copy
George W. Hoffman
Act Adjt. 7th Regt
M. M.

Since writing the foregoing Mr. Kirchival Sub Agent has arrived from Rock river and confirms the report of a skirmish having taking place near the mouth of the Kish-wah-ka on Rock river on the night of the 14th inst (instead of near the Paw-paw Grove) and our Militia defeated with the loss of eleven killed & three wounded. The loss of the Enemy five killed. The Michigan Militia therefore hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning as it is expected

that another battle will take place tomorrow about eighty N. W. of this place.

Verry Respectfully
Sir Your Obt. Servt
Th. J. V. Owen
Indian Agt—
Chicago.

True Copy
George W. Hoffman
Act Adjt 7th Regt
M. M.

Executive Office
Detroit May 22, 1832

Major Gen. John R. Williams
Sir,

By dispatch received at this office from Chicago and St. Joseph, it seems that the Indians have assumed an attitude of hostility towards the frontier settlements in that quarter.

I am satisfied that the public safety requires immediate movements on the part of the Militia of the Territory.

You are authorized to raise such a number of Volonteers, as in your opinion may be necessary, for cooperating with Brig. Gen. Brown, who has rendezvoused at JonesVille.

When You arrive there you will then take such steps as may then in your opinion be necessary—

Stevens T. Mason.
Acting Governor,
of the Territory.

The Quarter Master General, will issue to Maj. Gen. John R. Williams, such stores, ammunition and arms as he may require

Stevens T. Mason
Acting Governor
of the Territory.

Detroit
May 22, 1832.

Detroit May 22d 1832.

General Order No. 2.

The division Qr Master will call on the Military Store Keeper for 200 lbs of rifle powder, 100 lbs bar lead, one thousand musket flints, 1000 rifle flints and 200 cartridge boxes:

By order of Maj. Genl Williams
Chas W. Whipple
A. D. C.

A true copy
C. W. Whipple
A. D. C.

No. 4. Detroit May 22d 1832.

General Order

The Division Qrmaster will call upon the Military Store keeper, for Arms and Equipments for the Militia of this Territory, who may volunteer their services in pursuance of an order from the Executive of this date.

By order of
Major Genl Williams
Chas W. Whipple
Aid de camp.

General Order

Detroit May 22d 1832—

The peace & security of the frontier settlements of the Territory are menaced by hostile bands of Indians in Arms against the United States. The blood of our neighbors & brethren of the State of Illinois has been shed by ferocious & barbarous Invaders. The constituted authorities of the Territory have summoned and the Major General now calls upon the Patriotic Citizens—soldiers under his Command, to Volunteer their immediate services to defend the frontier settlements of the Territory.

In addition to the detachments already made by order of Brigadier Genl Brown the services of such number of Volunteers will be accepted at Detroit not exceeding three hundred men as will immediately offer. Mounted men will be preferred. The requisite Arms and Ammunition will be furnished from the Public Stores.

The Division Quarter Master is hereby directed to call on the Military Store-Keeper for such Arms & Ammunition, and to make immediate arrangements to furnish two hundred stands of Arms, & twelve thousand rounds of ball cartridges to Brigadier Genl. Brown.

By Order of Major Genl. Williams
Chas W. Whipple
Aid de camp.

Head Quarters
May 23, 1832—

Sir,

In consequence of the difficulty in procuring volonteers with the dispatch necessary, to facilitate your movements, you are hereby authorized to call out, such companies of troops as may be required, to complete the number contemplated in the order of yesterday.

You cannot but be aware, that delay is only calculated to give rise, to false and unfounded reports, which may possibly have an injurious effect upon the emigration to our Territory. It is expected that you will use every exertion to meet Gen. Brown forthwith, and that you will not return to this place, until every shadow of danger from hostile Indians on the frontier is removed.

Stevens T. Mason,
Acting Governor.

Maj. Gen. John R. Williams

Detroit May 23d, 1832.

The Division Quarter Master is hereby directed, to furnish, for the use of the Militia, called into service, by Order of the Acting Governor of the Territory—

Two Hundred Stands Muskets & bayonets.
Two Hundred Catridge boxes & belts.
Three Hundred Knapsacks.
Twelve Thousand Rounds ball Catridges.
Two Hundred pounds Rifle Powder.
One Hundred pounds Lead.
One Thousand Musket flints.
One Thousand Rifle flints.

Signed Jno. R. Williams
Major Genl. M. Ma.

Maj. Gen. John R. Williams is authorized, to procure, such necessary provisions and stores for the Militia, as may be required during the expedition he makes into the frontier country of the Territory.

May 23. 1832—

Stevens T. Mason
Acting Governor.

In conformity to the foregoing order, the Division Quarter Master is hereby directed to procure Three thousand rations of Bread and Salted Pork being for the subsistence of three hundred men for ten days: The greatest proportion of the bread part of the rations will be provided in flour, if hard biscuit cannot be readily obtained.

Detroit May 23d. 1832
John R Williams
Maj. Genl.

Fort Dearborn May 21st 1832

Col. J. Stewart
Sir

Your dispatch of the 19th inst is recd The nature of the intelligence communicated on the night of the 17th to me was of that alarming Character which made it proper that prompt means should be taken to insure the safety of the people and the Country hence the reason of sending you the express of the 18th we have however on this evening assertained that some of the intelligence was greatly exagerated and much of it the mere Visions of Fancy produced by the fears of a few individuals and nearly the whole of the surrounding Country being now within the walls of this fort with about two hundred men well armed we feel ourselves competent to withstand any force that may probably venture an attack consequently it is unnecessary for the Militia of Michigan to proceed to this place and I presume the regular troops from Niagara will be here in due time. I would advise the people of St. Joseph to remain in a State of preparation for defence for a short period at least should any thing occur you will be apprised of it without delay for your promptness

in this business accept my thanks and the disposition to aid us by our neighbors of Michigan is highly appreciated.

I have the honor to be
Sir Very Respectfully
Your obt Servt
Th. J. V. Owen
Indian Agt.
Chicago.

True Copy
George. W. Hoffman
Act Adjt 7th Regt.
M. M.

Since writing the foregoing Mr. Kirchival Sub Agent has arrived from Rock river and confirms the report of a Skirmish having taken place near the mouth of the Kish-wah-ka on Rock river on the night of the 14th inst (instead of near the Paw paw Grove) and our Militia defeated with the loss of Eleven killed & three wounded

The loss of the enemy five killed The Michigan Militia therefore hold themselves in readiness to march at a moments warning as it is expected that another battle will take place tomorrow about eighty N W of this place.

Verry Respectfully
Sir Your Obt Servt
Th. J. V. Owen
Indian Agt
Chicago

True Copy
Geog. W. Hoffman
Act adjt 7th Regt
M. M.

Executive Office
Detroit May 22, 1832.

Major Gen. John R. Williams
Sir,

By dispatche received at this office from Chicago and St Joseph, it seems that the Indians have assumed an attitude of hostility towards the frontier settlements in that quarter.

I am satisfied that the public safety requires immediate movements on the part of the Militia of the Territory.

You are authorized to raise such a number of Volonteers, as in your opinion may be necessary, for cooperating with Brig. Gen. Brown, who has rendezvoused at JonesVille.

When you arrive there you will then take such steps as may then in your opinion be necessary—

Stevens T. Mason
Acting Governor
of the Territory

Endorsed:
No. 1
Order from the Honble
The Acting Governor of
Michigan Territory
dated May 22d. 1832

Detroit May 22d. 1832

General Order. No 2.

The division Qr. Master will call on the Military Store Keeper for 200 lbs of rifle powder, 100 lbs bar lead, one thousand musket flints, 1000 rifle flints and 200 Cartridge boxes

By order of Maj. Gen Williams
Chs W. Whipple
A. D. C.

A true Copy
C. W. Whipple
A. D. C.

The Quartermaster General, will issue to Maj. Gen. John R. Williams, such stores, ammunition and arms as he may require.

Stevens T. Mason
Acting Governor
of the Territory

Detroit
May 22. 1832

Detroit May 22. 1832

No. 4. General Order

The Division Qr Master will call upon the Military Storekeeper, for Arms and Equipments for the Militia of this Territory, who may volunteer their Services in Pursuance of an order from the Executive of this date.

By order of
Majr Gen Williams
Chas W Whipple
Aid de Camp

General Order

Detroit May 22d. 1832—

The peace & security of the frontier settlements of the Territory is menaced by hostile bands of Indians in Arms against The United States. The blood of our neighbors & brethren of the State of Illinois has been shed by ferocious & barbarous Invaders. The constituted authorities of the Territory have summoned & the Major General now calls upon the Patriotic Citizens—Soldiers under his Command, to Volunteer their immediate services to defend the frontier settlements of the Territory.

In addition to the detachments already made by order of Brigadier Gen Brown The Services of such number of Volunteers will be accepted at Detroit not exceeding three hundred as will immediately offer.

Mounted Men will be preferred. The requisite Arms and Ammunition will be furnished from the Public Stores.

The Division Quarter Master is hereby directed to call on the Military Store Keeper for such Arms & Ammunition. and to make immediate Arrangements to furnish Two hundred Stands of Arms & Twelve Thousand rounds of ball catridges to Brigadier Gen. Brown

By order of Major Gen. Williams
Chas W. Whipple
Aid de Camp.

Endorsed:
No. 1
General Order
dated May 22d. 1832.

Head Quarters
May 23. 1832

Sir—

In consequence of the difficulty in procuring volunteers with the dispatch necessary, to facilitate your movements, you are hereby authorized to call out, such companies of troops as may be required, to complete the number contemplated in the order of yesterday

You cannot but be aware, that delay is only calculated to give rise, to false and unfounded reports, which may possibly have an injurious effect upon the emigration to our Territory. It is expected that you will use every exertion to meet Gen. Brown forthwith, and that you will not return to this place, until every shadow of danger from hostile Indians on the frontier is removed.

Stevens T. Mason
Acting Governor

Maj. Gen. John R. Williams

Endorsed:
No. 3
Order from The Honble.
The Acting Governor of
Michigan Territory to order
out such Companies of
Troops as may be requisite
&c May 23d. 1832

Detroit May 23d. 1832

The Division Quarter Master is hereby directed, to furnish, for the use of the Militia, called into Service, by order of The Acting Governor of the Territory—

Two Hundred Stands Musket & bayonets.
Two Hundred Catridge boxes & belts.
Three Hundred Knapsacks.
Twelve Thousand Rounds ball Catridges.
Two Hundred Pounds Rifle Powder.
One Hundred pounds Lead.

One Thousand Musket flints.
One Thousand Rifle flints.

Signed Jno. R. Williams
Major Genl. M. Ma.

Endorsed:
Copy of requisition
on the Division Qr. Master
for Arms, Ammunition &
Knapsacks and flints
May 23d 1832

Maj. Gen. John R. Williams is authorised, to procure, such necessary provisions and stores for the Militia, as may be required during the expedition he makes into the frontier country of the Territory.

May 23. 1832——
Stevens T. Mason,
Acting Governor

In conformity to the foregoing order, the Division Quarter Master is hereby directed to procure Three thousand rations of Bread and Salted Pork being for the subsistence of three hundred men for ten days. The greatest proportion of the bread part of the rations will be provided in flour, if hard biscuit cannot be readily obtained.

Detroit May 23d. 1832
John R. Williams
Maj. Genl.

Endorsed:
No. 4
Authority from The Honble.
The Acting Governor to procure
provisions &c for the use of
the Militia called into
Service May 23d 1832.

No. 5.

Detroit May 23d. 1832

General Order:

The Call for Volunteers made upon the Militia by the Executive of the Territory and a General Order issued in Conformity thereto on the

22d. inst. not having been promptly answered—The Acting Governor has "authorized the Major General "to call out such Companies of Troops as may be required to complete the number contemplated in the said Order."

The first Regiment of the Militia of this Territory and the Company of Cavalry and the City Guards attached thereto and the separate Battalion under the Command of Major Holbrook are hereby directed and required to rendezvous at Ten Eycks on the River Rouge, armed and equipped according to Law and in Marching Order at ten O'clock A. M. on thursday the 24th. inst.—Arms and ammunition will be furnished from the Ordnance Department to such as may be deficient. The officers and non Commissioned Officers comprised within this order are strictly charged with the prompt and faithful execution of it. The public service requires that the most efficient measures should be adopted and carried into immediate effect.

By order of Major Genl.
John R. Williams
Chas W. Whipple
Aid-de-camp.

No. 6.

Detroit May 23d. 1832

After General Order.

In addition to the Troops already directed to assemble at Ten Eycks* tomorrow at 10 'OClock A. M. by General Order of this date. The Battalion of Riflemen under the Command of Major J. D. Davis attached to the first Brigade of the Militia of the Territory will assemble and Muster at the same time and place Armed and equipped according to Law And in marching Order. The Division Quarter Master will provide the Arms & ammunition that may be deficient, agreeably to the orders which he will then and there receive.

By order of Major Genl.
John R. Williams
Chas W. Whipple
Aid-de-camp.

* TenEycks was about 10 miles west of Detroit, near the present village of Dearborn.

Detroit 23d May 1832.

Dear Genl.

I have left our Commission to settle the estate of with your son Thomas, and took the oath by law required before the Judge of Probate & it is for you and Mr. Theodore as the other two commissioners to make a similar oath—Mr Campeau was here and is anxious—

Relative to the Militia going on the excursion to Chicago I would observe as regards my son John who is one of the City Guards, he is now in charge of Mr. Stearns the hardware merchants store which is wholy committed to his trust and his employer absent in New York, for that reason—and only that alone, I wish you would endeavor to have him excused—an application which he never will himself make—but on you I depend as a favour to take some interest in this my application—If I thought any fighting was to take place, I would be the last that would solicit the favour, in as much as I conceive that it is every mans duty capable of bearing arms to turn out, and defend his country when attacked—abandoning an important trust confided wholy to his charge may materially prejudice his future prospects, is my only objection to his leaving here

Very truly
John McDonell.

United States Ordnance Depot
Detroit, May 23d. 1832

Genl. John R. Williams

Sir

I yesterday in the course of the day, had handed to me, three several communications purporting to be Division Orders issued by your authority requiring certain Officers to call upon the Military Storekeeper, &c—I have in the first place to observe that the title of Military Storekeeper does not appertain to me, and in the second place, that I cannot acknowledge the authority of any Militia Officer, under existing circumstances, to controle the Ordnance or Ordnance stores under my charge.—I however wish you to understand that these remarks are not made with a view to thwart you in your laudable zeal to protect the frontier settlers, or to chastise the wanton disturbers of our peace & quiet, but I assure you that I shall do everything in my power to facilitate the military opperations carried on by the proper authority, I

have already delivered under an arrangement with the executive, the following articles viz:

12000 Musket Ball cartridges.
200 pounds of Rifle powder.
1000 Musket flints.
1000 Rifle flints &
100 pounds of Lead, and shall have prepared for transportation and delivery by 12 O'clock M. the following articles viz: 200 Muskets, 200 Cartridge Boxes, and 200 Cartridge Box Belts.—Your Order No. 4. is too indefinite for a compliance on my part, were it from an unquestionable source; In this case & in every other where you may require Ordnance or Ordnance Stores from this Depot, I have to request that you would make a requisition setting forth the number & kind of articles required, and have the same approved by the Acting Governor, for it is him I shall look to for a receipt and vindication.

Very Respectfully
Your Mo. Obt. Servt.
Joshua Howard
Lieut 1st. Artillery
Commanding.

Detroit May 23d 1832

Lieut. J. Howard
Ordnance Dept.
Sir:

Your communication of this date is recd. In answer thereto I will observe that I do not consider it necessary to discuss at this time the authority which has been confided to me either by The Government of The U. S. or by the Executive of this Territory.

Be assured that it is far from my intention to take any steps or to make any requisitions from any Department which I am not fully authorized to do. My Instructions are from The Executive of the Territory and the original order for Arms & Ammunition was in the hurry of the moment handed to the Division Q. M. Major A. D. Frazer. Under that order signed by the Acting Governor in his Official Capacity all the Requisitions on you are founded You will also observe in this day's paper (The Journal) The publication of The Order issued by the authority of The Executive of this Territory directing my movements.

I cannot for a moment indulge the thought that You Sir, or any other Officer of the U. S. Army would entertain any views or feelings but such as would perfectly accord with the high and honorable principles of the profession. It is our duty to obey those to whom superior authority is confided. And it is also our first duty to defend—and protect—the lives and the property of our Fellow Citizens when the sovereignty and the soil of the U. S. is invaded or threatened by an enemy in Arms. I shall in future direct my Staff more particularly whenever it may become necessary to call on Your Department for any further supplies—at the same time, I can assure you, that it shall be my special care to avoid every unnecessary expenditure and to prevent, so far as it may be possible—or consistent with the service—any injury or loss of the public property.

I am Sir, Respectfully
Your obedt. Servt.

[Not signed, but in the handwriting of John R. Williams].

Adjutant Genls Office
Detroit May 24th. 1832

General Order

Inspector General Edward Brooks is herewith detailed to take charge of the Detachment under your Command subject to your Order.

By Order of the Acting Govr & Commander in Chief

J. E. Schwarz
Adj Genl.

To
Maj. Genl. John R. Williams
Commanding.

Bivouac at Ten Eyck's
May 24th. 1832.

The following appointments have been made to supply vacancies in the Division Staff viz:

Alexander D. Fraser to be Division Quarter Master, with the rank of Major, vice Disbrow resigned:

John M. Wilson to be Aid de Camp with the Rank of Major vice Sheldon resigned: they will respectively take rank from the 22d. inst.

The following Officers have been assigned to command agreeably to their respective Rank in the Detachment organized this day, in Conformity to the Orders of the Executive of Michigan Territory viz:

Colonel Edward Brooks Commandant.

Major J. D. Davis of the Rifle Battalion to perform the duties of Lieut. Colonel: Major; Benajah Holbrook: Captains Marsac, Rowland, Bucklin, Thayer, Smith and Bird.

Lieutenants Colt

and Ensigns, Charles Desnoyers.

The Division Quarter Master will issue arms, accoutrements, and Knapsacks to such of the men as may be deficient on the requisition of the Commandants of Companies.

The Commissioned officers of the respective Companies will receipt to the Division Quarter Master for such Arms and accoutrements.

The Major General is directed to require that the Arms and Accoutrements now entrusted to the Troops under his Command, shall be returned at Detroit—at the termination of the present tour of duty—before such Troops shall be discharged.

The reveillé will be the signal for the Troops to form: and for the Rolls of the respective Companies to be called. Morning & evening Reports will be made by the respective Commandants of Companies—of the State of each Company—to Colonel Brooks—from which an abstract Report will be made to the Major General.

The Officers, non Commissioned Officers and privates are charged to preserve order on the March, and not to leave the ranks, even when halted, without leave.

Hereafter the details for duty and Guards or other special service, will be in regular Rotation, and agreeably to Rank. The Adjutant is charged with the faithful execution of that duty.

A detail to consist of one Captain, one Subaltern, one Sergeant two Corporals and Twentyfour privates will be made daily for guard duty. The Captain thus detailed will serve as Officer of the Day. from the Guard thus daily detailed, one Sergeant, one Corporal, & six privates will be assigned to take charge and convoy the provisions, ammunition, Baggage & public stores.

The place selected for encampment on the March will be designated by Major Charles W. Whipple who is also charged with the duty of posting the Guard & Chain of Sentinels after halting.

Lieut. James Gunsolley of the Battalion of Riflemen is hereby appointed Adjutant to the detachment—The Officers appointed under this Order will be obeyed and respected accordingly

A parole and countersign will be issued at Head Quarters every evening

By order of Major Genl.
John R. Williams
Charles W. Whipple
A. D. C.

Tecumseh May 24th. 1832

Gen. Williams

Sir.

I have to inform You that the Aminition has arrived at this place this Morng at 8 Oclock this morng the Order that I had previously isued to this Brigade is to press forward to Niles but in that I shall be Governed by Circumstances I shall immediately proceed with my Staff to that place—unless Circumstances should Seem proper To Assemble this Side I have also recd Major Frazer Commitation relative to provisions I think there Can be Suficnt flour & Beef procured in the St. Joseph County at a reasonable price I think Your Men had better provid them Selves with Sufficnt provisions to Last Untill they arive in that Country there is no pork in this nor the St. Joseph County at any price You will hear from me from Time to Time as Circumstans Shall requ—

I Remain Yours
by order J. W. Brown Brg. Gen.

E. P. Champlin *Aid* camp

Tecumseh 24 May 1832
4 oclock P. M.

My friend
Genl J. R. Williams

I enclose a letter from Genl. Brown that was forwarded to me by a Teamster—

No further news from the Indians—
Our Village is nearly deserted
I remain in haste
Musgrove Evans.

Fort Dearborn May 24 1832

Col. A. Huston

Sir—

At a crisis like this we deem it important to Give Such intelligence of the movement of the hostile Indians as we are from time to time enabled to Gather on day before Yesterday Mr Lawton in Company with seven friendly pottawatomes was surprised By a party of about 30 hostile Sacks & Kickapoos which were found In Ambush in one of the Groves of timber on the waters of Fox river and were made prisoners Mr. Lawton however from the Circumstance of finding among them some with whom he had long been acquainted & from his known character among the Indians Generally together with the aid of some duplicity prevailed upon them after detaining him & his party about two hours to Let them Go I have seen and Conversed with Mr Lawton he say that they told him distinctly that they had not Yet killed any person but had burn'd some houses & declared their intentions to Commit further depredations on our frontiers a man from our horse party returned last night he says six houses were burned on this side of fox river and it was reported that three men were killed on Indian Creek. We do not apprehend any immediate danger of an attack upon this post but untill the party of horse men under Gen. Brown returns we are unable to form any thing like a Correct Opinion on the Subject in the meantime we would admonish You to be on the watch & hold in readyness 200 or 300 effective mounted men well armed to march to this place in Event we should find it nescary to dispatch an Express for them.

Signe Th. J. V. Owens Ind agent
J. S. C. Hogan Capt
Comr Ft. Dearborn

I certify the above to be a true
Copy
E. P. Champlin A. D. Camp.

Niles May 26 1832

Major Gen Williams

Sir I here send you by Express a copy of letter from Mr. Owen Indian Agent Chicago of Date May 24—& further State

You that I shall assemble my Brigade at this place and hear wait Your Orders Yours

By order of J. W. Brown Brig Gen.
3rd Brigade
E. P. Champlin A. D. Camp. M. M.

Endorsed:
Major Gen. Williams
Detroit or on
the Chicago Road

Camp Willow run
3 miles East Ypsilanti
3 Oclk A. M. May 25
1832

Dear Sir

I have this moment received dispatches from Brig Genl Brown, copies of which are herewith transmitted to you: It was impossible for me to move from Ten Eycks until yesterday (the 26th. inst) at half past 12 O'Clk M: The detachment after being organized was immediately put in movement and we arrived here last Evening at sun set having performed a distance of 17 miles in the afternoon.

Nearly the whole of the detachment are armed and equipped: The 200 muskets having been distributed previous to our march: Notwithstanding that the Troops were much fatigued, I found them in high spirits when halted, and animated by a unanimous desire to effect the objects of the expedition: I shall move on this morning early with an intention to reach the Village of Clinton this day; And shall continue the march until I shall have effected a junction with Genl. Brown unless you should think proper otherwise to direct: I trust that our movements will prove satisfactory, as not a moment of time has been lost since the rect. of orders: I shall transmit a return of the detachment after our arrival at Clinton, together with a copy of the General Order I issued at Ten Eyck's detailing the organization of the detachment and the order of march, encampment &c.

I would Do great injustice to my feelings and to the patriotic and laudable spirit manifested by the troops, were I to omit mentioning the cheerfulness and alacrity which pervades the whole Corps even under the circumstances they are placed— We are without a single tent, or camp equipage of any kind, and most of the men are unfortunately unprovided with blankets: and in that situation have bivouacked the two last nights.

I am Dear Sir, Respectfully
Yr. Ob. Svt
Jno R. Williams

The Hon
Stevens T. Mason
Acting Gov.
of Mich Tery.

Bronsons Prairie 115 M W of Detroit
5 Oclock A. M. May 25. 1832

Dear Genl.

The Recpt. of the within by Express has changed my operations I have haulted the 8th. Regt under Col McNair at Cold Water and the remainder of this Brigade I have dismissed with strict Orders to hold themselves Ready to March at a Moments' warning—

I shall be in Niles this evening and from that point to Chicaugo I have a relief of horses that will give me notice of all movements of the Indians, And by the information that I may receive shall be Governed in my future operations.

I will not presume to advise you the best policy for you to adopt as you have all the information that I possess, you will be governed by your good judgment, And if you think me in Error please to correct My mistakes

& Ever Consider me your
friend & Servant
J. W. Brown

Maj Gen J. R. Williams

I forward this by Mr Convers who has promised to use all the

Means in his power to reach Detroit that this unpleasant alarm may be quieted

Endorsed:
Recd on this
26 May at 3
o'clock A. M.
1832

Fort Dearborn Chicago Ill
May 25 1832

Col A Huston
Dr Sir

Our scouting party under the Command of Gen J. B. Brown returned last Night and Report that the Whole Country from the Desplain (12 west) of this place to fox River is one wide scene of waste and disolation Our party went as far as Indian Creek and ther found 15 persons men women & children who had Been murdered in the most shocking manner that humanity Can Conceive of I have Consulted with Some of the principle Men of this place and now deem it my to request You to send say 300 mounted Militia to our assistance the Indians (Sacs) are Gathering at the Big Woods about 40 miles from this place and unless Repelled soon may cause us much Trouble for some time I refer You to Col Owen letter to Col Stewart and if You Conclude to send us aid You Can not be to quick about it

Yours
J. S. C. Hogan
Capt Comt fort Dearborn

I certify the above to be a
True Copy
E. P. Champlin A. D. Camp

Recd May 28 1832

Head Quarters
Detroit May 26. 1832

Maj. Genl. John R. Williams
Sir,

Satisfactory information having reached this Office, that there is not the slightest possible danger to be apprehended, from hostile Indians on the frontier of this Territory, the detachment under your command is hereby recalled.

You will take such of your, as you may require, to accompany you, and overtake Brig. Gen Brown, to whom you will issue an order to the same effect, unless you shall find it necessary, to continue part of his Regiment in the field, for the purpose of quieting the fears of the timid.

You will order the detachment under Col. Brooks to be marched back, to such convenient place as you may designate, for the purpose of securing and depositing the arms &c issued from this. It is expected that you will see the arms sent Gen Brown, secured before you return.

Respectfully
Stevens T. Mason

Endorsed:
No. 7.
Orders from the Acting
Governor, rec'd. May 26. 1832
at 8 o'clock P. M.

General Order
Bivouac at the Saline
May 26. 1832

The Major General having received instructions from The Executive of the Territory to order the detachment of Troops now in Service under Colo Brooks to be marched back to Detroit for the purpose of securing and depositing the Arms &c. in their hands.

Colonel Brooks is therefore directed to return with the detachment to Detroit by such route as he may consider most advisable.

He is required to pay the utmost attention in his power to the care and safety of the arms accoutrements and other public property in charge of the Troops under his Command.

The Detachment will be mustered at Detroit after the arms accoutrements &c shall have been safely returned in Store and then the Troops will be honorably discharged.

The Major General avails himself of this opportunity to express his approbation of the good conduct Zeal & alacrity of the Officers, non Commissioned Officers Musicians & privates composing the detachment. The prompt and efficient services rendered by Captn. Jackson's troop of Cavalry are highly praiseworthy.

And the Major General takes great pleasure in acknowledging the valuable services rendered by Colonel Brooks and the efficient & regular manner in which he has discharged the duties of his station on this Command.

The Officers, non Commissioned Officers, Musicians and privates of the detachment are entitled to the Thanks of the Major General which are now tendered to them.

By order of Major Genl.
John R. Williams
Chas. W. Whipple
Aid de Camp

Indian Agency Chicago May 26 1832

Col A. Stewart

Dear Sir The party of mounted men who left here some days since upon an Indian excursion has this Moment Returned and brings us intelligence of the most painful & Alarming Character in the relation to the frontier Setlers upon the water of fox river on the 22d ins they reached the Settlement on Indian Creek & found 15 persons most inhumanly murder'd they immediately Set to work and Buried these unfortunate Victims of Savage Cruelty and from thence proceeded to this place By the way of Walker's Station on the du page and Conducted the people that were there to this place. Our whole frontier Country is invaded and presents one Continued Scene of desolation from the des plains 10 miles west of this to fox river from all they Could discover it seems about 40 miles from this place that the Sacs—are Consentrating at the big woods and it is probable they will make an effort to reduce this post the people here are verry Solicitous about their Safety and are anxious that additional forces should be procured from some Quarter having no command in the Militia I am not authorized to demand assistance from Col Huston but if 3 or 400 mounted volenteers could be raised immediately from his Regt to Scour the Country between this place & fox river it would

Be productive of incalcable Good provisions Can be had here And I have no dought but that the Govt. will amply Compensate them for their patriotic Conduct I have this day held a Council with many of the principal Men of the three nations and am clearly of the opinion that we have nothing to fear

You will Communicate this to Col Huston

Yours

Th J. V. Owens
Indian Agent

I certify the with in a true
Copy E. P. Champlin A. D. Camp

Dear Gen.

I have ordered out my Brigade to assemble at this place forthwith & Can procure Pork at the mouth of the river which I shall order up & flour at this place I do consider it important that all the troops should be presed through to this place as fast as possible and from all the information I can get there is no dought but our Troops has some thing to do for there is no dought it will be best to Continue through to Chicago—I should be Glad to See You as soon as possible

By order

J. W. Brown Brig. Genl.

E. P. Champlin A. D. Camp
Niles May 26, 1832

Bivouac at the Saline
May 27 = 1832

Honble Stevens T. Mason
Acting Governor
Sir:

I rec'd. your Communication last evening by Colo Schwarz ordering the Detachment under my Command intended to co operate with Brig. Genl. Brown back to Detroit. In conformity thereto you will receive herewith enclosed a copy of the General Order which I have issued at this place directing the Troops to return under the Command of Colo Brooks—

I shall proceed immediately to meet Brig. Genl. Brown and fulfil your instructions as early as may be practicable.

Respectfully Sir
Your Obdt. Servt.

[Not signed, but in the handwriting of John R. Williams.]

Genl Order

No. 10.

Blackmaar 2 Oclock A. M.
28th. May 1832

Col Brook will on the rect of this immediately halt his detachment and await orders from Head Quarters in consequence of the alarming intelligence this moment recd. from Chicago by Express: The 6th. Regt. will hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning provided with Arms & equipments, blankets & camp Equipage

Col Brooks will dispatch an Officer to Col. McKinstry with a copy of this order.

Bivouac at Saline
May 27, 1832

Dear Sir:

It was my intention to have addressed you sooner But the pressing urgency of the Service required of me by the Acting Governor, rendered it almost impossible until this moment.

I am apprized however that you have been informed of the Orders which were directed to me and the cause which has given rise to the movements of the Militia.

On the 22d inst. orders were issued authorizing me to raise such number of Volunteers as were in my discretion necessary to Cooperate with Brigr. Genl. Brown. The call for such Volunteers not having been promptly answered; on the 23d I received a peremptory order to call out such companies or parts of the Militia as would form a force of 300 men with which I was instructed to march immediately to JonesVille to form a junction with Genl. Brown and then to act as circumstances might render necessary. And not to return to Detroit "until every shadow of danger from hostile Indians on the frontier is removed."

I accordingly issued a second order on the 23d for the first Regiment & Major Davis' Battn of Riflemen & the City Guards to assemble at Ten Eyck's on the 24 at 10 A. M—in the meantime I was very pressingly engaged to forward Genl. Brown 200 stand of arms accoutrements & ammunition which he required; & to procure & forward to Ten Eyck's 200 additional stands of arms accoutrements ammunition provision &c, for this detachment, at 2 o'clock P. M. I was enabled to form the Militia that had arrived on the ground—from which, after explaining my orders & the objects contemplated, I endeavored to obtain the requisite number by Voluntary enrolment.—And here permit me Sir, to mention, for the honor of our native Michiganians—Captn. Joseph F. Marsac of the first Regiment & his company almost to a man stepped from line and Volunteered their Services, which with the City Guards under Captn. Isaac Rowland and Jackson's troop of Cavalry and parts of some companies of Riflemen which were willing to Volunteer Amounted to about 100 men leaving 200 to be drafted from 400 on the field, from those I drafted the requisite number and immediately apportioned & organized the Officers &c—It however became dusk before we could get off the Field near which the troops were bivouacked & a Ration ordered to each man as they had not eaten any thing during the day—I found the men almost entirely destitute of Blankets notwithstanding the order which I had issued. parts of several Companies of Davis' Battalion having arrived during the night & on the morning of the 25th. before we could possibly move I was induced to accept the services of such as were willing to Volunteer and to discharge as many from the Drafts and to make a second organization—of Officers non Com. off. &c. and then directed the arms & accoutrements on hand to be distributed. So soon as that service could be accomplished The Troops were put in motion without a moment's delay. I left Ten Eycks a half past 12 O.Clock M. and reached the Willow Spring within 3 miles of Ypsilanti a distance of 17 miles that evening where the detachment bivouacked for the night. Immediately after Reveille yesterday morning the 26th the Troops were put in motion, nothwithstanding a heavy rain which commenced falling, and continued increasing until the time we reached Ypsilanti—The heavy rain continuing we were compelled to halt until after noon when the storm abated and the Troops were immediately put in March.

Having halted here for the night I received an order from The Acting Governor by Colo. Schwarz directing the detachment under Colo Brooks to return to Detroit. And myself ordered to "overtake Genl. Brown

and to continue part of his Regiment in the field for the purpose of quieting the fears of the timid and further directing me to see the arms sent Genl. Brown secured before I return" After issuing an order to the Troops under Colo. Brooks, I parted with them and reached Blackmaar's 67 miles from Detroit that night, then I received by express at 2 A. M. advice of the murders of families West of Chicago which induced me to order the detachment to halt until the determination of the Acting Govr.

Niles May 31st.

On reaching within three miles of this place I met the 8th. Regt. which had been dismissed by Genl. Brown and on my arrival I was informed that several detachments of Volunteers & others which had been called out amounting in all to about 350 men about 80 of which are mounted, had moved forward toward the Door prairie. After conferring with Genl. Brown It was agreed that he should proceed to the Door prairie about 35 miles West of this on the Chicago Road and then take such measures as he might deem necessary & proper to secure that settlement from indian aggression. And that I would remain here until the detachment under Colo. Brooks should arrive & then move forward & concentrate our forces at the Door and take such measures as circumstances might require. On the evening of the 1st. June Gen'l Brown recd. a peremptory order from the Acting Gov. to march to Chicago—I had prepared an order founded upon the result of a conference with Genl. Brown, which under the circumstances of the case I declined issuing—But told Genl. Brown that he must use his own discretion and act as he might think proper after he had reached the Door prairie & settlement.

I ordered one of my aids yesterday morning to take the route to Detroit until he should meet Colo. Brooks and the detachment, and give every assistance to forward the men in case that any should have become lame. It seems too that the Troops under Genl. Brown have not a single catridge box those that were sent to him having been left behind with 60 muskets which Colo. Brooks was directed to forward from Clinton.

I have this day 2d. June learnt by Travelers that no other Troops are with Colo. Brooks except about 30 of Jackson's Troops the Infantry having been dismissed. The moment they arrive I shall proceed with them to the Door prairie—and then shall endeavor to open a communication if possible with Genl. Atkinson to ascertain his views and prospects

and to gain information about the enemy—their force, position &c. I am unwilling to complain But You Sir, will at once understand the perplexing circumstances under which I am placed. The Orders of The Acting Governor are contradictory inconsistent and incompatible with Military Rules whilst I am in the field sacrificing every thing like comfort & convenience & devoting myself to the public service and animated by the strictest principles of honor & duty I feel aggrieved at the course which is pursued. I have written several communications to him but have not had a single line from him since his order of the 26: Ulto. ordering back the detachment under Colo. Brooks. I was over at the Carey Mission Yesterday to return the call of Colo. Stewart the sub Indian agent—after some conversation I find that he is without an Interpreter under the state of things which now exist It seems to me very important that he should be provided with one. The agent being the organ through which the Government must communicate with the Indians at this point, policy I think would clearly require that he should be furnished with an Interpreter. It is all important that the Pottawatomies should understand the views of the National Government and the course which it is required they should mark out for their Nation. A Council with the principal chiefs was called and opened by the Sub Agent Colo. Stewart a day or two before my arrival at which Genl. Brown was present. The result of which has been I understand forwarded to the acting Governor. Colo. Stewart recommends Joseph Bertrand, Junr., as a proper person to be employed as Interpreter.

I will hereafter keep you apprized of whatever may transpire in this quarter connected with the public service and the security of the frontier. No one can regret more than I do, that the peace and tranquility of our people have been disturbed and the bright prospects of Michigan temporarily obscured. But as it has thus happened it is our duty to make the best of it and to use every proper exertion to secure the frontier settlements and to protect the lives of the inhabitants. It is indispensable now that those Indians should be effectually chastised before our Troops give up the chase wherever they may be they ought to be routed and scourged or otherwise these scenes of cruel murder and slaughter upon our unoffending people will be renewed whenever it may suit the caprice of those barbarians—and it is to be feared too that they will accumulate strength from the disaffected of other Tribes if their recent attrocities should be passed over. I send you herein enclosed a Copy of a letter from T. J. V. Owen Indian agent at Chicago to the

Sub Agent here which has just been handed to me. Mr. Stewart the Collector of Michilimackinac has just returned from Chicago.

[Not signed but in the handwriting of John R. Williams.]

Endorsed: Copy to the Honble. Lewis
Cass Sec'y. of War
June 2d. 1832.

Bronsons Prairie
May the 29th. 1832
½ past 1 O'clk P. M.

Sir:

From all the information I can collect it appears to be the general opinion, that the object of the Sacs is to force their way to Malden: A Dr. Weeks who has just returned from near the scene of the recent murders which have been committed on Hickory Creek, South West of Chicago, reports to that Effect: he is unquestionably intelligent and respectable: There appears to be much uneasiness by the inhabitants on the route on account of Indian hostilities the men from this quarter have been nearly all taken in a body to accompany Genl. Brown; Many of the families are on the Eve of moving: I have endeavored to assure them of their safety; that my object founded upon the orders I have received is to ensure their safety by placing a force on the frontier, to remove from them every possibility of harm: I am under the impression that the force under Genl. Brown, which will probably reach Niles to morrow is totally inadequate to the Object of preventing the inroads of the hostile Indians. I have not ascertained thus far, the position which the several bodies of Troops under Genl. Atkinson and Gov. Reynolds occupy; nor the distance which they may be from our frontier: If the Indians intend to penetrate to Malden through our Territory it should be our care to meet them at the threshold, as there can be no doubt that there trace will be marked by devastation and the blood of our people. It appears to me that it is our duty to protect the frontier inhabitants effectually, or otherwise, the check to emigration superadded to the many families who will remove to seek safety, will depopulate in a great measure our Territory.

If I am mistaken it is in point of judgment, but according to my own impression, if I had the power I would not hesitate to assemble a force of at least one thousand men on the frontier, to act as circumstances might require; either to move against the Enemy as a body

or to check their inroads. If it could not be ascertained where the Principal body of hostile Indians was to be found: I think that the detachment under Col. Brooks and four hundred men to be taken from McKinstry's regiment with the force now under Genl. Brown would be sufficient to effect the great objects of defense and protection. I would be greatly relieved to hear from you soon and to have your views on the subject: From accounts that I have had since yesterday two small parties of Warriors in the neighborhood of JonesVille have been seen on the South and North trails, who appear to be shaping their way towards Chicago, armed with new rifles and furnished with new blankets: It is conjectured that they have recently come from Malden: One of those parties consisted of eleven men and the other of eight: These circumstances have a tendency to create, what is supposed to be a well founded alarm: It is to be expected under existing circumstances that many unfounded reports will be circulated, but it is the general opinion that the British Government will supply these Indians with arms and ammunition, for it is said that Indians themselves boast of it: I shall immediately move on until I shall reach Niles, and will continue to keep you acquainted with all the information which may transpire.

Dr. Weeks says that the force of the Indians consisting of Sacs is stated to be seven hundred men.

I am Sir, Respectfully
Your Ob. Servt.
By order of Major General Williams
Charles W. Whipple A. D. C.

To the
Hon. Stevens T. Mason
Act. Gov.

P. S. This letter has been written under the dictation of General Williams who is unwell, and under the influence of severe Cold.

C. W. W.

Chicago Ill May 29th. 1832

Col Stewart Sub Agent &c.

Sir—

We have been so situated at this place heretofore, that it has been almost impossible for us to know what course to pursue or what rumor to give credit to, but our situation at present is nearly as we can understand it is ourselves as follows

The inhabitants of this County are all at this time within the walls of the Garrison with their families and the force in the Garrison is sufficient to defend it: The Potawatomie Indians we have the utmost confidence in: they have all removed from their Villages between this place and Rock River and also on Fox River and are located within twelve miles of this with their families, acting under the guidance and direction of Mr. Owen: but the frontiers between the Du Page and the mouth of Fox River are entirely exposed: the property of the inhabitants is left at their respective dwellings and is subject to be destroyed or burned by the Indians at any moment and it is for the protection of the property and the Inhabitants on the Du Page & Fox River Frontiers that we are desirous of having a force and an efficient one of from three to five hundred mounted men well armed and equipped, and we have full confidence that with such a force could it reach here in a short time we could commence offensive opperations and terminate this harrassing and distressing War.

Please Sir be so good as to disseminate this intelligence and let our patriotic fellow citizens of Michigan act as their good sense and better judgments may dictate.

(Signed) Respectfully your
Obt. Servts.

J. S. C. Hogan
Daniel Bailey
H. Semple
J. B. Beaubien

Richard J. Hamilton
Th. J. V. Owen
Gh Kercheval
Jos. Napers
R A Kinzie

P. S. There are Government Stores at this place sufficient for such force and such an expedition.

Endorsed: Copy of a Letter from the Inhabitants of Chicago to Colo. Stewart sub agent dated May 29, 1832.

Indian Agency
Chicago 30 May 1832

Dear Sir

Yours of the 28th. is received—I have no additional Indian news to communicate, we are still with a sufficient force to defend ourselves, but with a force insufficient to commence offensive operations, You will be good enough to inform Genl. Brown or Majr Champlin that we have had no recent intelligence from either Genl Atkinson or Govr. Reynolds—

My object in desiring you to forward an express to Detroit was merely to give intelligence to the people & to urge the necessity of expediting the movement of the Regular Troops designed to occupy Ft. Dearbourn: much unnecessary excitement seems to have been produced in Michigan:—that we had reason to apprehend danger here, and still have, there is no doubt—but surely there can be nothing in any official communications calculated to produce an excitement so expensive & unusual

I have the honour to be
Very Respectfully Sir
Yr. Obt. Servant
Th. J. V. Owen
Ind Agent

Col Jas Stewart
Sub Agent &c.

P. S. Please send me a copy of my letter verbatim of the 18th. Inst. & oblige yours

T. J. V. Owen.

Detroit May 31st. 1832

Dear General

I have just received a letter from Major Whipple, in relation to the Indian disturbances.

It is impossible for me at this distance to say what course should be taken immediately on the frontier. I therefore leave it discretionary with you and General Brown to govern yourselves entirely by circumstances. You can I suppose raise a sufficient force from the Western part of the Peninsula.—Should you advise me of the necessity, I will have a quantity of arms and amunition deposited at Tecumseh, which you will be able to controle as may be necessary.

I have forwarded provisions. Should it be necessary make any requisitions for provisions near you, and I will endeavour to meet to expenses, as I find the troops &c are paid upon the requisition of the President without an Act of Congress—

Respectfully
Stevens T. Mason

Maj. Gen. Williams

Endorsed: No. 10.
Honble. Stevens T. Mason
Recd at Door Prairie
June 5th. 1832 at ¾ past
3 o'clock P. M.

Head Quarters
Niles May 31st. 1832

General Order

Major General John R. Williams having reached this Point assumes the Command of the Troops called into the service of the United States, for the Protection and defense of the frontier of the Territory of Michigan:

Brigadier General Brown will proceed forthwith with the Troops now on their march toward Chicago as far as the settlement of the Door Prairie, and then take such steps as he may deem proper to place that settlement in the best Possible state of safety against any attack from hostile Indians.

It is recommended to Brigadier General Brown to use Every Exertion in his Power, in the meantime to improve the discipline of those Troops, in order to render them as efficient as Possible.

So soon as the detachment under Col. Brooks, and the arms, accoutrements and ammunition shall have reached the Door a further order will be issued, directing such movements as circumstances may authorize.

By order of Major General
John R. Williams
Chas W. Whipple,
Aid-de-Camp.

Endorsed: General Order date
May 31st. 1832
Not issued

Niles May 31st. 1832
half pas 2 o'clock P. M.

Honble. Stevens T. Mason

Sir:

I arrived here about 2 hours since—within two or three miles of this place I met the 8th. Regt. which has been dismissed by Genl. Brown. About 350 Troops principally Volunteers & mounted men have marched from this place for the Door prairie distant about 35 miles S. W. from this point—That district is represented to be a pass about 15 miles wide between the Kankekee marshes & the heavy timber Land situated on the border of India & Lake Michigan and is said to be inhabited by about 100 families. It is reported that the Sacs have divided into two or three bodies—some being disposed to rejoin their families in the rear of Genl. Atkinson's force and others to scatter about the woods or Country; what their ultimate intentions may be is uncertain. I have communicated your order of the 26 to Genl. Brown But under existing circumstances I feel anxious to hear from you and to be advised. It is said that Genl. Atkinson has a large force of mounted men and Regulars and seems to be driving the enemy towards this quarter—his movements however appear to be extremely slow. Genl. Brown has informed me that The people from the Door Prairie & the mouth of the St. Joseph have sent several petitions to him to send on a force for their protection. There is about 100 men at the Settlement of the Door and only about one half of them armed—

Respecting the force that I believed to be necessary to be ordered on to the frontier the propriety of that measure would in a great degree depend upon our future plan of operations. If our course is to be confined to defensive measures only there is I think Militia enough in this Region provided that they can be supplied with arms &c. as at least half of them are reported to be unarmed. But if our course is to be offensive or to act as circumstances would seem to require there ought to be at least five Hundred Volunteers sent round by Steam Boat to the mouth of the St. Joseph with provisions equipments &c—I feel sensible of the perplexing situation in which you Sir, as well as myself are placed. My reputation is at stake and I therefore feel the more desirous of acting with judgment prudence and propriety. I will direct Genl. Brown to proceed to the Door and to make such arrangements to protect that settlement as may be practicable. I shall remain here myself until I can hear from you and know the course which

you have determined to take respecting the future operations of our Militia.

You will receive herewith a Copy of a Letter addressed by the principal inhabitants of Chicago to Colo. Stewart the sub Agent at the Carey Mission.

When I received the intelligence which induced me to order the detachment under Colo. Brooks to halt until further orders it was with the intention that you should ultimately determine on the expediency of dismissing it or not. I am now satisfied that it would be the better way to forward all other except mounted Troops round by Steam. excepting also such detachments as are living some distance in the interior. The order to Colo. McKinstry of the 6th Regt. to notify his men to be ready at a moment's warning to appear armed & equipped &c. &c. cannot but be serviceable to their future efficiency. I have received no Communication from you since that dated the 26th inst. by Colo. Schwarz. Genl. Brown has just informed me that unless a quantity of Pork is sent round to the mouth of the St. Joseph for the use of the Troops that it will be impossible to keep them in service he has but a few days rations left, The quantity to be sent to be determined on by yourself according to the time that it will be necessary to retain a force on the frontier.

I am Sir, Respectfully,
Your Obed. Serv.
Jno. R. Williams

Head Quarters Niles May 31st. 1832

To
Major J. M. Wilson

Sir—

You will proceed with all possible despatch on the route to Detroit, until you shall meet Colonel Brooks to whom you will report and give all the aid in your power to assist the progress of the Detachment now marching to the frontier. Should any of the men have become lame in consequence of marching you will give every assistance in your power to the Quarter master in procuring necessary waggons to relieve such of the men as may require or need such conveyance—you will also give your attention to any arms, accoutrements, ammunition &c. as may be

under way by the direction of Colo. Brooks and receive his instructions in such matters as he may deem requisite

Your &c
(Signd) Jno. R. Williams

No 11. Head Quarters
Niles May 31st. 1832

General Order:

Major General J. R. Williams having reached this point assumes the Command of the Troops called into the service of The United States for the protection & defense of the frontier of the Territory of Michigan. Brigadier Genl. Brown will proceed forthwith with the Troops now on their march toward Chicago as far as the settlement of the Door prairie and then take such steps as he may deem proper to place that settlement in the best possible state of safety against any attack from hostile Indians.

It is recommended to Brigadier Genl. Brown to use every exertion in his power in the meantime to improve the discipline of those Troops in order to render them as efficient as possible.

So soon as the detachment under Colonel Brooks and the arms, accoutrements and ammunition shall have reached the Door a further order will be issued, directing such movements as circumstances may authorize.

By order of Major Genl. J. R. Williams
Chas. W. Whipple
Aid-de-Camp

No. 12. Head Quarters
Niles June 1st. 1832

General Order:

The Brigade Quarter Master will purchase such number Barrels Pork not exceeding Fifty Barrels; as he may be able to procure for the use of the Troops now in the service of the United States for the protection

of the frontier and likewise fifty Barrels Flour. The Quarter Master will then procure Four thousand Rations of hard biscuit to be baked for the use of the Troops.

By order of
Major Genl. John R Williams
Chas W. Whipple
Aid-de-Camp.

Niles June 1 1832
9 O'Clk P. M.

Hon Stevens T. Mason
Sir

Col. Meldrum has just arrived from Chicago: The intelligence he brings is rather vague, but on one account seems to be more satisfactory, as he reports that the inhabitants, who had sought shelter in the Fort, were about moving back to their habitations in the surrounding settlements.

Brig. Genl. Brown left here this morning, with a view to concentrate the Troops which have marched on, at the Door prairie, agreeably to my communication of yesterday: This point seems to be from the opinion of all intelligent men with whom I have conversed the most important position which can be taken, not only for the protection of this frontier, but also for the protection of Chicago should it be threatened. I have remained here to make such arrangements as may become necessary, according to the information I may receive from Genl. Brown: I shall keep you advised of whatever may transpire: So soon however as the Detachment under Col Brooks shall arrive, I will move forward with it, and form a junction with the force under Genl. Brown, and act as circumstances may require. If two small field pieces could be sent round to the mouth of the St. Joseph's they would be very useful to the Service: There is one piece belonging to the Territory in Oakland which I think might be ordered on, with a detachment of the Company of Volunteer Artillery; which have it in charge; should it be ordered on it will of course be necessary that the moving apparatus should be put in good order, and a sufficiency of ammunition, round shot and cannister furnished with the piece. As the stages now run less frequently than heretofore, I would suggest the propriety of establishing a line of riders, every twenty miles on this route, from the Door prairie to Detroit to

keep you apprized of whatever may transpire. I am inclined to believe that such a measure would unite economy and dispatch. I have ordered one of my aids Maj Wilson to meet the detachment and arms and accoutrements now on the way under Col Brooks and to render every assistance to Col. Brooks and the men that may have become lame on the route. The cartridge boxes especially are very much wanted; as Genl Brown had not recd. any for his men: Major Wilson left here this morning early.

I am Sir, Respectfully
Yr. Ob Sv.
Jno. R. Williams

P. S. It would be very desirable, that a certain number of Tents should be procured and sent round; the number to be determined by yourself. Should it become necessary to make any movements, independent of the health of our men, we have no means whatever to secure the arms & ammunition from Wet: I think that Cotton Sheeting of a thick and close texture, would answer as a very good substiute for Linnen, It is also much cheaper and lighter than Linnen and on those grounds would be preferable.

Yours &c.
J. R. W.

Endorsed:
Copy of a letter to the Honble.
Stevens T. Mason Actg Gov.
Niles 1st. June 1832 pr. Meldrum.

Detroit June 1, 1832.

Dear Gen.

I have just learned that 500 men on the Wabash, have taken the field. I think that your forces with those, are sufficient to cut off the Indians from any retreat by way of Michigan. But you must use your own discretion in the matter, and I feel confident that all things will go right.

Should we have to march again from this quarter, the *gentlemen*

who fight the battles of the country at public meetings *will have to march*, if it can be effected

Let me hear from you often

Respect

Stevens T. Mason

Maj- Gen. Williams
Niles, Mich.

Endorsed: No 11.
Rec'd June 9th. at
9 oClock A. M.

White Pigeon June 1st. 1832

Dr. Genl.

The injury done to this part of the Territory by the exaggerated reports of danger from hostile bands of Indians, will not be cured for two years to come—And the unnecessary movements of our Militia is calculated to spread far and near this alarm. I will venture to assert, and in making this assertion, I am supported by the best of evidence that there has not been a band of hostile Sacs within one hundred miles of our western boundary, and that the Rock river swamp to which the main body of the hostile force has fled for security is more than two hundred miles—The stories that are told of suspicious movements amongst the Potawattamies and that a Sac Chief has lately been to some of their Villages is truly rediculous, and I trust you are to well acquainted with the situation of the Indians here to turn a listning ear to such idle trash—The Indians are like ourselves, they see an unusual movement amongst us, and like other idlers they flock together to talk the matter over—The fact is, two years since the small parties of Indians scattered over this part of the Territory were directed by me, as agent, to collect themselves on their reservations out of the way of the white people—this they are now doing being frightened by our movements—and this is the cause of all the suspicion towards them—Our Military Laws authorises a call out of Troops when the Territory is invaded or in imminent danger—neither of these circumstances have yet taken place—The general sweep therefore, of our citizens is unauthorised and will not I am satisfied be

sanctioned by Congress in making appropriations to meet such a waste of the public money—If necessity made it necessary the regular course would have been for Volunteers mounted, then they could have acted quickly and effectually—But the constituted powers of Illinois have not called on us for assistance, because they do not need any—Why then produce a famine in the Land by calling men from their homes whose labour is their subsistance? As you have young men at your disposal who will readily Volunteer, and whose absence for a short time cannot do much harm, permit me to suggest the propriety of sending a party well equiped in advance of the door prairie to cover the frontiers & reconnoitre the Enemy, this now may be necessary to quiet the fears of our people—whether there is cause or not for alarm.

I have taken the liberty thus to address you from the long and intimate acquaintance that has existed between us, and from a sense of duty to my fellow citizens—I beg you will not therefore consider me intrusive in making this hasty communication

Very Respectfully
Your Obt. Servt.
A. Edwards

Majr Genl. John R. Williams
Niles
M. T.

Endorsed: Letter from Colo Abrm.
Edwards rec'd June
2d. at ½ past 8 oClock
P. M.

Niles June 2d. 1832

Sir.

Agreeably to your application for leave of absence on account of the sick state of your family: You have my consent to return to your home until further orders—

Yours &c.
Jno. R. Williams

To
Brig Genl. Brown—

To M Genl. J. R. Williams

Sir yesterday I Dismissed my company to return to their respective homes—previous to my doing this I examined the state of the company in regard to arms and amunition—I found but seven Riffles fit for Duty My members counted thirty four present—sixteen absent—

I hold the company in rediness at any minuit when calld. on—There remains considerable alarm among the Inhabitants at this Place—Last evening two men were out some five or six miles and think they heard Indians I have sent out four men to day to ascertain facts—I dismissed my company thinking it no use to keep them together without arms—I send this by my first sergent Starkwether for arms

I hold myself and the company under my command in rediness to obey your commands, at all times.

Fowler Preston Capt.
Comd. 3d Comp 7th. Regt.
Mich Mi—

Newberryport June 2d.
1832
Gen J. R. Williams
Head Qt.
Niles M. T.

Niles June 2d. 1832.
8 OClock P. M.

Hon Lewis Cass
Secy. of War
Dear Sir.

Since writing to you Col Brooks has arrived with twenty six men of Jacksons Troop. By him I have recd. a Copy of a letter from the Acting Govr. to me dated Detroit May 28th. 1832, advising me that he had ordered Genl. Brown to Chicago without delay, and authorizing me to raise such additional men together with the number who will Volunteer under Col. Brooks and proceed in such manner as I may find necessary "to hurry Genl. Brown through with such force as he can immediately command, if aid is necessary at Chicago it must be done at once:" Contrary to my expectations Genl Brown has returned this evening from the Door Prairie and ordered his men back to this place: I am as sensitive as any man can be to incur unnecessary expense, or

to disturb the people from their occupation, but I cannot persuade myself of the propriety of a course different from that which I had the honor to communicate. I am anxious to see confidence restored to the public mind on the frontier. I will endeavor to effect the object in view with the least expense possible

I have the honor to be
Sir, with perfect respect
Your Obt Servt John R. Williams

Mouth St. Joseph M. T.
June 2d. 1832.—

To
Major General
John R Williams

Dear Sir

I have Recently been informed that you had arrived at Niles, in order to proceed on as soon as practicable to Chicago with Volunteers to arrest the progress of the Indians from committing violations upon the whites in Illinois. Should you apprehend any danger and if my services would be of any use to you I am Ready and Willing to march to any point you might think the most dangerous. I do not myself apprehend any danger within the limits of this section of M. T—notwithstanding I am willing to turn out in defence of my country at a moments warning should it be deemd. expedient I have been under arms these two days past at the mouth of the river

Arms and ammunition is much wanted at this place and if there is danger any where in this sec. of M. T. it must be at this place as the Old Indian trail crosses from Chicago to Detroit Just above the mouth of this River (so says James Burnett and others) I shall be very happy to hear your views upon the within subject

I am very Respectfully
Your Friend and
humble Servant
T. S. Smith

John R. Williams
Major Genl
M. M.

Endorsed:
Timothy S Smith
rec'd. June 2. 1832

General Order

Niles June 3d. 1832

The Volunteers and other Companies or Corps of the Militia which have been called out by a recent Order from Brigr Genl. Brown and were directed to march to and concentrate at the Door prairie Are not discharged. The Major General after having arrived at the Door will judge of the expediency of discharging a part of the Troops or not according to circumstances and the public service and safety of the frontier.

The Quarter Master of the 3d. Brigade will immediately provide transportation for the provisions arms ammunition & other public property which it is necessary to forward for the use and subsistance of the Troops.

The Volunteer Companies of mounted men are hereby placed under the immediate Command of Colonel Edward Brooks—he is charged with their instruction & discipline in all matters connected with their improvement & efficiency.

Order will be observed on the March and no Arms shall be discharged without the special permission of the Senior Officer in Command.

The Troops now about to march from this place, will be furnished with Six Rounds to each man.

The Brigade Quarter Master Captn Ullman will remain at this place to take charge of all provisions arms accoutrements. Ammunition and other public property that may remain in Store or arrive for the use of the Troops and to be in readiness to forward such articles as may be required by the Major General.

By Order of Major Genl. J. R. Williams

Chs. W. Whipple

aid-de-Camp.

General order Niles 3d June 1832

The Brigade Quarter Master, Capt Ullman will procure a horse for J. B. Ducharme for the purpose of accompanying the Troops from this point.

By order of Maj Genl Williams
Chas W. Whipple
aid-de-camp.

This is Endorsed in Pencil:
Alexander H. Redfield
Quarter Master 7 Reg't
to be dated May 1, 1832

George W. Hoffman
Adjutant 7 Reg't
to rank from the 1st. May
1832.

Niles 3rd. June 1832.

General Order

Col Stewart is hereby directed to dispatch an express, and overtake the Corps of Mounted Men under Capt. Anderson, with orders to return forthwith and report for duty to the Major General

By order of Maj Genl.
John R. Williams
Chas W Whipple
Aid-de-Camp

Major Genl. Williams
Dr. Sir

I have deposited with Mr. Jeremiah Tilloston seven miles West from Cold Water 800 lb Pork—which was purchased for the 8th Regiment under my command on their march from Niles M. T—We were under the necessity of sending off from the road a considerable distance for provisions & forage; and my detachment had got on considerably in advance; before the pork arrived on the line of our march, and finding it so difficult to procure Teams to transport it to our relief I have deemed it

advisable to store it with Mr. Tilloston, subject to your order—and to send on to Mr. Powers—at Wolf Lake and take a Barrel stored there by one of your Teamsters from Detroit—which I presume will nearly carry us through—

Very respectfully
Sir I am Your Obdr Svt
D. Pittman
Lt. Col. Commdg.

Cold Water M. T.
June 3 1832

Endorsed:
Lt. Colo. D. Pittman
recd. June 5. 1832
at ¾ past 3 o'clock P. M.

Tara Coupa Prairie
2 OClock
3rd June 1832

To
Majr Genl
Williams

Sir I have Recd your order and have Wheeled my men about and marched them back to the Tara Coopa Prairie by the maneuver of them being marched to and from they are much fatigued, but I shall continue a slow march untill I reach the door Prairie, my men are not prepared for a long campaign they volunteered expecting their services were wanted immediately they will Kneed Shoes if they should be held in the field many days

Yours in Haste
A Huston Col
Commant of 7th. Regt
M M.

To Genl
J. R. Williams

General Order:

Head Quarters
Niles June 3d. 1832

Mounted Volunteers being required for the purpose of affording protection to the frontier settlements against Indian Agressions.

Major General Williams will accept the services of Two Hundred able bodied Mounted Men who will remain in the service of The United States until such time as the safety of the Country may authorize their discharge.

By order of Majr. Genl John R Williams
Chas W. Whipple
Aid-de-Camp.

General Williams & aid's de cam	Dr
to 4 days board & horses to stable	12.00
paid for washing	62½
do for aid	37½
to waiter 4 days	3.00

Recd payment in full
Daniel Olds

Niles June 4th. 1832

Endorsed:

horses	—	.50
4 meals	—	1.00
4 drinks	—	.25
2 lodgings	—	.12½
		1.87½
2 gal oats	—	.25
		2.12½

Tary Copa June 4th.

Sir

I was in hopes of Overtaking You at this place that I might of consulted You upon measures hereafter to be persued and was in hopes of obtaining Orders for raising some 2 or 300 men within my Regt—You

must be will aware of my feeling in marching to the designed head quarters with 15 or 20 men at my Command You will act accordingly useing Your Better Judgment—the few men that is on the march under Capt. Martin can if You should think best be attached to Col Huestins Regt—I wish You if it should be thought best to allow me to order out the Compys on Prairie Round and those on Notaway Leeper as they have not as Yet been marched from home I shall keep on with the few men I have untill I may get further ord from Your Hon—

Write fully what I shall do and Your orders shall be promptly attended to

in great haste Sir
I am Your Servt.
H. L. Stewart Col.
Comd. 11th. Regt 3d Brigd
Mich Militia

Maj Genl. John R Williams
on the Road

Little Kankekee
June 4th. 1832

Sir,

I am directed by Majr. Genl. Williams to acknowledge the rect. of your letter of this date, and in reply beg leave to state that your suggestion touching the disposition of the small detachment from your Regiment is approved of. You will accordingly direct them to unite with the detachment under Col. Huston.

In respect to your proposition to raise an additional force from your Regiment, I am further directed by the Major General to say, that, after considering the expediency of the course you are desirous of pursuing, he is impressed with the belief that to justify such a call at this time, more definite information is requisite, but that should the public Service require a further force you shall receive timely notice. I am directed, also, by the Major General to tender to you his thanks for the Patriotic Efforts you have made to raise a competent force, to carry in execution the objects of his visit to this Section of the Country:

I am, Sir, very Respy Yr Ob Svr
Chas W. Whipple A. D. C.

To Col H. L. Stewart
Comg. 11th. Regt. 3 Brig M. M.

Niles June 4th 1832

Major General Williams

Sir I wish you to give Me some kind of orders either to Dismiss or Go ahead either I will promptly Obey you left Me here Dismissed for the present & gave me No further orders I Remain in Suspence & wish your immediate Orders or I shall consider Myself & Company Regularly Discharged

Charles B. Finch Lieut. of
Capt. J Silsby's company of
Mounted Volunteers

Quarter Master Department June 4 1832

To Maj. Gen. John R. Williams

Sir. Your orders to this hour have been obeyed and I should be happy to continue the same were it in my power, the people generally are unwilling to dispose of any property whatever I am out of most all kind of provisions and without some cash or private responsability I shall not be of any service to our troops. There is a general dissatisfaction existing among our citizans. I hope the General will advise me what course to take to be useful to our troops & goverment my own means are exhusted and my credit as Quarter Master is below par.

I have the honor to be your humble
Servant
J. J. Ullman
5th. Brigade quarter Master
M. M.

Detroit June 4. 1832.

Dear General.

I received your letter from Niles. It is impossible for me to advise what course should be persued, at this remote distance from the scene of action. I therefore depend upon you to take such steps as circumstances may require.

You must expect, do what you will, that *some wise men* in this City, will complain: But the cries of such clamarous birds are winged in an inferior region of the air, and I hope you will do what you think correct, regardless of any thing they can say.

Major Brittian will send provisions to the mouth of St. Joseph, and he is willing Gen Brown & yourself shall use them if necessary.

Major Whistler and his detachment left yesterday for Chicago. I endeavoured to induce him march through by land, and releive some of our Militia. He could not think of it, as it would *tire* his men.

The detachment under Col. Davis, returned in good spirits; and I have never seen any men so well drilled in so short a time. They are dismissed, with orders to be ready to march at a moments warning, should their services be required in any part of the Territory.

Remember that all things are discretonary with yourself. Govr. Porter will return in about a week.

Respectfully
Stevens T. Mason

Maj. Gen. Williams.

June 5th. 1832

Dear Sir

I received yours of the 4 Inst. this morning and was highly gratified to find that my opinion so nearly agreed with Yours—I have directed the small force that was under my comd to Join the Regt. Comd. by Col Huestin untill further ordered I have also sent with them my Quarter-master who is an officient and and active man and will be of great use in providing for the forces now in the field—all supernumary Officers I shall discharge for the presant or untill further caled uppon at which time thay will be in readiness—I have sent forward one Capt. Onely and have attached all to his Compy. any Order which may in Your oppineon become necessary to be carried into effect will find me in readiness at the word and be assured Sir that it is my greatest pleasure to fulfil Your Orders

Very Respectfully Sir
I am Your Obt. Servt.
H. L. Stewart Col.
Comd. 11th. Regt.
M. Militia

(Maj. Gen Jno. R. Williams)

Endorsed:
Maj. Genl. Jno. R. Williams
on the Door Prairie
Indiana

Stockade at the Door Prairie
June 5th. 1832

To the Commander of the Militia in the Service
of the United States at Hickory Creek.

Sir,

Having been ordered to take the field for the protection of the frontier of Michigan; I have taken post at this place, and with a view to advance the objects which have been committed to my charge, I deem it important to open a communication with you, in order to ascertain your views, and if practicable to cooperate with you in any measure calculated to ensure the protection and defence of the lives and the property of the people of the frontiers: The information which I have received of the movements of Genl. Atkinsons and Govr Reynolds is so vague and contradictory that I can neither form a correct opinion of their success, or of the force of the enemy: It would be desirable for me to be advised of the probable intentions and movements of the enemy, in order that I may be enabled to make such arrangements as may be necessary to meet the exigencies that may arise: Any information which you may deem prudent and proper to communicate, in relation to your disposition and probable movements, would in some measure facilitate my future operations.

I cannot judge of the risk that there may be, that this communication should be intercepted; but I have reason to place confidence in the fidelity and character of the bearer Mr. Chandanois, as he has given proof of his attachment to the United States during the late War, but notwithstanding his influence with the Indians and his knowledge of their character and subtleties, he may be exposed to be treated as an Enemy by them. I say thus much, in order that nothing of material importance, that might effect the future safety of either your own or my command should be exposed to our enemy: After having received a communication from you in reply to this letter, I shall probably be enabled to form a correct opinion of the facility and safety with which we may correspond: Situated as I am at present, a knowledge of the probable movements of the enemy, and of their numbers and ultimate designs would facilitate my future plans

I am, Sir, very Respectfully
Your Obdt. Servant:
Jno. R Williams
Major Genl M Ma
appointed by the U. S.

South bend St. Joseph Ind. 6th. June 1832

Sir I coppy the following and forward it for your information I coppy it from a Vincennes paper of 26th. May, taken from the Bardstown Chronicle Extra of May 18th.—

Postscript—By the arrival last night of Rev. Mr. Horn from the army sent out against the hostile Indians we learn that a detachment consisting of 275 men under the command of Major Stillman were attacked on the 14th. Inst. by a Superior force of Indians on Sycamore creek, about 30 miles distant from head quarters, and that about 52-- were killed. Genl. Whitesides with a force of 1500 men left head quarters on the 15th. for the Scene of action, and in all probability the next express will bring us intelligence of a general engagement. We publish below the proclamation of Gov. Reynolds calling for an additional force of 2000 men the troops enjoyed excellent health &c.—

Headquarters Dixons Ferry on Rock River May 15th. 1832

To the Militia of the State of Illinois.

It becomes my duty again to call on you for your Services in defence of your country. The State is not only invaded by the hostile Indians, but many of your fellow citizens have been slain in battle. A detachment of the mounted volunteers commanded by Maj. Stillman of about 175 in number was overpowered by the hostile Indians on Sycamore Creek distant from this place thirty miles and a considerable number were killed.—This is an act of hostility which cannot be misconstrued.

I am of opinion that the Potawatamies and Winnebagoes have joined the hostile Sacs, and all may be considered as waging war against the United States. To subdue these Indians and to drive them out of the State, it will require a force of at least 2000 mounted volunteers, in addition to the troops already in the field. I have mad the necessary requisitions on the proper officers for the above number of mounted men, and have no doubt that the citizen soldiers of the State will obey the call of their country.

They will meet at Henipin on the Illinois river, in companies of 50 men each on the 10th. of June next to be organized into a brigade.

John Reynolds
a true coppy Commander in chief Ill. Militia

Genl John R Williams

Sir I have coppyed the above with a view that it might be of some importance to your movements but if it should not you will please to excuse me—

in haste Sir I am your Obedient
Servt. John Winchill

Addressed to Door Prairie, Indiana.

Stockade at the Door Prairie
June 6: 1832

Dear Sir:

Since my Letters to you under date 29 & 31st. May which are both unanswered; I have had the honor to receive your two communications respectively dated the 28th. & 31st. May Ulto. the former on the 2d. June at half past 9 o'clock P. M. at Niles and the latter at this place yesterday afternoon at 4 o'Clock.

You will be exceedingly surprized no doubt to be informed of the extraordinary and unwarranted conduct of Brigadier Genl. Brown But I cannot do less than assure you that the greatest embarrassments and injury to the public Service have resulted from his Conduct. I shall in due time direct him to be arrested, and will prefer charges against him to The Executive; in order that a Court Martial may be detailed for his Trial. On the evening after I had addressed you on the 31st. May he sent for my perusal by an officer of his staff the Order which he had recd. from you dated 28th. Ulto. I had at that time prepared an order to regulate his movements but on the perusal of your peremptory order for him to March to Chicago with his force I declined issuing it and expressly declined any interference; leaving him entirely at liberty to Obey your Order if he was so disposed.

At the same time I could not imagine that he would do less than march to this point and wait my arrival with the detachment that was

expected from Detroit. Contrary to my expectations he returned to Niles on the 2d. June inst. with his whole Command; having issued an Order directing the troops to Return and be dismissed at Niles I was exceedingly astonished at a movement so extraordinary and unaccountable supposing that he had received some very satisfactory dispatch from Genl. Atkinson. I directed my aid Major Whipple to call on him and ascertain what orders he had given to the Troops to this he replied that he had ordered the Troops back to Niles but had "not dismissed any of them" About 9 o'clock P. M. before he had made any report to me other than the verbal one in reply to my enquiry, I received a small folded paper unsealed and without superscription asking leave of absence on account of the ill health of his family. As I was then engaged writing I told the messenger that I would give the General an answer in the morning. A few minutes after Genl. Brown appeared himself and renewed his application observing that in addition to the circumstances of his children having the measles that Mrs Brown was very nervous &c. Upon which I gave him a written leave of absence until further orders— On the morning of the 3d June I issued an order for the Troops that were on their return to Niles to halt and provisions to be sent to them and directed the mounted Men under Colo Brooks to be in readiness to March to the frontier I soon ascertained that the Troops had been dismissed and were determined to return to their homes and that I would be left with scarcely a dozen mounted men from Detroit willing to obey my Orders: The officers and men assigning as a reason that they had been marched and countermarched without any apparent settled object until they were fairly worn out and that they were unwilling to be kept any longer from their farms for such futile purposes. Major Wilson one of my aids that had been sent forward with orders to meet the Troops and direct them to halt returned and stated that none except a small part of Colo Huston's Regiment were willing to obey the order As soon as they arrived at the River and before I supposed they had crossed I met a detachment of Colo. Stewart's Regt. and directed the Adjutant to inform the Men that I wished to address them. I accordingly explained to them the nature of my orders and the Service which I had been directed to perform and stated that I wanted Volunteers to fulfil the orders of The Executive of the Territory for the protection of the frontier &c.—&c—The result was that I left Niles with about 25 mounted Men principally Jackson's Troop and overtook Colo. Huston's detachmt. consisting of about 85 men at Terre Coupé—our whole force this morning is including officers, non comm. off. musns. & privates 120—with these

I have taken possession of a Stockade built by the Inhabitants in this neighborhood—and have sent off an Express to the Detachment of mounted Men said to be on Hickory Creek equi distant from this point & Chicago to ascertain if possible the movements of the Indians their probable intentions, force &c. and all the information I can obtain Should I ascertain that it is necessary I will order out The Militia that are nearest to this point—I am convinced that it is next to impossible to raise on the frontier such a force of mounted men as would be efficient to commence any thing like offensive operations unless it should be on small detached bands of the Enemy which may scatter about the settlements for the purposes of murder & plunder. I find it difficult to obtain provisions even for the small force which I have here on account of the distrust which has been created by interested individuals that the Government would never pay the extravagant expenditures which have been incurred—What expenses may have been incurred under the Sanction of Genl. Brown I cannot account for. But for myself I have carefully avoided every expenditure except such as were indispensable for the subsistance of the Troops &c.

I have arrived at two conclusions—first that it is necessary that our force on the frontier should be mounted and well armed and equipped and secondly that they must be raised somewhere within the oldest & most populous Counties of the Territory. If we cannot obtain Mounted Volunteers then Volunteer Infantry & Riflemen to be sent round by Steam to the mouth of the St. Joseph with provisions &c. to last one month—They should also be provided with Camp equipage & Tents—That number could be relied upon and would form a Nucleus for such of the Militia as we might obtain here or about the frontier. The Indians are all mounted and in this open Country It is impossible for Men on foot to Act efficiently against such force especially in offensive operations Troops on foot could do nothing against mounted Indians who are acquainted with the Country and every Wooded district and Marsh and Swamp within it. I refer you to the Vincennes Gazette of the 26th. Ulto. for the most authentic intelligence which I have seen of the situation of the Illinois Militia & force under Genl. Atkinson—It appears by Gov. Reynolds proclamation that a detachment of 275 mounted men under Major Stillman has been defeated with the loss of 52 killed. I am Sir respectfully

Your Obed. Servr
J. R. Williams

The small force which I have in this Stockade is directly on the Road and I think could maintain itself against at least three times their number of Indians I shall not abandon the frontier settlements so long as there is any necessity that I should remain or so long as I can muster ten men to obey my orders

Yours respectfully
J. R. W.

I have to request that Commissions be sent to Alexander H. Redfield Q. Master of the 7th. Regt. & George W. Hoffman Adjutant of the same Regt. to take Rank from the 1st. May 1832. Also The Commission for my Aid Major J. M. Wilson.

Stockade at the Door Prairie
June 6. 1832

Sir:

Your commuication dated the 4th inst is rec'd. Under existing circumstances, I do not deem it necessary to pledge my individual responsibility as the service on which I am engaged is purely of a public nature: And the Credit and means of The United States being of unquestionable standing, I cannot but consider any person who has property to dispose of, which may be necessary for the subsistence of the Troops or the public Service blind to his own interest who should withhold it at this time.

Extract of a letter dated Detroit May 31st. 1832 from The Honble. Stevens T. Mason Acting Governor of Michigan to Major Genl. Williams—

"I have forwarded provisions. Should it be necessary, make any requisitions for provisions near you, and I will endeavor to meet the expenses, as I find the Troops &c. are paid upon the requisition of The President without an Act of Congress."

I consider it unnecessary to make any further remarks on the subject.

Yours &c
Jno. R. Williams

To Brigade Q. M.
J. J. Ullman

Indian Agency Chicago
June 6. 1832.

To Stevens T. Mason
Sec Actg. Gov. of Michigan
and Sup of Indian Affairs.
Sir.

I have this moment recd. a letter from Genl. Atkinson dated Head Quarters Ottoway 4 June 1832, in which he informs me, that a few days ago a party of about 30 Sacs attacked five or six men going across to Galena and killed the Sac Agent Mr. St. Vrain of Rock Island and two others: it seems from the information the Genl. has rec'd from Capt. Snyder, who had been detached to Rock Island and returned to Head Quarters, that the hostile Indians are carrying on their operations on the West side of Rock River between the Pa ke tolice and the Mississippi: Capt Snyder says that he could see no sign nor hear of any hostile Indians on this side of Rock River: from this it may be reasonably inferred that they are endeavoring to effect a retreat beyond the Mississippi: This post is in a defenseless situation, many have left it with their families: Some for the Wabash and others more determined have moved back to their farms: Col. Hamilton and myself have written to Genl. Atkinson for a force of about 70 armed men to insure the Safety of this place until the arrival of Majr. Whistler whom we are anxiously awaiting.

Very Respy Sir
Yr. Obs.
Th. J. V. Owen Ind Agent

Ind. Ag Chicago June 6th. 1832

Dear sir:

Genl. Atkinson writes me that a few days since a party of about 30 Sacs attacked 5 or six men between Rock River and Galena & killed Mr. St. Vrain Ind. Agt. at Rock Island & two others: A party of 50 friendly Indians & 25 white men under the Command of Capt. J. B. Beaubien returned yesterday, after having scoured the Big Woods on Fox River and the adjacent Groves: they saw no signs of Indians except an old trail which they conceived to be the party that committed the massacre on Indian Creek on their return to the main body of Sacs:

who it is probable are endeavoring to effect their escape across the Mississippi.

I am informed that Col. Huston with 150 men was on his way to this place and was stopped in consequence of orders from you to that effect: Surely there is some mistake: As I have written nothing on this Subject since the Communication to you signed by myself and other Citizens: upon which letter I suppose the departure of the Col. and his party for this place was based: I hope the Militia of Michigan will be able to defend their own frontiers and we will try to take care of ourselves: I have twice requested of you the favor to send me a copy of my letter to you of the 18th. May: You will greatly oblige me by an immediate compliance with this request, as it may be of some importance to me: I see from a Detroit paper that this letter purports to have been to Col. Huston instead of to yourself.

Very Resp Sir
Yr Ob. Servt.
Th. J. V. Owen
Ind. Agent

Endorsed:
Copy of a letter from
Th. J. V. Owen to
S. T. Mason and
J. Stewart dated
June 6th rec'd 7

Fort Au-plaine near the mouth of Hickory Creek
June 7th. 1832

To Major Genl. John R. Williams Commanding
Michigan Militia at the Stockade door prairie

Sir: Yours of June 5th. has been just received. I hasten to give you all the information in my power—I received orders from Genl. Atkinson on the 5th. ultimo dated at the mouth of Fox River where he is at this time stationed with a force of 300 Illinois Militia the regular troops are stationed some where on Rock in numbers about 300 the Militia that first came out with Govr. Reynolds are disbanded and have returned home except the above named 300 who agreed to stay untill another force could be collected. 2000 Volunteer Militia are now on the march and are to Rendezvous at the mouth of Fox on the 10th. ult. my command consists of nearly 400 one company of 50 men of which are to

remain at this place the rest have to be at the mouth of Fox by the 10th. ult. pursuant to the orders of Genl. Atkinson Govr. Reynolds will be there in person. The force of the Hostile cannot be correctly ascertained but is estimated from the best information to be between 600 & 1000 and at present our greatest fears are that we shall not be able to bring them to action this side the Mississippi as it is some expected they are detaching themselves in small parties and making their escape the citizens in this Vicinity have Generally moved their Families on to Wabash and elsewhere into the older settlements agreeably to my best information thirty white persons have been killed and 3 taken prisoners two grown females and one child 8 or 10 years old. In addition to the above force Genl. Atkinson has called on the Govr. for 1000 more men to be in readiness for the service. I shall be happy in answering any communication you may think propper to make and the good of the service require.

I am Sir Respectfully your
most obt. servant
J. R. Moores Colo.
Comg. Regt. Ver. Volunteers
in Service.

Endorsed:
Colo. J. R. Moores
Fort au plaine recd. June
9th 1832 at
7 o'Clock P. M.

Stockade at
Door Prairie June 7: 1832

General Order:

The respective Company Officers are hereby directed to see that the Arms and Accoutrements of their Men are put in good order. The arms must be cleaned and sufficiently oiled to preserve them from injury. Such of the Men as have not sufficient Rifles shall be supplied with muskets, each man will be furnished for the present with four Rounds of ball catridges. The Riflemen that may require Ammunition will be supplied with six rounds each, each Man will be furnished with two flints. A Guard will continue to be detailed daily by The Adjutant

which shall consist of one Captain to serve as Officer of the day, One Lieutenant, One Sergeant, Two Corporals and fifteen privates. The Guard will be relieved daily at 8 O'clock A. M. A police to consist of one non commissioned officer and four privates will also be detailed daily and relieved at guard mounting. The fatigue or police party will be under the immediate direction of the Officer of the day. That Officer will also attend to the arms generally during his tour and see that they are kept in a convenient and proper place and secure from Wet. The Quarter Master will see that the Ammunition and all other public Stores are properly preserved and kept in safety and good order. Two sinks will be dug at the distance of fifty yards south of the Stockade which shall be shaded with green boughs in a suitable manner. They will be kept clean by being covered every morning with several inches clean earth. The interior as well as the exterior of the Stockade must be kept clean and in good order. No more than ten privates & four non Commissioned Officers will be permitted to be absent from the Stockade at one time. The officer of the day is charged with this particular regulation. The Commissioned Officers desirous of absenting themselves from the Stockade will report to Colo Brooks. The reveille will be beat at day light after which the Troops & guard will be formed and the Rolls called. The Troop will be beat at 8 o'clock A. M. and Tattoo at 9 o'clock P. M. unless dispensed with by special order. The Music will practice from 9 to 10 o'clock every morning unless the weather should be bad. The Troops not on duty will be drilled and exercised daily from 9 to 10 O'Clock A. M. under the direction of Adjutant G. W. Hoffman. The Cavalry will be exercised separately under the orders and direction of Captn Jackson at the same hour. Colonel Edward Brooks Inspector General is charged with the superintendence of all matters appertaining to the proper government, regulation and police of the camp; as well as with the superintendence of the discipline and improvement of the Troops.

The Adjutant will announce the receipt of all orders in the usual way by the roll of the Drum at which time the first Sergeant of each Company will repair to his quarters to obtain directions.

By order of Majr. Genl. John R. Williams

Chas W. Whipple

Aid-de-Camp

Stockade at the Door
Prairie June 8th. 1832

General Order.

The detachment now at this place will be in preparation to march tomorrow morning immediately after Reveillé.

The Quarter Master will provide a sufficient number of waggons to transport the baggage, Ammunition, Arms & provisions:

Col Hart L. Stewart will on the receipt of this order, assemble the 11th. Regiment, for the purpose of obtaining three hundred effective men, either by Voluntary Enrolment or by draft: If it should be practicable to obtain a part, or the whole of said force, mounted, they will be preferred: Col Stewart will then march with the detachment to Chicago.

The detachment will be provided with five days provisions, and ammunition by the Brigade Quarter Master at Niles; who will also provide transportation for the provisions, ammunition & necessary baggage.

The number of Commissioned and non commissioned officers in the detachment, will be apportioned to the number of men, allowing one Captain, one Lieutenant, one Ensign, four Sergeants four Corporals and two musicians and fifty Privates to every Company.

The usual number of field and staff will also be allowed in proportion to the Command:

By order of Major General
John R Williams
Chas. W. Whipple
Aid de Camp

[This order is in duplicate.]

Stockade at the Door Prairie
June 8th 1832

After General Order:

The Major General directs that the detachment of the 7th. Regiment commanded by Colo. Huston and the few men belonging to the 11th. Regt. be consolidated so as to form two companies. There will be allowed to each Company one Captain one Lieutenant and one Ensign. And to the detachment one Assistant Surgeon, One Adjutant, One Quarter Master and one Field Officer. The Services of the Super-

numerary Officers are hereby dispensed with. The Major Genl. however takes this occasion to acknowledge the prompt and honorable manner with which these Officers have Volunteered their Services at the Call of their Country. Should an occasion offer, Their Zeal and patriotism will not be forgotten.

By order of Major Genl.
Signed J. R. Williams
Chs. W. Whipple
Aid de Camp.

[There is one order of this date which is missing.]

Detroit June 8, 1832.

Dear Gen.

I send under the charge of Lieut. Davenport to-day the arms and amunition, which I informed you were to be deposited at Niles. Gen. Brown has just arrived from Tecumseh, and at his suggestion, I have concluded to have them deposited at White Pigeon. The arms amunition &c first sent Gen. Brown had better be deposited at Niles. This will enable the inhabitants to arm themselves at a moments warning; and the forces from both places, can be concentrated should circumstances ever require it, without any very great delay. So soon as you are satisfied that your presence is no longer needed, and that the fears of the inhabitants are entirely allayed, I suppose you will return home: But of this you alone are to be the judge. I have no doubt, but that the 3rd. Brigade, with the arms they will have, will be sufficient to protect the frontier of the Territory, until movements could be made from other quarters to aid them if it should be necessary.

I have received an order from the War department, authorizing me, to draw any quantity of arms I may think requisite. I shall take advantage of the opportunity, and draw a sufficient number to arm our Militia well, if their Services should be needed hereafter.

Gen Brown takes 200 guns to be deposited at Tecumseh. This will make the arms of the 3rd. Brigade, amount to about 650 musketts. He leaves in the morning.

Respect—
Your Obt. Servt.
Stevens. T. Mason

Maj Genl. J. R. Williams

Morning Report of a Detachment of Volunteers & Cavalry on the march to Chicago 9 June 1832

Staff	Cavalry	1st. Comp'y	2d. Comp'y
1 Lt. Colonel	1 Captain	1 Captain	1 Captain
1 Adjutant	2 Lieutenants	1 Lieutenant	1 Lieutenant
1 Q. Master	3 Sergeants	1 Ensign	1 Ensign
1 Surgeon	1 Musician	4 Sergeants	4 Sergeants
	15 Privates	4 Corporals	4 Corporals
		32 Privates	33 Privates
			1 Commissary
			1 Q M Sergt.

Total 115

G. W. Hoffman
Adjutant

Endorsed:
morning report
June 9, 1832

Head Quarters
Niles June 9th. 1832.

General Order:

The Brigade Quarter Master of the 3d. Brigade will with the assistance of the Quarter Master of the 7th. Regt.—Take an exact inventory of all the Arms, Accoutrements, Ammunition, provisions and public property of every description now in Store at this place; and forward the same to the Major General at Detroit. Quarter Master Ullman is hereby strictly charged to take every precaution to preserve the Arms Accoutrements Ammunition & provision &c. from any injury or damage—The Arms will immediately be properly oiled and then carefully packed in boxes in order that they may be removed if necessary. In order that those who have claims against the United States, for property advanced or furnished, for the use of the Militia of the Territory in Service, should be put in the way of obtaining payment—The Brigade Quarter Master and Regimental Qr. Mr. Redfield will loose no time in adjusting all demands against the United States incurred by the Quarter Master Department and they are therefore directed to submit and

report their accounts for adjustment and Settlement as soon as may be practicable.

Assistant Quarter Master Scarborough will accompany the mounted Detachment which will leave here for Detroit this morning—

It is recommended to the Citizens of Niles to keep a small guard at night at least, over the building containing the Arms & other public property—Colonel Huston will not call out any part of the Militia unless some extraordinary emergency should render it indispensably necessary—He is charged to communicate by mail or otherwise to the Major General any important information that he may receive from time to time which may render the movement of the Militia necessary.

By order of Majr. Genl.
John R. Williams
Chas W. Whipple
A. D. C.

Head Quarters
Chicago June 12th—1832

General Order.

Colonel Hart L. Stewart in command of the detachment authorized and directed to be raized from the 11th. Regiment of the Michigan Militia by a General Order issued at the door prairie on the 8th. inst. Is hereby directed to march said detachment to the door Prairie, and to take post at the Stockade near Shirley's until further Orders. Provided that the detachment raised, should amount to three Hundred or Two Hundred and fifty men: Colonel Stewart will detach fifty Men under a suitable Officer and place that Command at the Block House about Seven Miles in advance of the Stockade. The objects in view are two fold—first the protection & defence of the frontier settlements; and secondly, to prevent the passing of any hostile Bands of Sacs through the Territory of Michigan to the British province of Upper Canada.

Colonel Stewart will make daily Reports to the Commanding General, of any occurrence that may be deemed important, and of the State of his Command. An express will be detailed from the mounted Men

embodied to perform that service; in such manner as may be deemed advisable.

By Order of Major Genl.
Jno R. Williams
Signed J. M. Wilson
Aid-de-Camp.

Addressed: Colonel Hart L Stewart
Commandg. 11th. Regt. M. Ma.
Now on the way towards
Chicago

[There are two copies of this order.]

Head Quarters
Chicago June 12th. 1832

After General Order:

A detachment of Michigan Volunteers having reached this post, in conformity to the Order of the Acting Governor of the Territory of Michigan. Major General Williams directs that Colonel Edward Brooks Inspr. Genl. M. Ma. The Senior Field Officer present be invested with the Command of the Fort & Garrison of Chicago until relieved by Major Whistler with the U. S. Troops under his Command.

Colonel Brooks will immediately place the Fort in the best possible order of defence, regulate and establish a proper police and give such orders for the Improvement and discipline of the Troops as may be necessary.

It is however indispensable that no measure or regulation be adopted or established, except such as may be dictated by absolute necessity, affecting the Comfort or convenience of the families that have taken shelter in the Fort from the danger of hostile Indians. On the contrary, It is enjoined on every Officer and soldier to demean themselves with the utmost propriety towards the families that remain within or out of the Stockade. Our duty as Citizen Soldiers is to protect and defend—But not to molest or offend.—

The Major General places entire Confidence in the honorable principles and patriotism of every individual in this Command. And trusts that the Character of the Michigan Militia for patriotism & good conduct

will not only be maintained but hereafter established in such manner as to reflect honor on our beloved Country and its brave and patriotic defenders.

By order of Major General
John R Williams
J. M. Wilson
Aid de Camp.

Head Quarters
Chicago June 13th. 1832.

General Order:

Quarter Master Redfield is hereby authorized and directed to call on Mr John C. Hogan, in whose charge the public provisions at this post have been deposited And upon regular requisitions, to receive as many Rations as may be necessary for the subsistence of the Michigan Volunteers now here, in the Service of The United States.

Jno. R. Williams
Major Genl. M. Ma.
Appointed by The U. S.

Clinton 13th. June 1832
1 O'Clock A. M.

My dear General

I arrd. here a few minutes since, after travelling day and night, and will be in Detroit this afternoon at 4 O'clk:

I found on reaching here that Genl. Brown has recd. orders to assemble his Brigade with a view to obtain volunteers if possible, and if not, then to draft men for the protection of the frontier settlement: they are to be disposed of at different points: What is more remarkable, *Savery* who is here, and has just arrived from Detroit says you are *ordered back:* this I cannot believe if your letters have been recd.: Govr. Porter (who arrived last Sunday) would not certainly offer you an indignity of such a character: I find it difficult to give credit to such a statement: I shall find out the whole *drag,* however, to day, and will advise you with all possible dispatch: If anything wrong has

induced such a measure you may rely upon it, I shall endeavor to streighten the matter.

Should you be ordered to return I will leave immediately and join you: if not I will not leave until the day after tomorrow, (friday).

Muskets, scabbards, arms & have been sent on: I met them at Blackmore's under the charge of Adjt. Davenport: we found 11 barrels pork and 8 of bread at Motville: They have been forwarded to Niles:

Your Order was duly delivered to Col. Stewart, but how many he can raise, I cannot say:

In great haste
I am, dear Sir
Yours &c
Chas. W. Whipple

Maj. Genl. Wiliams

[This letter is addressed:
To
Major Genl. John R Williams
Chicago.
The Quarter Master at Niles will forward this
to Genl. Williams with all possible dispatch.]

Chicago June 13 1832

Sir

You are hereby directed to proceed forthwith to Niles—And forward the arms *accoutrements* ammunition provisions &c that may be there or at the Mouth of the River St. Joseph—

The Arms &c that may be at the mouth of the River you will endeavour to forward by Water to this place as it is believed that they would reach this point much sooner than by Land and be transported at a much cheaper rate. If the cartridge boxes have not arrived at Niles You will enquire of Qr. Master Ullman whether he has dispatched an Officer after them as he has heretofore been directed. You will afford every facility to the detachments under Colonels Stewart & Houston marching to this place and urge on the provisions & necessary baggage

& take Charge of whatever necessary Articles the mounted men of these detachments may leave behind them.

Yours &c
Jno. R. Williams
Major Genl. M. Ma.

To Qr. Master Scarborough.

Chicago June 13th. 1832

Sir

Circumstances render it indispensably necessary that you should push forward your detachment to this place without loss of time. If you have succeeded in raising a proportion of the force required Mounted. You will give orders for them to move to this point as early as possible. The Inhabitants are much alarmed. Major Bailey who left here this morning for Genl. Atkinson's Camp has returned this afternoon and reports that from 28 to 30 hostile Sacs have been seen in different parties on the dupage about 28 miles from this—What may be their real force is unknown but it is ascertained that their main body is within less than two days ride from this place—The Inhabitants that have moved out are believed to be in imminent danger—

Yours truly
Jno R. Williams

P. S.

The families that have moved out are already coming in.
J. R. W.

Colonel Hart L. Stewart
Commandg. 11 Regt
M Ma.

Copy—To Col. Hart
L. Stewart commandg
11 Regt. M. Ma. on the
road to Chicago dated
June 13, 1832—

Chicago June 13th. 1832.

General.

My present purpose is to open a correspondence with you, in order that we may, as far as practicable, act in concert.

I reached this place with a detachment of One Hundred Michigan Volunteers on the 11th. inst.—I have ordered another detachment of Three Hundred Men to be raised from the 11th. Regt. in the vicinity of Pidgeon Prairie. And I shall this day request the Governor of Michigan to order 300 Men—from the vicinity of Detroit—by Steam to this point—I think that with a force of seven or eight Hundred men that it will be in my power to intercept detachments from the hostile Sacs should they attempt to disperse with a view to effect their escape, before or after an Action with your forces.

Should I succeed in collecting that number of Men I will immediately march and take every measure to cooperate with you. By despatches which I received last evening from The Acting Governor of Michigan Major Whistler left Detroit with his Command for this place in a Schooner on the 3d. inst. he may therefore be expected to arrive in the Course of a few days. I shall have 100 spare muskets here tomorrow —and on the 6th. inst 200 muskets ammunition &c were shipped by the Actg. Gov. at Detroit for Niles.

Had it not been for the unaccountable conduct of Brigr. Genl. Brown we could now have had seven or eight Hundred Men at this point—But contrary to orders he marched back from the Door Prairie with about 350 Men and dismissed all the Troops without even consulting me and in violation of a peremptory order from The Executive to march to this place which he received at Niles on the 31st. Ulto—

I will continue to inform you of my prospects, and of circumstances as they may arise either calculated to favor my views or to mar them.

I have the honor to be,

General, Your Obedt. Servt.

Jno. R. Williams
Major Genl. M. Ma.
appointed by The U. S.

To Brigadier Genl. Atkinson
U. S. Army
Ottowa

Endorsed:

Copy.
To Brigadier Gen.
Hugh Atkinson
Commandg. U. S. Forces
Ottowa dated June
13th. 1832.—

Chicago June 13th. 1832
3 O'clock P. M.

Dear Sir

Intelligence has just been brought in by Major Bailey who left this in the forenoon for Genl. Atkinson's Camp that the hostile Sacs to the number of about 28 or 30 have been seen in three different parties about 28 miles from here on the dupage. The inhabitants are much alarmed for the safety of the families that gone out—You will conceive my unpleasant situation to be here with so small a force and those principally Infantry (dismounted)

The Service requires Mounted Men. The Indians are all armed and mounted. But under the circumstances of the case I assembled the Officers and consulted them and it has been determined to *beat up* for mounted Volunteers and to afford whatever protection may be in our power—What is still more perplexing, is that it is impossible to know their force—their object is probably Plunder and to murder some more of the Inhabitants.

Major Whistler nor Stewarts detachments have not arrived—

Yours truly
Jno. R. Williams

The Acting Gov.
of Michigan

Chicago June 13th. 1832

Dear Sir:

Your two communications of the 4th. & 6th. inst. by Mr. Meldrum were rec'd last evening. I have this morning seen a letter from Genl. Atkinson to Colo. Owen, Indian Agent, in which he mentions that the release of the female Captives in the hands of the hostile Sacs has been effected. Genl. Atkinson is now at the mouth of the Fox River between 80 & 90 miles from this place; and the hostile Sacs are asserted to be about 70 miles North West from here on or near the Caash-quo-nong Lake on the head Waters of Rock River within the County of Brown Michn.—You will perceive by Farmers Map that Genl. Atkinson is at least 120 miles from them and further from this point than the Sacs are to it. It is also said by two Pottawatomy Chiefs who came from the Sac Camp in less than 1 & ¾ days that they are determined to make

a stand and not to be driven over the Mississippi—I presume that you have been advised 'ere this of the situation in which the frontier and myself have been placed by the extraordinary conduct of Brigr. Genl. Brown. Believing it necessary to take the Steps which I had the honor to communicate from time to time I trust that the Executive will sustain my present plan—I have ordered a detachment of 300 men from Colo. Stewarts Regiment (11th.) and will this day order another detachment of 100 men from Huston Regt. (the 7th.)—And I have to request that 300 effective men may be raised from the vicinity of Detroit and that such as are not mounted be sent round to this place by Steam. We are yet without a single Catridge box notwithstanding the repeated instructions which I have given to Captn Ullman, the Brigade Quarter Master about having them forwarded—I will this day send off Qr. Mr. Scarborough to Niles to forward the arms Ammunition &c. & provisions that may be there or at the mouth of the River for us. So soon as I can collect a force of Six or Seven Hundred Men I will take the field with a view of intercepting the hostile Indians and to cooperate with Genl. Atkinson—It is my opinion that energetic measures ought to be taken by The Executive to put an end to the murders which are frequently perpetrated on our people—The atrocities of those infernal villains as I have heard them related by Colo Hamilton who assisted to bury the victims that were murdered on Indian Creek are too horrible to relate. I am aware that it must be both expensive and inconvenient to send troops from the vicinity of Detroit but then we must either do something or be idle spectators near the scene of action—So far Sir—you are aware that nothwithstanding the large force which has been in the field under Gov. Reynolds & Genl. Atkinson that no favorable result has been effected: And unless concert and energy are hereafter combined I think it yet doubtful how long this state of things so injurious to the frontier settlements and to the prospects of this beautiful Country may be protracted—Give me men and means and you will see that I am determined to try my best to do something for the service and honor of Our Country—But after all, You Sir, have probably received instructions ere this, from the War Department. If it

is intended that our Militia should remain merely on the defensive on our lines please to enlighten me on that subject.

I have the honor to be Dear Sir
Very respectfully
Your Obed Servt

[Not signed but in the handwriting of John R. Williams.]

The Honble.
Stevens T. Mason
Acting Govr. of Michn

Head Quarters
Chicago June 13th. 1832

Sir:

Circumstances render it indispensably necessary that a force should be collected at this point to protect the frontier Inhabitants—The hostile Indians to the number of nearly thirty have been seen within about 28 miles of this place This intelligence corroborates the information given by Wapanse a distinguished Pottowatomy Chief who visited the Sac Camp two or three days ago.

You are hereby directed to furnish a detachment of One Hundred effective Men provided for actual Service. and to cause them to be marched to this place. If your health should admit, I think it advisable that you should lead on your Men. If the detachment can be mounted, the Service would be greatly promoted—It is therefore expected that as many mounted men will be furnish as may be practicable.

I am Sir respectfully
Your Obedt. Servt.
Jno R Williams

P. S. Volunteers will be preferred
if they can be obtained
Yours &c. J. R. W.

To Colonel Huston
Commandg 7 Regt
M Ma
Niles

Chicago June 15, 1832.

Dear Sir:

I presume there can be but one opinion now as to the true policy of the Government to bring this Indian War to a speedy and effectual termination. It seems to be the general belief that the enemy has determined to make a stand at the Cashquonong Lake on the head waters of Rock River. This Lake is represented, by those who are well acquainted with it & the surrounding Country; to contain great abundance of fish and wild rice and to be very difficult to approach on account of extensive marshes which surround it. There is however a narrow defile by which it can be approached. I am well satisfied from the open character of the Country being principally prairies & occasional oak openings interspersed with occasional groves of heavy timbered Land; That field artillery would be exceedingly useful and important, either to force & open defiles or to clear suspicious spots. I therefore deem it indispensable that two field pieces, fours or sixes, with limbers and apparatus complete together with a good supply of suitable catridges with round and grape shot and one or two Wurst caissons should be immediately forwarded with the Troops to this point—I am satisfied in my own mind that to render the operations of Genl. Atkinson effectual there ought to be a simultaneous movement from this point to cooperate; and preclude if possible, the chances which the enemy may have to escape in large or small parties either before or after an engagement. I am also decidedly of the opinion, that on the score of economy there will be a saving to the public by bringing matters both speedily and effectually to a close. The great object of securing the permanent tranquility of the frontier settlements will likewise be attained: and as a necessary consequence may be superadded their uninterrupted increase of population, improvement and prosperity hereafter.

Black Hawk has very tauntingly observed that he wished Genl. Atkinson to come on and meet him, that he was getting hungry, and therefore wished the General to bring more provisions than were allowed to fall into his hands before!

After the Report that was made by Major Bailey and some others that 28 hostile Indians had been seen in the Settlements of the River du page the sensation that the report excited here, on account of the

supposed danger of the families that had returned to their homes, was such that I found it next to impossible to be either governed by the dictates of judgment or prudence (for I am decidedly opposed to sending off small detachments where they cannot be supported).

I therefore yielded to feeling and the apparent necessity of the case; and authorized such mounted Volunteers as were well equipped and willing to push forward to afford all the protection in their power to the unhappy families that were exposed to danger; and to escort them in if they were desirous of returning here. a troop of about 35 Horsemen, consisting principally of Jackson's Troop & several Officers of this detachment were soon in readiness and left here on the evening of the 13th. inst. under the command of Colo. Brooks. 3 o'clock P. M. (15 June.) The Troop under Colo. Brooks has just returned all safe. They reached the Settlement on the Dupage at 5 O'Clock on the morning of the 14th. inst. after traveling all night: The Inhabitants were under great apprehension of danger. But Captn Naper one of the settlers had Received an Order from Genl. Atkinson directed to the Officer in Command of about 45 men near the mouth of Hickory Creek, to remove his Company to two block Houses which they are now building, at Napers on the dupage. Colo. Brooks reports very favorably of the good conduct and behaviour of the Officers and Men composing his Command, which was partly made up of inhabitants of this place. It would seem however that the number of Sacs which had been reported to have been seen was greatly exaggerated. But it is not surprising that the fears of the Inhabitants should be excited after the horrid scenes which are well known to have been perpetrated in their vicinity— I am determined hereafter to sift their reports before I shall attach much credit to them.

Major Whistler has not yet arrived, nor have I heard any thing of Colo. Stewart & the detachment which I ordered from his Regt. Our time is employed in the improvement & instruction of our few troops— The Garrison has been cleaned out by our Order and every thing put in the best condition which our means and circumstances will admit, considering also that there is yet at least forty families in the Fort. The police which has been established since our arrival will have a tendency to preserve their health and that of our troops—I believe that we have hardly a man of the Command sick which is extraordinary, considering the fatigue, heat, and privations which our men

have undergone. And I have to add that the men are in tolerable good spirits, but seemingly resolved to return home as soon as Major Whistler & his command shall arrive.

Sunday 17 June 4 O'Clock P. M.

Major Whistler has just arrived—his arrival will probably subject the families that had taken shelter in the Fort to great inconvenience. I have transferred the Command of the post to him and ordered my troops to encamp out. Captn. Naper arrived here about noon and brings the painful intelligence that two men that were engaged in hauling shingles to cover the Block House at the settlement of the dupage had been fired at by a party of 15 or 20 Indians within 1½ miles of the Block House. One was killed and scalped and the other made his escape.—Three of the inhabitants of that vicinity whose families are here are also believed to have been killed as they had not returned to their homes or been heard of at 10 O'Clock last night. I have seen a letter last evening from Genl. Atkinson to Colo. Owen—he is at Ottowa with 3000 Militia & 14 Companies regular troops. Sometime will probably elapse before any thing decisive will take place. The Indians may stand or scatter through the Country at his approach and perhaps try to make their way to Malden or the british province U. C.

I have heard nothing from Colo. Stewart or any of the detachments which I have ordered—It is however reported that they will neither Volunteeer nor march if drafted. I trust that measures will be taken by The Executive to sustain the small force we have here. The moment I can obtain a reinforcement I will move onward to protect the Settlements on the dupage.

And it would be still more gratifying to me to be enabled to proceed direct to the Sac Camp.

I have the honor to be
Dear Sir, Your Obed. Serv.
J. R. Williams

His Excelly
George B. Porter
Gov. of Mich Ty

P. S. By casting your eye over the Map you will perceive that the Country is entirely open to the hostile Indians. It would seem that as Genl. Atkinson approaches to them, they may be driven on our frontier, and through our Territory. J. R. W—

June 19th 1832.

The three men that were supposed to have been murdered have returned, so that one Man only was killed, but the settlements are believed to be in danger, for the reasons that I have explained. It seems that black hawk headed the hostile party, and must have been very near about when our detachment under Colo Brooks passed—Indeed from the statements that were made by several of our party I have no doubt, but that the indians were seen at a distance, & probably discovered our party, & concealed themselves—until after their departure, to return. We had Yesterday only 4 Sick Reported, but an accident has added two more—Two men were shot in the Barracks by one of Major Whistler's Command by accident. Our men requested one of the regulars to go through the Rifle exercise for their instruction. He had one of their muskets—which they told him was not loaded—but however after having been snapped the third time, went off, and shot one man through the arm and the other through the fleshy part of the thigh—No bones were broken—And Doctor Winslow believes that they will do well—There is no intelligence, either from Genl. Atkinson or the Indians varying from what I have written.

Very respectfully
Yours truly
Jno. R. Williams*

Endorsed:
To the Governor
Geo. B. Porter June
15 & 17—1832.

Received at Chicago June 15th. 1832 of John R Williams Five Dollars in Cash.

Wm. Axtell.

* Black Hawk War Papers to and including this page will be found in Vol. 25, Williams' Papers, and the remaining papers of this article will be found in Vol. 26, Williams' Papers, Burton Library, Detroit.

Niles 15th. June 1832

Dear General

Sir. have just been informed that their is an order on the way for me to call out a portion of my *Regt* for the purpose of Stoping all communication with the Indians from the West to the East and it is said that the St. Joseph River is to be patrolled from its mouth up to a sufficient length to effect that object Mr Dunbar brings the nuse and says that Col. Stewart Rec'd an order to that effect last Night and if that be the case I shall probably Receive one by the Stage this Evening. I am credibly informed that Col Stewart was not able to rase his men of your order. I have regained my health again and am Ready for duty should my Services be Required

Yours Respectfully
A. Huston Col
Commanding 7th. Regt
M. M.

To Major General
J. R. Williams

Mr. General Williams Sir

I have furnished A horse for your Express from detroit to chickgo And I am in great want for my horses and I want you should send them to me as soon As posible for I am oblige to hawl flower From niles. N. B. Their is three Cags of catriges left here Buy a teem that faild if you want them Sent on send me word and I will send them I found your bridle and sent it on buy Capt. Butler

Your Most obeidient
Acbd I Heald

June the 16' 1832
Door preria

Addressed: To Mr Gen. John R. Williams
Chickaugo
post has

June 16th. 1832

To Majr Genl. Jno R. Williams

Sir I recd Your order of the 8th. inst on the 10th. and amediately Isued my Orders to the Different Commandants of Compys. within my Regt. requesting them to raise thare proportion of the amount Demanded either by Voluntary enrolement or by Draft—thay also Caled thare Compys together but found None that was willing to enrole themselves for the expedition a Draft was then Instituted and Orders given for them to Meet at White Pigeon on Thursday Morning in readiness to March to Chicago—

Accordingly at 8 OClock of said day I was on the Praid Ground and by ten in the morning the officers had princply arrived but none of the Men had as Yet appeared—I remained thare untill about two O'clock at which time I attended roll call and found that but 10 or 12 privates had made thair appearance. I therefore allowed them that appeared to be dismissed untill further Ordered and had Commenced a report to You of my Sucksess when the Eastern mail arrived which Brought fresh Orders from the Gov. & Genl. Brown requesting me to raise by draft or otherwise out of My Regt. 90 men ninety men and to call on Col Brown of the 12th. Regt. for 90 more which are directed to by under my amediate Command for the purpose of guarding the different passes threw this section of the Country I am further directed to let no Indians pass unless I am well aware of thair Intentions & friendship—and by no means to allow any to pass in the direction to Maldin—the Order that I received I left with my Brother on the Prairie this evening as he wished to have a copy to read to his Company—But I will send You a copy of it by the next mail—I have caled on the Men as pr Order from the East and have had them this day mustered and have drafted from the regt the required number—I shall find no dificulty in getting men to serve at home but thay all have there fears respecting the potawatemies as thay when the affective men are Caled away abuse & frighten the woomen

I will relate one circumstance of the kind that came to my knowledge on my arriving at home.—On the Monday before I arived two Indians from a settlement south came onto Magoquinan Prairie with pretended friendship to the cittizens and informed them that on the Next Evening the Indians ware calculating to fall upon the woomen & children and to masecree them all—the story created considerable

allarm & some of the famerlies left thare houses & slept in the Woods & others actualy packed & started a moove

You will se from the above & many such stories which daily float threw our settlements that it will be a very difficult matter to get the cittizens of this section to leave thare Famerlies & effects

I am aware of the disapointment which You must feel in finding no assistance from a source whare You expected so much but Sir should the President himself Order under existing sercumstances he would not be able to remove them from home—Yours of the 13th. is now before me and I am sorry to say that from present arangments I shall not be able to render any assistance

with Respects Sir
I an Your Obt. Servt.
Hart L. Stewart

Niles June 17th. 1832

To Genl J. R. Wiliams

By an Order of the Commander in Chief through Brigd. Genl Brown Rec'd a few hours after Receiving yours it will not be in my power to obey your Call I should have been Extremely happy to come through and Joined you again, but it would be a hard matter to marched a hondred men from this Regt at this *time* the order from the East is as I stated to you for the purpose of Stopping the Indians from going to Canada for the purpose of Receiving presents or for other purposes I am extremely anxious to hear the result of the party that have gone out in persuit of the Indians under the Command of Col. Brooks I am afraid their number is to small to compete with their treacherous *Enemy*

If the troops should be discharged at Chicago and you should wish to send them back by water my Vessel will be at your Service—

I am Sir Your Obt—
humbl Servt
A Huston Col
Commanding 7th.
Regt. M. M.

To Majr Genl.
J. R. Williams
Chicago.

Head Quarters
Chicago June 17th 1832

General Order:

Major Whistler and the Troops under his Command having arrived at this place. He is hereby invested with the Command of the post—Colo. Brooks will transfer the Command to Major Whistler and the Detachment of Militia now here will prepare to encamp outside of the Fort in a suitable place to be designated by Colonel Brooks Inspr. Genl.
Quarter Master Redfield will retain the charge of the Arms Ammunition & other Stores belonging to the detachment

By order of Major Gen'l
J. R Williams
J. M. Wilson
Aid de Camp.

Chicago June 18—1832.

Recd of Major Genl. John R. Williams thirteen muskets and bayonets belonging to the Territory of Michigan for the use of my company and which I promise to return in good order at Fort Dearborn to be Shipped to Detroit whenever Major Whistler or the commanding officer at this post Shall Judge that the public Service and the Safety of the frontier Shall render it prudent and advisable

Signed Duplicates
M. B. Beaubien, Lieut

Wm. Whistler
Majr 2d. Ry Inf
Comg.

At a large and respectable meeting of the Citizens of Cook County Illinois held at Mr. Taylor's tavern in Chicago on Monday the 18th. of June 1832 Mr Th. J. V. Owen was called to the chair and Mr. Richd. J. Hamilton appointed Secretary; the object of the meeting having been explained

On motion of Mr. Hamilton Messers R. J. Hamilton, Joseph Naper, J.

Harman, Samuel Miller, Alenson Sweet, C. C. Vanhorn and Stephen J. Scott were appointed by the Chair A Committee to draft and report such resolutions as would be expressive of the object of this Meeting; And were further directed to carry said resolutions into effect Whereupon they reported the following Preamble and Resolutions which were Unanimously Adopted Viz.

We the Citizens of Chicago and Cook County feeling a deep sense of gratitude for the prompt and efficient protection which has been afforded us when we conceived ourselves in imminent danger, by our patriotic fellow Citizens of the Territory of Michigan Under the Command of Major General Williams

Therefore Resolved that the thanks of the Citizens of Chicago and Cook County generally be presented to Major General Williams, Colonels Brooks and Edwards and the Officers and Soldiers under their Command from the Territory of Michigan, for the prompt and efficient aid they gave us when we were without protection, and had not the means of defending ourselves; And also for their Urbane and polite deportment towards the Citizens Generally during their Stay among us as Citizen Soldiers.

Resolved that Major General Williams, Colonels Brooks and Edwards be furnished each with one copy of the proceedings of this meeting, And that one Copy be forwarded to the Editor of the Democratic Free Press at Detroit with a request that he publish the same

Resolved that the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the Chairman and Secretary of this meeting

Th. J. V. Owen
Chairm.

Richard J. Hamilton
Secty.

Chicago Cook County Ills
June 18th. 1832

Sir—

Under the direction of a meeting of the Citizens of Cook County Illinois held at Mr. Taylors Tavern in Chicago on the 18th. of the present Inst, the Undersigned on behalf of a committee appointed by that meeting to carry its objects into effect; has the honor of enclosing you in Obedience to one of its resolutions the enclosed Copy of its proceedings; And permit us Sir personally to assure you of the high respect we

entertain for your Character As a Citizen and Soldier—And Accept Sir, Our best Wishes for the future Welfare, happiness and prosperity of yourself and family.

Respectfully Sir
Yr. Obt. Servts
Richd J. Hamilton
Joseph Naper

Major Genl. Williams
Present

Chicago June 18th—1832

Rec'd of Major Genl. John R Williams Twenty Six—Muskets and bayonets belonging to the Territory of Michigan for the use of my company & which I promise to return in good order at Fort Dearborn to be Shipped to Detroit whenever Major Whistler or the commanding officer at this post Shall Judge that the public Service & Safety of the frontier Shall render it prudent & admisable—

Signed duplicates
J. S. C. Hogan
Capt. 1st. Co. C. C. V.

Two bayonets missing &
one musket bent recd. of the above
Hogan
Wm. Whistler
Major 2d Rg Inf Comy

Chicago June 19: 1832.

Gentlemen:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication, enclosing the proceedings of a public Meeting, of the Citizens of Cook County Illinois, held at Mr. Taylors Tavern in Chicago on the 18th June 1832: of which Th J. V. Owen Esqr. was Chairman, And Richd. J. Hamilton Esqr. Secy.

If in the execution of the Laws—The Michigan Militia have fulfilled the trust confided to it,—in performing its duty.—I cannot but feel sensible and grateful to the Citizens of Cook County, for the delicate and generous manner, in which they have been pleased, to view our Move-

ments; and, to convey their approbation of my Conduct, and that of the Officers and Citizen Soldiers under my Command:

And, for this mark of your kind attention & friendly feeling; please Gentlemen, to present my Thanks, and those of Colonel Brooks, and Lt. Colo. Edwards, and of every Officer and Soldier in this Command, to the Citizens of Chicago and Cook County.

Under our excellent Government—Those to whom power is Confided, should always be impressed, with the nature and importance of the Trust.—And when the Arms of any portion of the Union, are Constitutionally brought into the field; It becomes the duty of every Citizen Soldier to remember, that the protection and defense of our Country, constitute a paramount Obligation.

Local distinctions of Territory or place, should be deemed invidious; when a Common enemy is known to be within our vicinity, arrayed in Warlike preparation against us, And interrupting the intercourse of our Citizens with those of the neighboring States, by Acts of barbarous hostility and murder.

As the attainment of peace and safety to our people, are objects of mutual interest and duty, our efforts then, should be united and Combined, as far as practicable, to accomplish those desirable and important results.

Accept Gentlemen, the expression of my sincere wishes for your own, & the welfare and happiness of your families; And, that I am respectfully,

Your Obedt. Servt. & friend.

Jno. R. Williams

To

Th. J. V. Owen
R. J. Hamilton
Joseph Naper
I Harman
Samuel Miller
Alenson Sweet
C. C. Vanhorn
& Stephen Scott

} Esquires Committee.

Endorsed:

Answer to the Resolutions
of the citizens of Chicago
June 19th. 1832

To Major Genl. John R Williams, Colns. Brooks and Edwards and the Officers and Soldiers under their Command.

Gentlemen

The Undersigned Citizens of Chicago would respectfully represent, that at no time since the commencement of the present War, has their Situation been more dangerous than At the Present, from all the information we have received We are induced to believe the hostile Indians are penetrating in Small bands into the interior of the Country in almost every direction, and believing as we do, that we shall, when you leave us have no efficient force that would be able to protect the Town of Chicago And its Inhabitants, And being more exposed at present than at any other period during the War. We are Consequently More in Want of Assistance We would Therefore request that you would remain with us Until something decisive shall take place which we Anticipate in a short time, if it should not be incompatible with your duty, or your Views of propriety

Respectfully Your Obt. Servts—

W. B. Stamps	George H. Walker
J. K. Clark	R. A. Kinzie
James Clyburn	Alex Robinson
James D. Osborn	J. N. Bailey
R. E. Heacock	John S. C. Hogan
W. H. Adams	John Bt. Beaubien
J. Littleton	William H. Brown
J. Lawrence	Richd J. Hamilton
Calvin Rowley	Gh. Kercheval
John Wellmaker	James Kinzie
Benjamin Harris	J. Miller
Joseph Curtis	Isaac Harmon
John Noble	E Wentworth
Mark Noble	Chas Taylor
A. W. Taylor	Jacob Eaman
Chas Brother	John F. Herndon
Bett. Laroke	Julius Perrin
J. Cecott	G. C. Walker
A Lavene	John Miller

Endorsed:

Application of the Inhabitants of Chicago rec'd June 20. 1832.

Head Quarters
Chicago June 22d. 1832

General Order:

A detachment of 300 Mounted Militia having arrived at this place from the State of Indiana under the Command of Colonel Russel with special instructions from the Executive of that State.

The Major General directs that the detachment of Militia, under the immediate Command of Lt. Colo Edwards, embark immediately on board the Napoleon and be conveyed to the Mouth of the River St. Joseph and there Landed and under the direction of the Officers present be marched in good order to Niles and when arrived there will be honorably discharged. The Mounted Men including Captn. Jackson's Troop & the Staff Officers of the detachment will be in readiness to March at 2 'OClock P. M this day. They will return to Detroit under the orders of Colo. Brooks. The Quarter Master will take charge of all Public property including Arms Ammunition &c. and see that it is carefully shipped and conveyed to the Mouth of the St. Joseph and there safely stored to await further orders. The stores belonging either to the Territory of Michigan or to The United States that may now be on the way to this place shall be carefully shipped to Niles. The Major General takes this opportunity to express his entire approbation of the Good Conduct and behaviour of every Officer Non Commissioned Officer Musician & Private of this Command and therefore tenders his thanks to all in behalf of our Common Country, with his best wishes for the Welfare and happiness of every individual Member of the Command.

By Order of Major Genl.
J. R. Williams
J. M. Wilson
Aid de Camp.

Chicago June 22 1832

Recd. of Major Genl. John R Williams for the use of the Militia of Illinois or the citizens in the immediate vicinity of this post forty nine good & nine damaged muskets & bayonets belonging to the Territory

of Michigan & which I promise to return in good order at this Post to be Shipped for Detroit as soon as the public Service & the Safety of the frontier will render it advisable

Signed duplicates
Wm. Whistler
Majr 2d Reg Inf
Comg

Chicago June 22
1832

Recd. of Maj. Genl. John R. Williams for the use of my Regiment fifty two muskets & bayonets for the use of my regiment belonging to the Territory of Michigan & which I promise to return in good order at Niles to be Shipped for Detroit whenever the public Service & the Safety of the frontier Shall render it prudent & advisable

A. H. Edwards Lt. Col. 7th. Regt
Signed duplicates Mich Mila.

Niles June 22nd 1832

To
Majr Genl
J R Williams

By Express Recd on the 20th. instant I am again ordered to discharge my men the following is a copy of my last order

By express recd this morning from his excellency Gov. Porter it is Cirtain that the hostile Indians have returned west of Rock river and are advancing to cross the Misisipi—

You will therefore discharge all the men under your command and Collect the arms ammunition and public property of Every description given you in Charge &c.

dated Tecumseh June 17th.

I am Sorry that matters have turned out thus had not this order come I should have been in Chicago by this time. I am at a loss to know what to do at this time—, after the manoeuvre that has been with the men it would be impossible for me to rase men without another call

from you—and if You Call on me again I shall endeavor to be at Chicago as soon as possible. Majr Whipple is now here he contends that your order had ought to been obeyed instead of the one from Genl Brown—but I could not conceive it so—had the order come from Genl Brown as an order of his I should been bound to obey yours but coming as it did as an express order from the executive I supposed I was bound to obey in preference to any other—

I assure you that I did not attend to the call from Genl Brown to Evade yours but because I supposed it to be my duty—

If you still wish me to repair to Chicago let me know and I will be there soon

Yours Respectfully
A Huston Col
Commdt 7th. Regt
M. M.

To Majr Genl
J. R. Williams
Chicago

Endorsed:
Colo. Huston recd. at
Bailly's June 23 1832
(by Major Whipple)

Head Quarters
Niles June 26th. 1832

General Order:

Under the uncertainty that now prevails respecting the situation and movements of the hostile Indians It becomes necessary to guard against any sudden incursion which they may attempt to make through the Territory or on the frontier Settlements. The Major General therefore deems it necessary and proper That the Seventh and Eleventh Regiments of the Michigan Militia should be held in readiness to assemble and Act as circumstances may require at a moments warning—

Colonel Huston will therefore take the necessary measures to enforce the prompt and faithful execution of this Order—And Colo. Hart L. Stewart is also charged to take immediate measures to insure the faithful execution of the objects contemplated in this order and that his

Men be properly warned to be prepared to march and appear at any point where it may become necessary. Arms Accoutrements & Ammunition will be furnished at Niles or at any other point of concentration that may hereafter be determined on to such of the Men as may be unable to provide themselves.

By order of Majr Genl
John R Williams
Chas W Whipple
A. D. C.

Detroit June 30th. 1832—
noon

Major Genl. Williams
D. Sir.

I embrace the opportunity of an Express, which goes with despatches from Genl. Scott, to Chicago—and thence to the Camp of Genl. Atkinson to say a few words:—You can well form an opinion of what my engagements have been, since my return to the Territory—I have not time to detail them.

The Council have been very busily engaged—and their Term of Service being limited to 60 days they have been making the best of their time: & by way of Example, kept me up all last night—examining—approving & disapproving Bills &c—&c—They adjourned this morning:

In this situation (which did not brighten my faculties for business,) Genl. Scott found me when he, & his troops disembarked from the Steam Boat of this morning—He has requested me to lend our aid in assisting to get his communications to Genl. Atkinson—I have accordingly written to Mr. Owen our Vigilant & excellent agent, in the Indian Department to render all the aid in his power—I must confess that I am sorry you have left there—But understanding from Major Whipple's letter of the 23d. dated at the Crossing of the Little Calamic, that you had come away, (which under the circumstances you were right in doing) I have no alternative but to trust the matter to Mr. Owen—I have but little time to state any particulars:—Should this letter be delivered to you by the Messenger, you are hereby authorized to open the communication directed by me to Mr. Owen:—Of course, detaining it no longer than is necessary to read it, as it must go on with the Messenger—I have so endorsed the letter—

In answer to that part of Major Whipple's letter which states that "It is submitted whether it wd. not be advisable for Genl. Williams to remain a few days at Niles, or until something decisive shall have been accomplished by Genl. Atkinson," I have to say that I leave the matter to your own good judgment—Advise me from time to time, where you are &c—&c—Unless some circumstances unexpected, should arise, to warrant it, I cannot think it would be necessary to Order out any more of Our Militia, on the frontier, many of whom have already suffered, by being called away from home at this busy season of the year—Should an emergency require it, of course I wd. not oppose it.

Genl. Scott will leave here on Tuesday, or Wednesday—in the Steam Boat intending by engaging two or more Steam Boats to transport his force—Arms &c with the greatest possible expedition—I have shewn him your Letters & given him a Copy of your interesting letter from Chicago, commenced at Chicago on the 15th. and ended on the 19th.—I have nothing further to say for want of time—In very great haste

Very truly
Yr friend & obt Servt—
G. B. Porter

Endorsed
No. 15.
Govr. G. B. Porter recd.
at Niles July 2d. 1832
at ½ past 2 O'Clock P. M.

Addressed
Major Genl
John R Williams
supposed at Niles.
or in the St Joseph Country

See the Express for other Documents before he leaves you

Niles July 3d. 1832

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 30 Ulto at noon was recd. yesterday at half past 2 O'clock P. M—I lost no time in expediting the express onwards to Chicago. Since my last I have rec'd no letters from Chicago but a verbal account has been brought from there by several persons stating that one or two skirmishes had taken place between the Militia & the hostile Indians near Galena, in which the latter lost Eleven and four of their number—The loss of the Whites is not distinctly stated but is said to have been inconsiderable compared to that of the Indians. I presume that you will have received the same intelligence ere this reaches you.

The Indians here are making daily applications to Colo Stewart The Sub Indn Agent and to our Qr. Master for provisions. There was on hand a few Hundred wt. of poor & damped biscuit which I ordered to be distributed to them. they state that they are very hungry and in great want; there is no Indian Corn to be purchased within thirty miles of this place. Our Horses have been without grain since our arrival; And are rather poor in consequence of the hard service which they have had to perform. I promised some of the Chiefs that I would write to Your Excellency and represent their wants—I am inclined to believe that it would comport with sound policy, particularly at this time, to distribute some Corn or Flour to them & their families. It would assist them to subsist, until the new Corn becomes fit to roast.

I am exceedingly chagrined and mortified at the Course of management which has prevailed in relation to our Militia force—Had matters been at first differently conducted I have no doubt but that much more would have been accomplished and the public interest subserved and promoted—You can hardly imagine the disorder that prevailed when I reached this point—and yet the disaffection and insubordination was still more complete. I shall reserve until a convenient interview the explanations & details which I consider it my duty to make on these matters. I have no intention to call out the Militia unless some extraordinary emergency should render it necessary—And as Your Excellency has placed it on my own responsibility either to remain here or to return to Detroit—I believe it proper to wait a few days until I can

learn something definite respecting the movements of the hostile Indians and Genl. Atkinson, or at all events until General Scott shall have reached Chicago, which I suppose will be about the 5th. inst. In the meantime it is my intention to ride down to the mouth of the River and up to South Bend, as much for the purpose of examining the face of the Country and the different fords as to employ my time usefully.

In my last I recommended Theodore Williams to fill the vacancy of Division Pay Master in my staff. I believe that he would fill the Office in a manner that would be both useful and satisfactory to the Public—

I am Dear Sir Respectfully
Your Obedt. Servt.
Jno. R. Williams

His Excellency
Geo. B. Porter
Govr of Michn Terry, Detroit.

Niles July 3d. 1832.

Dear Sir:

I am glad that the General Government have at length come to a determination to terminate Indian hostilities in the West. Yet I cannot conceal from you my disapprobation and chagrin at the manner that the Territorial Militia has been managed. Had I been furnished with the force that I ordered; and requested from the Executive It is my opinion that the matter would have been already settled. But by a concatination of events which I could neither control nor avert I was placed under the circumstances which you witnessed at Chicago and compelled to adopt however reluctantly, the only alternative which I had within my power. Should matters still remain undecided, which I can scarcely imagine at this period, I have no doubt but that General Scott will soon bring them to a close.

It will give me great pleasure to hear from you or Colo. Owen whenever it may be convenient, or at all events so soon as any thing interesting may occur. It would yet be a source of the highest gratifica-

tion to me, to have an opportunity of contributing to the peace and prosperity of the inhabitants of the frontier.

With a tender of my respectful salutations to Mrs. Hamilton I am Dear Sir, very truly and respectfully

Your Obedt. Serv. and friend.

[Not signed but in the handwriting of John R. Williams.]

P. S. Please to request the post master at Your place to send all Letters directed to me to this place, until otherwise directed.

Yours &c
J. R. W.

Endorsed: Copy to Richd. J. Hamilton Esqre
Chicago—Dated Niles
3d. July 1832.

Indian agency
Chicago July 4th 1832

"three men were killed a few days ago by the hostile Indians within a few miles of Fort Johnson (mouth of Fox river) and a fourth badly wounded who made his escape— and the Indians, it is said, although few in number were permitted to make their way off without interruption. So long as this is the course pursued by the whites, so long may we expect our frontier to be annoyed by this daring enemy"

The irregularity of the mail together with its short stay at this place frequently prevents my writing to you by return post"

Th J. V. Owen
Ind Agent

Col Jas Stewart

Endorsed:

Extract from a letter from Col Owen Chicago to Col J Stewart sent to Gen'l Williams at Niles

Should Genl. Williams leave for Detroit before I have the pleasure of seeing him, I wish he would speak to the Governor in relation to the two points we conversed about, namely, the order to furnish provisions to the Indians, and bad Indian *Jake*

J Stewart
July 8th. 1832

Endorsed: Colo J Stewart
Mission Agency, Niles
rec'd July 8, 1832.

Tuesday Morning
24 July. 1832

Dr. Sir

The papers are not to be found, as you have the original and a Copy of your Answer, would it not be well to send them to the Journal or Courier, with such statements as to the facts, and conduct of the Free press—in not publishing them.

Very Respectfully
Your Ob. Sert.
E. Brooks

Maj Genl Williams

Chicago, Illinois
29 July 1832

To
Major Genl. Jno R. Williams
Sir

I have this day made application to the Secretary of War (who I understand is in Detroit) for an appointment in the Corps of mounted rangers to be raised for the protection of the frontiers.

Any assistance you can render me in obtaining an appointment, will be confering on me an honor for which I shall consider myself under the greatest obligation and thanks to you.—

I address you from this place as I came here with the expectation of remaining until the arrival of the mounted men which were required from Michigan but I wish to be considered an applicant from Michigan.

I consider it unnecessary for me to say any thing relative to my experi-

ence &c you are enough acquainted with my character & capacity to judge how far you are authorized to use your influence in my behalf.

Any communication you may be pleased to address to me at Niles will be most thankfully received—

I have the honor to be
Very Respectfully
Sir Your Obt. Servt—
Geo. W. Hoffman

The Cholera at this place continues to rage, but not with its former violence, only two have died since my arrival here (41 hours) five new cases are reported to day—4 P. M.

G. W. H.

Adressed
To Major General J. R. Williams
Detroit M. T.
Sent by Lt Backus
Rec'd. Aug. 9. 1832.

Edwards Burgh
Augt. 4th. 1832

Maj Genl. John R Williams

Dr Sir—I am informed that Mr. Beeson will not act as Paymaster for our western Soldiers—

You probably recollect that while we were at Chicago, Some of the Soldiers belonging to 7th. Regt. & a few other attached to the Regt. of St. Joseph County who were under your command procured goods to a considerable amt. under the agreement that the Several Sums Should be taken out of their wages—I address you on this Subject because I do not know who will pay the men—Whoever does pay *these* we ought to be made acquainted with the above circumstances—I can give him all necessary information & supply him with the amounts—Will you inform the Paymaster on this Subject or Give me his name—The creditors may loose their just demands if the business is not attended

to—I should be happy to receive a line from you—Stephen Wells receipt for the money I sent by you has been recd.—I am under much obligation for your kindness—

Your Obt. Servt.
Alex H. Redfield

Chicago Illinois
August 5th. 1832

Dr Sir

In consequence of an absence from this place for some time past I have not had an Opportunity of Answering your friendly communication from "Niles," Since you left us we have had in common with yourselves and many others of our fellow Citizens to encounter this worst of all scourges of the human family, the Cholera, but it is at present fast subsiding we have lost but four Citizens by it and they were of the intemperate class. it seems confined almost exclusively to that class of persons—

We have nothing from the Seat of War that you have not heard, the Victory obtained by Genls. Dodge and Henry has induced the general belief that we shall have no more of the War in this quarter, you seem to regret Sir that you had not the Opportunity of doing something more than you did, for the benefit of the Country, I with yourself regret that you could not have had about five hundred effective Mounted Men at the time you was here As I was then and still am Confident you could have struck a blow that would not only have put an end to the War, but would have been the means of saving the Government a great expense and in all probability secured the hostile Indians.

I have the honor to be Sir
Respectfully Your Obt Servt.
Richd. J. Hamilton

Major Genl.
John R. Williams
Detroit
M. T.

58

Detroit Aug 6, 1832

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose to you herewith Copies of the Letters of Instructions which I have received from time to time from The Executive Department Authorizing the movements of the Militia of the Territory.

I shall avail myself of the earliest opportunity to complete my report on the subject—my health has been such since my return that I found it impossible to comply with your request sooner—

You will therefore please to consider the enclosed documents as my report in part.

Respectfully Sir,
Your Obed. Serv.—
Jno. R. Williams

His Excellency
George B Porter
Governor of Michigan Ty.

Tuesday Morning
28 Aug 1832

Maj. Genl Williams,
Sir.

In a conversation with Gov. Porter a few days since, I was led to conclude, he expected something in the shape of a report from you, As I feel assured your disposition would lead you to do every thing in your power, to aid in an early adjustment of our military affairs.

I would therefore respectfully reccomend your early attention to this Subject—should your health permit.

Very truly your friend
E Brooks

Tecumseh Sepr 4th. 1832

Maj Genl.
John R Williams
Dr Sir

In obedience to the orders of Brig. Genl. J. W. Brown I herewith send you a copy of his Brig Order for the Mustering of the several Regiments and Battalions of the 3d Brigade, for the present fall trainings—

Very respectfully Sir
I am Your Obdt. Svt.
D. Pittman
Brig Inspector
3d Brig M. M.

Adjt Genls Office
Detroit Sept. 25th 1832

Sir:

I am solicited by Genl Brown of having his Brigade Order|: which I had the honnor some time ago to forward to you:| published—please therefore to hand the same to the Bearer & I shall see that the same is returned after publication

Very respectfully
J. C. Schwarz
Adjt Genl.

Maj Genl.
J. R. Williams
Comdg. 1st. Divs. M. M.

Cassapolis Cass Coy M. T.
Nov. 15—1832—

Dr General

I have just discovered that the unjust hostility which Genl. Brown has for some time past been wageing against your self & which grew out of the late Military opperations in this Country he is disposed to

exercise upon all who dare to respect you & who dared to disobey him & obey you—

You doubtless reccollect Genl. Browns famous Order to the Militia (while on their march to Chicago & half the way there) to disband & return home—I was one of the number who recd. & obeyed that order till (when returning) I met an aide of yours bearing your countermanding order, which order I obeyed in prefference to General Browns—Now what I am comeing at is this—A few days since while at Niles I called upon the adjutant of this (the 7th. Regt) to examine the duplicates of the Muster Rolls—and to my utter surprise I find a return made of none who obeyed said order of yours except Col Huston & the said adjutant—at least I know of no more—Myself, the Sergeon & the Lieut Colonel were certainly left off—I do not know why this is—It seems to me there is some unfairness in it—I certainly ought to draw pay from the 28th. of May, the time I entered Service till the 10th. July the time I left actual Service—

I ought however to draw for a much loger time for I have since I left actual Service spent much time & money & am still doing so in the adjustment of claims of the United States—

—I ought in justice to receive 3 or 4 months pay—but by Browns management I am like to be cut down to mere nothing—I am not able to spend time & money without any return—General I hope & presume our interests will not be neglected by you—I should be happy to receive a line from you on the subject of this letter—I learn by my last paper that the Secretary has ordered the payment of the Militia—will you be so good as to give me any instructions in your power relative to the settlement of the accounts contracted by me as Qr. Master

Your obt. Servt.

Alex H. Redfield

To

Majr. Genl. John R Williams

Akron Nov 17, 1832

Dear Sir

premit me to trouble you a litle on my Buisness I wish you would draw my pay from the United States for the survices Rendered By me in the Late Ingon *ware*: I wish you to Retain out of it 24/ Being the Balance due on a Note Given By thomas *Dair* & myself to L. Pratt.. &

the 24/_ will pay my part of the Note.. & also keepe 40/_ for Gineral Charles *Larnard* and a nof for your trouble & forward the Remainder to me at this place & you will much Obliege your Obd Servt—you Can forward it By *Mail*.. at my Resk

Amasa Wright

I am 38 Milds South of Cleaveland on the Canal Ohio

You will please answer this as soon as Convienent Give my Best Respects to Thomas Williams

Amasa Wright

I Supose it will Be necesary for a Recete to Be Given I wish you would Sine my name to a Recete for the Money. I autherise you so to do & I Supose this will be the same as a power of atorney

Amasa Wright

Detroit Nov 24, 1832

To

Major Gen John R. Williams
Michigan Militia
Sir,

I observe in many of the accounts presented to me for settlement, that subsistence is charged, as having been issued or furnished the the detachments of the Michigan Militia, then in the Service of the U. S. at the places where they encamped. The inference is, that they had not subsistence with them at these times, which could be issued to them in the customary manner; but the fact is not specifically stated in any of the certificates annexed to the accounts, & seems to require explanation. Will you have the goodness to make me an Official Statement of it; namely, that, often, on the march, the Troops were without public provision, and the Quarter Masters were obliged to obtain them from Individuals on the route, and particularly from the Innkeepers, having as much regard to economy as the emergency of the case admitted

Very respectfully
I am Sir
Your Ob Sr—
Henry Whiting
Major & A, q, m.
U. S. A.

Detroit Nov 27. 1832

Sir:

Your Communication dated the 24th. inst. was only this moment received.

In answer to your enquiry respecting the manner that the Michigan Militia called into the Service of The United States were generally provided with subsistence I have to state,—That from the Circumstance of the sudden emergency that gave rise to their being called into the field The Militia were generally destitute of Camp equipage Blankets or Tents—provisions consisting of Bread & Meat alone were provided at this place and at Niles which were always issued to the Troops when the Waggons containing them could keep up with the Troops. The Infantry therefore almost invariably drew their Rations regularly. But with the Cavalry or Mounted Men the Case was somewhat different—As their number was small and their movements rapid it was generally impracticable to furnish them with rations—and indeed it is very doubtful if even on the score of economy it was not best to allow the Quarter Master to purchase their subsistence & forage from place to place instead of incurring the expense of Light Waggons & horses to carry their forage & provisions—other reasons interposed to prevent the adoption of the latter course; which consisted in the difficulty frequently of procuring Light Waggons and Horses and the casualties, and consequent uncertainty which generally attended the provision & Baggage Train. Under these circumstances the emergency of the Service seemed at once to authorize the course which prevailed—

But to guard The Government against any attempts at imposition I deem it my duty to inform you, that I will call at your Office on tomorrow, in order particularly to make such further explanations as the service and the interest of the government may require.

Respectfully Sir,
Your Obedt Servt.

[Not signed but in the handwriting of John R. Williams.]

Major Henry Whiting
Asst. Qr Master U. S. Army
Detroit

Detroit Nov 30. 1832

Sir,

In order that I may recognize the Officers who were the Quarter Masters connected with the late Services of the Michigan Militia, & know who were authorized to certify accounts in that capacity, I will be much obliged to you for an Official list of them.

Very respectfully
I am Sir
Your Obdt. Svt.
Henry Whiting
Major & a q m
U. S. A.

Major Genl J. R. Williams
Michigan Militia
Detroit

General Order
Head Quarters
Detroit Decr. 3d 1832

Major B. F. Larned Paymaster of The Army of The U. S. has been directed by the War Department to Pay the Michigan Militia for their Services, during the Indian hostilities, the last summer.

The Division General Staff and such other officers as accompanied the expedition under the immediate Command of Major Genl. Williams including Captn. Jackson's Troop of Calvary will be paid at Detroit.

The Brigade Genl Staff of the 3d Brigade and The 8th. Regiment will be paid at Tecumseh—

The Battalion under the Command of Major Jones will be paid at Jones Ville—The Eleventh Regiment and such other detachments as reside in the Vicinity of Mottville will be paid at that place and The Seventh Regiment will be paid at Niles—Major Larned will give Notice at the respective places of the time at which he may be enabled to attend.

It is the object of the Government to pay the respective Corps or Regiments of Militia as near to their respective homes as may be practicable.

It is matter of regret that the Muster Rolls of the detachment which

marched from this place to Saline and returned back from the latter place By order of The Honble. The Executive of the Territory have not been transmitted to the Pay Master General in consequence of which neglect or omission, that portion of The Militia cannot be paid at present.

The Adjutant General is therefore hereby directed to transmit the Muster Rolls of that detachment to Major B. F. Larned in order that they may be transmitted to The Paymaster General of the Army of The U. S.—

Those Troops which accompanied the Major Genl. to Chicago & the Illinois frontier will receive two months' pay—all others will be paid according to the time which they have respectively served.

[Not signed but in the handwriting of John R. Williams.]

Paymaster General's Office
Washington City
Decr. 12th. 1832

Sir.

Your letter of the 3d inst to the Secretary of War has been referred to this Office, and I am instructed to inform you that your accounts as Division Qr. Master will be paid, provided you obtain a certificate from Genl. Williams that you actually performed the duties of your Office during the time for which you claim pay, and that the public service required you should do so.

Respectfully
Yr. Obt. Servt.
N. Towson
P. M. G.

A. D. Fraser Esquire
Detroit
M. T.

Detroit Decr. 18th. 1832

Sir:

By The 10th. Section of the Statute Law of Michigan entitled "An Act to Organize the Militia" The Quarter Master Department is directed to consist of One Quarter Master General with the rank of Colonel—And to each Division one Division Quarter Master with the rank of Major—and to each Brigade One Brigade Quarter Master with the rank of Captain And to each Regiment or Separate Battalion one Quarter Master with the rank of Lieutenant.

I directed my Aid Major Whipple several days since to apply to the Adjutant General for a List of the several Quarter Masters in Commission. But have not yet been furnished with the information required.

From the manner in which the Militia were called out and the circumstances under which I was placed it would be difficult for me to give you an official list of the Officers that were employed in the Quarter Master's department. When I received Orders from the Executive of the Territory to put the Militia in movement, Brigadier Genl. Brown had already ordered out a part of his Brigade which from its geographical position enabled the Troops that were under him to precede me in reaching Niles—Although I lost no time in reaching that point.

When within a few miles from it I met the 8th. Regiment in detachments on their return—Not knowing what information or Orders Brigr. Genl. Brown might have received to authorize this movement, I did not deem it expedient to attempt to halt the various and scattered Troops which I met on the way. Having arrived at Niles I was informed that a body of three or four hundred Men principally mounted had crossed the River St. Joseph and were on their march towards the Door Prairie Brigr Genl. Brown informed me that he would immediately follow—It was then agreed that he should proceed to the Door Prairie and there wait for me and the detachment under Colo. Brooks which was hourly expected and was supposed to consist of three or four Hundred Men. In the mean time an Order was received by Genl. Brown from The Executive directing him to march forthwith to the relief of Chicago. The order having been shewn to me I told Genl. Brown that he was at liberty to take his own course—He sat out from Niles and to my surprise returned the next day—He had ordered back & disbanded the Troops—when I discovered what had been done I immediately despatched my Aid Major Wilson with orders to the Troops to halt—But I found it almost impracticable to Check the route—They had been

ordered to go to their homes—Insubordination raised its hundred tongues and the Officers declared that they could not controul their men—The Adjutant of the 11th. Regt. informed me privately that my life was in danger from threats that he had heard uttered. Under such a state of things, I did all that was practicable. I met and addressed them and immediately Marched with such as would Volunteer to Chicago.

I have given you this short sketch by way of explanation in order to show how difficult it would be for me to answer your enquiry in the manner which you requested.

So far as my own knowledge enables me to inform you at present The Officers who acted under my Orders in the Quarter Master's Department were Major Alex D. Frazer Div. Qr. Master who proceeded with the first detachment to Ten Eycks but returned to & remained at this place—

———Scarborough Assist Qr. Mr. J J Ullman Brigade Qr Master 3d Brigade part of the time at Niles under my orders after Brigr. Genl. Brown had returned home—A. H. Redfield Qr. Master 7th Regt.

I will readily communicate any further information on this or any other subject connected with Your Dept. so soon as it may be in my power. Your enquiry and the review of the transactions of the last summer's Military operations lead me to observe that the remarks in the President's late excellent Message to Congress on the subject of the Militia are in my opinion exceedingly appropriate—From my own observation and experience I am satisfied of the imperfection of our present Militia organization—Instead of a distinct system under the authority of each of the States & Territories the only effectual mode of organization to effect the great Constitutional objects in view, should be to establish a National Militia under an uniform National Law.

I am Sir Respectfully
Your Obedt Servt.

[Not signed but in the handwriting of John R. Williams.]

Endorsed: Copy to Major Hy.
Whiting, Asst. Qr. Master
U. S. Army

Ohio Akron Dec 19, 1832

Paymaster of the Michigan Militia pleas pay Gineral J. R. Williams the Amount of My Survices for the Late Ingon Ware & you will much Obliege me

Amasa Wright

Der Sir—I do not wish to trouble you with My Buisness But my Beaing so far from you or from the pay Masters Department that I must Call on som won for asistance & if you will Be kind enof to Git my Money & inclose it to this plac you will do me a Great favor I Receved a Line from Mr. Peters saing that it Could not Be obtained without an Order I wish you to attend to it and you Onley I do not wish for Mr Peters to Have any more trouble he sais I have sent so many Orders that it is hard telling who to pay it to & the Reason is I Rote him 2 without Receving any answer.. & I wrote you: & as yet have not Receved any answer—

I hope in all favor you will Be kind enof to Answer this & if posible send me the money let it Be more or less I want it verry much

from Your friend
Amasa Wright

Gineral J. R. Williams
My Best Respects to thomas

I am in Akron Portage Co. 38 miles South of Cleaveland

Detroit Decr 22. 1832.

I hereby certify that Major Alexander D. Fraser Division Qr. Master, Michigan Militia, actually performed the duties of his said Office as such Division Qr. Master from the 22nd. May to the 11th. June last, on the occasion of said Militia being in the service of the United States, and that the public Service required he should do so; during which time I was Acting Governor of the Territory of Michigan.

Stevens Thomson Mason

Cassopolis, Cass Co. M. T.
Dec 22—1832

Genl. Williams

Dr Sir—A great deal of my time and attention is every day required in settling the Qr. Masters accounts and I suppose when Major Larned commences paying the Troops I shall be under the necessity of attending in order to have the deductions made from the Soldiers pay on account of cloathing drawn by them—am I for these Services to be considered in the Service of the United States & to draw additional pay or not?—I would be much obleiged to you General if you would inform me—My duties while in Service were very fatigueing & if I must still devote much of my time & attention to the Militia claims I ought to draw some additional pay—I hope General if it is in your power that you will assist me in this business & procure an order for my continuance for a limited term of time in Service—There are a great many accounts which can not be settled without my assistance & the deductions for Cloathing drawn by the Soldiers cannot be made without I am present at the payments— I am not able however to Give my Services without just *compensation*—If you will assist me Genl. in this matter you will much oblige me—

With much Respect Sir
Your Obt. Servt.
Alex H. Redfield

P. S. Will you write so soon as you conveniently can as some of the business is urgent—

A. H. R.

I do hereby Certify, that during the latter part of the month of May 1832; In Consequence of information received by Stevens T. Mason then acting Governor, in the absence of Gov. Porter of the then Territory of Michigan; That The Sacs Indians had committed several atrocious murders within a few miles of Chicago; and that from the defenceless state of our South Western frontier, the inhabitants were in a State of great alarm; under an impression that there was danger of a coalition being formed between the Potowatomies & Sacs—The Acting

Governor upon the representations aforesaid, issued his order directing me to raise a force of Four Hundred effective Men and to March without a moments delay to the protection of the frontier settlements— That the weather was cold wet and inclement for the season. That in Obedience to the order, the command was put under March in forty eight hours from the date of the Order. But, that the Men were unprovided with either Tents or sufficient Camp equipage—That on the second day after leaving Dearbornville, It commenced raining soon after the detachment had got under March; That the troops were literally drenched with rain when they arrived at Ypsilanti—That after stopping there about two hours, The March was continued that afternoon to Saline, at which place the Troops bivouacked at night. That the men were very deficient even in Blankets, and that in consequence they were very much exposed especially at night— lying out without any shelter whatever. That at that place, the next Morning, just as the Troops were about resuming their line of March, an order was brought by the Adjutant General, from Acting Governor Mason directing the detachment to return to Detroit—And directing me to proceed to the frontier with such of my staff as were with me, to Act as circumstances might require for the security of the frontier settlements—

From the inclement weather and unprovided condition of the detachment; I am fully persuaded, that the Troops suffered very much, and that the health of all was unavoidably jeopardized; And that consequently, some were seriously affected by the exposure which in several cases must have had a lasting influence on their health—A few of the Young Men, I have reason to believe, died in consequence of the ill effects of this short campaign, and others, were more or less seriously affected; Of this description, is the applicant Lewis M. Rivard a private soldier in Captn. Joseph F. Marsac's Company of Volunteers. I have seen and read the accompanying Certificates & Affidavits marked A & B and believe them to be substantially correct and true, and, that the said Lewis M. Rivard has in consequence of exposure and hardships as aforesaid, whilst in the Service of The United States as a Private Soldier (Volunteer) been injured in his Constitution and bodily health, so as to have been unable to labor

since that time; and having it in my power to Testify to the good moral Character, temperate habits, and good conduct of the aforesaid Lewis M. Rivard I unhesitatingly do believe him to be entitled to a pension from The United States under the Laws of The U. S.

And I do therefore respectfully recommend him accordingly to the benevolent consideration of Congress.

All which is very respectfully
submitted
Jno. R. Williams
Major Genl. M. Militia

Endorsed:
Certificate of Major
General J. R. Williams
in the matter of the
application of Lewis
M Rivard for a
pension—
March 11th. 1839.

To all whom it may Concern.

Greeting.

I hereby Certify That the Militia were ordered by the Executive of Michigan to march to the protection of the frontier inhabitants about the 20th. May last; That the urgency dictated by the intelligence received of the danger that threatened the frontier was such that scarcely a moment delay could be allowed the Militia for preparation—That in consequence of there being no Camp Equipage provided by the government that the Men were unavoidably subjected to extra expenses in procuring various utensils, blankets and equipments which became indispensably necessary particularly on account of the Want of Tents—That the period of the Year that they were called out was emphatically to the Farmer the planting season—and to the Merchant and Mechanic, the business Season—That in addition to great exposure to Cold nights heavy rain and rapid marches the individuals composing the detachment were unavoidably subjected to considerable loss by the abandonment of their business and homes without previous notice or arrange-

ment. I am therefore decidedly of the opinion that pay merely for the number of days that they were actually out on Service would be an inadequate compensation for their time and extra expenses. I therefore feel it a duty dictated by justice respectfully to recommend the application of the Petitioners to the favorable consideration of Congress.

Jno. R. Williams
Major Genl. M. Ma.

[Without date.]

Endorsed: Copy of a Certificate endorsed and annexed to a Petition made to Congress by a detachment of Militia who served Ten days, and returned back to Detroit from Saline in May 1832

Note.—See foot-note bottom page 253.

ANTHONY WAYNE AND THE BATTLE OF FALLEN TIMBERS.

BY C. M. BURTON.

The scene opens with the defeat of Harmar and of St. Clair; the Armies of the United States in full retreat before bands of Indian savages bearing the bleeding scalps of our dead soldiers, and encouraged by Great Britain and her troops garrisoned all over our northwest; our Country in disgrace,—humiliated to be defeated in fair battle by such a horde!

The smoking ruins of a thousand homes gave evidence of the visits of the savages. The victory already achieved in defeating two armies, gave them assurance of further success and emboldened them to reject all efforts to obtain a peace that would permit settlers to live upon the Ohio lands in comfort and security.

This was the situation of affairs in 1791, when General Anthony Wayne was called from his southern home to return to his native state of Pennsylvania to there take upon himself the burden of collecting and disciplining an army, which, under his skillful leadership, would give peace to our western pioneers and would teach England and the world that we were in fact, a nation.

There is no doubt that England had, up to this time, refused to carry out the terms of the treaty of 1783, in hopes that the States would dissolve the partnership they had formed, and, as separate colonies, would quietly fall a prey to her superior forces.

It was this fear, on the part of the States, that drove them to form the constitution of 1789, and it was the new Union formed under that constitution that must forever be disgraced, if it did not, by whipping her savage allies, teach England that the agreement she had made in 1783 *must be carried out.*

The War of the Revolution was formally ended by the signing of the Treaty of Peace, at Paris, September 3, 1783. By the terms of that treaty, the western limits of the United States were defined to include all the land south of the Great Lakes, and east of the Mississippi river,—all the land that before that time had been claimed as British Territory, lying south of Lakes Erie, Huron and Superior. Within these limits were several military posts that were then occupied by the soldiers of Great Britain, and it was agreed that they should soon be evacu-

ated and the troops withdrawn. Repeated requests and demands for their abandonment were met with refusals or with postponements, until the people became impatient and exasperated, and in a mood for another war, to insist upon their rights. It was not alone that these frontier posts were garrisoned with British soldiers, but the efforts of the English Government were constantly directed to foment trouble between the Indians and the American pioneers who were seeking homes in the lands north and west of the Ohio river.

Within two years after the close of the Revolutionary War, an ordinance[1] was passed by Congress for the division of the lands north and west of the Ohio river, into States, and for its government as a territory, until the different parts should be eligible to statehood.

A second and more complete ordinance[2] was enacted in 1787, and General Arthur St. Clair was appointed Governor of the territory which now includes the State of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin.

The most important place in this territory was Detroit, and a British garrison was in charge there, and another garrison was established at Mackinac.

Disbanded American soldiers of the late war, and pioneers of all descriptions were coming, with their families, over the Alleghany[3] mountains, crossing the Ohio, crowding into the eastern and southern portion of the Northwest Territory, seeking homes in the wilderness.

The Indians seemed determined to prevent this incursion of emigrants, and they attacked and murdered the settlers wherever they found an opportunity. There can be no doubt that the Indians were furnished with arms and ammunition by the British soldiers, for they could obtain these supplies from no other quarters, and Detroit was the depot for their distribution, as it was the depot for the distribution of all goods donated and parceled out to the savages.[4]

[1] Ordinance of 1785.

[2] Ordinance of 1787 is printed in Vol. 1 Compiled Laws of Michigan.

[3] The English were disposed to insist that the boundary lines claimed by the Indians (the Ohio River) should be conceded by the United States, and that the security of these lands should be guaranteed to them. Canadian Archives, 1890, p. 193.

[4] Quantities of presents were sent to Detroit every year for distribution among the Indians. In 1794, after all presents were distributed, there remained, among other materials, 46 guns, 1,100 pounds of powder, 2,000 gun flints, and 100 tomahawks. Mich. Pioneer Col. Vol. 12, p. 146. There is evidence all through these reports of the encouragement the English were giving to the Indians. There can be no doubt that this was official encouragement, and not merely that of private individuals.

See the following, same volume, page 111, in April, 1794:

"Governor Simcoe, with his suite, set out from hence (Detroit), for the Miamis Rapids, as did Col. McKee, Capt. Elliott, Lieut. Selby, and McKee, and a few days after the 'Ottawa,' Capt. Cowan, sailed for the mouth of the Ottawa (Maumee?) river, with three companies of the 24th and a party of Artillery, to join them.

I understand forts are to be built between the Rapids and the Glacis. These preparations have put all the Indians here in great spirits."

(See page 123, the British were afraid and said that Wayne would at once attack Detroit.) Also pages 148, 162, 166.

Repeated attempts were made by our government to pacify the Indians and to make treaties with them which they would respect, but no sooner was a peace patched up than the persuasions of the British would cause the Indians to violate their obligations, and murders and conflagrations followed.

An expedition under General Josiah Harmar, fitted out in 1790, to punish the Indians and bring them to a proper sense of duty to their white neighbors, resulted in a total defeat of government soldiers in a battle near Fort Wayne, Indiana.[1]

In the following year Gen. Arthur St. Clair, who was Governor of the Northwest Territory, was directed to organize an army to revenge Harmar's defeat and teach the Indians that the white man was supreme. Again only disaster attended the expedition, and St. Clair and his army were completely routed, put to flight and many of the soldiers massacred.[2]

It was under these circumstances that Wayne was called upon to collect an army and undertake to accomplish what Harmar and St. Clair had failed in doing. In April, 1792, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States, and he was instructed to re-organize the army which was now in great disorder. The re-organized army was termed the Legion of the United States, and was divided into four sub-legions, each under a brigadier general. These officers were James Wilkinson, Thomas Posey, Charles Scott. As both armies that had preceded him had been defeated from lack of proper discipline of the soldiers, Wayne determined that he would not undertake the task until the Legion should be properly drilled and disciplined.

In June, 1792, he commenced the formation of his new army, by recruiting soldiers, for that purpose, at Pittsburg.[3]

Many of the officers who were with Harmar or St. Clair were chosen to assist in the new expedition, and a good many of the common soldiers under Wayne participated in the defeat of one or the other of those unfortunate commanders.

It was contemplated to organize an army of 5,120 officers, noncommissioned officers and privates.[4] The remnant of the regular army was very small, for the defeats of Harmar and St. Clair had greatly reduced it, and those who remained were so afraid of an expedition into the Indian country that they deserted at every opportunity.

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[1] Stille's Life of Wayne, 318.

[2] Stille's Life of Wayne, page 319. This battle was fought Nov. 4, 1791, in Mercer County, Ohio, near the Wabash river. Howe's Hist. Ohio, Vol 2, page 490; Ed 1891. St. Clair's narrative.

[3] Wayne was in Philadelphia, in May 1792, and the first entry in his orderly books is dated at that place May 24, 1792, and the first entry at Pittsburg is dated July 3, 1792.

[4] The plan for organization of the army in 1792, is given in American State papers (Gales and Seaton Edition), Vol. 12, page 40.

Wayne remained a long time at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, gathering troops and supplies and drilling the soldiers who were forming his new army. The post was so far advanced on the frontier that the soldiers were apprehensive of danger and frequently deserted.[1] To such an extent was this desertion carried on, that a reward was offered for the apprehension and return of every deserter, and the culprit on his conviction at Court Martial, was severely punished, usually by receiving a hundred lashes on his bare back, but in some instances deserters were shot to death.

It is probable that the Legion would have advanced further into the Indian country before this time, but the efforts to conciliate the Indians were constantly being made and the advance of the army was delayed to await the termination of these efforts. If a satisfactory treaty of peace could be obtained there would be no need of an army in the west and it could be dispensed with, or used for other purposes.

This sought-for treaty was the most important matter the government had on hand, in Indian affairs, and commissioners were sent out to various tribes, and the Indian chiefs were invited to attend the President at Philadelphia, or to meet in council at other places, within or near the Indian country, many times during the year 1792. The most important Indian chief was Joseph Brant of the Six Nations, and every effort was made to win him over to the cause of the Americans. In March, 1792, a deputation of Indian chiefs met President Washington in Philadelphia. They came at the invitation of Rev. Samuel Kirkland, and an effort was made to convince them of the desire of the United States to do justice to them, and to live in peace with them. These Indians returned to Buffalo Creek to meet a greater number of their own tribes, who there met in council in June.[2] Among the names of the commissioners or representatives to the Indians, are to be found Timothy Pickering, John Francis Hamtramck, Rev. John Heckenvelder, Major Alexander Tournan,[3] and Brig. Gen. Rufus Putnam. In his instructions to Gen. Putnam on this occasion, Gen. Henry Knox, Secretary of War, used the following words: "I cannot close these instructions without urging you to the highest possible exertions in bringing the war to a close, and of devising every proper means for that purpose. An Indian war is destructive of the interests of humanity, and an event from which

[1] Orderly Book Mss. Pittsburg, Aug. 9, 1792: "Deserters having become very prevalent among our troops, at this place, particularly upon the least appearance, or rather apprehension of danger, that some men (for they are unworthy of the name of soldiers), have lost in every sense of honor and duty as to desert their posts as sentries, by which treacherous, base and cowardly conduct, the lives and safety of their brave companions and worthy citizens were committed to savage fury."

[2] American State Papers, Vol. 12, page 229. Buffalo Creek is at Buffalo, New York.

[3] Was killed by the Indians—id. page 243.

neither dignity nor profit can be reaped. It has been imposed on the government by strong causes, which it could not control or prevent; and the sooner it is terminated, the better." [1]

Treaties of peace were entered into by various small bodies of Indians, but no general treaty could be obtained. It was made apparent that the Indians were entirely dissatisfied with any concession that permitted the whites on lands west of the Ohio river, and the establishment of that river as the boundary line was made a condition of peace. The Indians were unable to cope diplomatically with the agents and commissioners who were sent among them, and did not make known to the Americans just what their wishes were, in this respect, and for that matter they would not faithfully observe any treaty that was made, for no treaty contained the provision for such a boundary line. The Americans knew the wishes of the Indians in this respect, but refused to discuss the matter with them.[2]

From all information that could be obtained, and gathered from every source, it appeared that the Indians were intent on carrying on war against the States, and that no lasting peace could be obtained until the savages learned to respect the whites as their physical superior.[3]

In September, 1792, Gen. Rufus Putnam entered into a treaty with several of the western tribes, at Vincennes, but that it was not entered into in good faith was made evident by an attack on a detachment of Kentucky mounted infantry, at Fort St. Clair, on the 5th of November following.[4] This treaty did not, in any manner, specify the boundary lines between the lands claimed by the Indians, and those conceded to have been granted to the whites. The Six Nations, of which Brant was the principal chief, were on good terms with our government, and openly sought to persuade the western tribes to a new and lasting treaty. Brant, at the request of President Washington, went to a council of the western Indians, held at the Miami in the early part of 1793. While it could not be expected that he would represent the United States on that occasion, he employed such arguments as he could to induce the Indians to enter into a treaty with the government. The council at the Miami consisted exclusively of Indians and their British and Canadian friends. No one represented the United States, but Brant

[1] American State Papers Vol. 12, page 236.
[2] American State Papers, Vol. 12, pages 243, 245.
Joseph Brant wrote to the Secretary of War as follows, in July, 1792. "There are great numbers of Indians collected, and from their councils seem determined upon a new boundary line. In short they are all sensible that what has hitherto been done is unfair, and I am of the opinion peace will not be easily established, without relinquishing part of your claim." See report of Corn Planter Dec. 8, 1792, id. page 337.
[3] American State Papers, report of Reuben Reynolds, Vol. 12, page 244.
[4] See Adair's report in American State Papers, Vol. 12, page 335.

proposed that delegates should be sent from that council to meet the commissioners appointed by Washington, who were to meet at Sandusky shortly after the termination of the Miami council.

The commissioners appointed by Washington were Benjamin Lincoln, Beverly Randolph and Timothy Pickering. Randolph and Pickering went together to Niagara river, and there received a pressing invitation from Lieut. Gov. Simcoe to accept the hospitalities of his home at Newark (now called Niagara), on the Canadian side of the river, until the arrival of the other commissioner, when they would together set out for Sandusky. At the same time they received a copy of a letter written by Col. Alexander McKee, British Indian Agent at the Miami, to Major E. B. Littlehales, secretary to the Lieutenant Governor. McKee, who was then at Detroit, said that the council at the Miami would not take place till the end of May, and that the Indians could not end that council and repair to Sandusky until near the end of June, and that therefore the United States commissioners need not go to Sandusky until the middle of June.[1]

General Lincoln, with Mr. James Dean, an interpreter, arrived at Newark, May 25th.

The commissioners were very careful of any movement that would in the least appear suspicious to the Indians. Wayne had proceeded with his army as far as Fort Washington, but they urged that he make no further progress at this time. They requested also, that Wayne should not reinforce posts farther advanced than his present location. They sent William Wilson, an interpreter, to the Miami council, to accompany Capt. Hendrick Aupaumut, chief of the Stockbridge Indians, and gave the latter minute directions for sounding the tribes on their disposition to the whites. John Heckenwelder and Dr. McCoskry accompanied Hendricks as far as Detroit. The commissioners requested Gov. Simcoe to permit some British officers to accompany them, and Capt.

[1] American State Papers, Vol. 12, page 344. The British authorities complain that Pickering was violent in his language, and attempted to create a feeling between the United States and England that was likely to lead to war. Canadian Archives 1891, page XX.

John Askin, an extensive trader in Detroit, on Feb. 22, 1793, submitted to Gov. Simcoe a plan for carrying on the Indian trade with the Indians at the Rapids (of the Maumee) and to the westward thereof, so that the Indians would remain in possession of their lands and would not desert them and thus allow them to be occupied by their enemies (the Americans). His plan was to build stockaded posts all over the country west of the Rapids, and station 24 soldiers in each post. All traders should be examined by Col. McKee, who was in command at Fort Miami, and if found suitable and proper persons, should be admitted to an equal share of the Indian trade. The most important suggestion of Mr. Askin was that the British Government would thus soon be in actual and armed possession of all the northern part of Ohio and all lands to the west of the Rapids. Askin was a great schemer to obtain lands from the Indians. He purchased 3,000,000 acres in the northern part of Ohio, including part of the present city of Cleveland. (See "A chapter in the History of Cleveland," published by the writer hereof in 1895). He also undertook to purchase the entire State of Michigan in 1795. See "A Frustrated Land Grab" in the Inlander, Ann Arbor, 1893. His letters and writings are in the library of the writer hereof and are very voluminous and interesting.

Bunbury, of the 5th Regiment, and Lieutenant Givens were appointed for that purpose.

Simcoe would not permit the commissioners to visit Detroit, though he allowed them to go as far as the mouth of the Detroit river.

The commissioners were about to board the Dunmore, at Fort Erie, for the Detroit river, or for Sandusky, when they were met by a deputation of about fifty Indians, sent from the council at the Miami, to meet and talk with them in presence of Gov. Simcoe. There were several days parley between the deputation and the commissioners, as the Indians insisted upon being informed regarding the movements of Gen. Wayne, and also desired to know whether the commissioners were empowered to fix a permanent boundary line. Having received satisfactory answer to those questions, they returned to the Miami and promised to meet the commissioners at Sandusky.[1]

The commissioners, in making their report to the Secretary of War at this time, stated that Wayne was reported to have cut and cleared a road from Fort Washington into the Indian country, finally ending about six miles beyond Fort Jefferson; that at Fort Jefferson were accumulated large quantities of horses and cattle, guarded by a large body of soldiers. These preparations of Wayne, as they were only three days journey from the Glaize, were very warlike and appeared threatening to the Indians, and the commissioners requested that further advance be stopped and that the extra troops and provisions be withdrawn, at least as far as Fort Jefferson. On the 14th of July the commissioners sailed from Fort Erie, and arriving at the mouth of the Detroit river on the 21st inst., took quarters with Capt. Matthew Elliott who was an assistant in the British Indian department. Here they met a second deputation from the Miami council. The new deputies were provided with instructions in writing from the confederated Indians. The instructions stated that the former deputation which had met the commissioners at Niagara had not fully explained what the

[1] The Indian tribes represented at the Miami were, the Five Nations, Wyandots, Shawanese, Delawares, Munsees, Miamies, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatamies, Mingoes, Cherokees, and Nantikokies. American State Papers, Vol. 12, page 350. (The Iroquois were sometimes called the Five Nations and sometimes the Six Nations.)

Extract from a letter of John Askin dated at Detroit, June 24, 1793: "There is some Quakers and other men here waiting ye arrival of ye three American Commissioners from Niagara to go with them to ye Indian Council to be held at Sandusky. My private opinion is that no peace between the Americans and Indians will take place, for imprudently some American troops are said to be advancing in ye mean time. If so I should not think the Commissioners safe. You know the disposition of Indians."

Even at this early day the inhabitants were preparing to change their allegiance from the English to the American Government or else remove from Detroit to the southern side of the river. This same letter contains the following item on that subject: "The Commodore's family" (Commodore Alexander Grant, then president of the Upper Canadian Parliament, in session at Niagara) "are well. He is now at Niagara executing laws which, I fear, is not long to effect this side of the water, if I may judge from appearances, as his Excellency, Governor Simcoe, seems to wish to withdraw the inhabitants from this side. However many are possessed of such property, as will not admit of their removing, let their inclinations be what it will."

Indians demanded as their rights and the present instructions would fully supply the deficiency. At the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768,[1] the Ohio river was fixed as the boundary between the whites and Indians. The Indians now insisted upon the re-establishment of this line and they asked that the whites remove from the western (northern) side of the river. The only question now asked of the commissioners was whether they were authorized by the United States to fix upon the Ohio river as the boundary line. It would have been useless, or worse than useless, to attempt to conceal from the Indians the intention to claim lands west and north of the Ohio. Those lands had long been occupied by settlers, and cultivated farms and villages were dotted all along its eastern and southern border, and pioneers were every day pushing farther and farther into the interior.

Either the Indians must gracefully submit to surrender their claims over this land, or they must be forcibly ejected. The answer of the commissioners recited, at some length, the former treaties with the various tribes and the considerations paid for the very lands now claimed by the Indians. They recited the utter impossibility of forcing the whites to abandon their possessions, and the injustice of the Indians in making such exactions. On the other hand, they proposed to compensate the Indians for territories taken, and to provide an annuity for their future support. The reply of the Americans was not entirely satisfactory to the Indians, but with another assertion of their rights to the lands north and west of the Ohio, they returned to the Miami council, requesting that the commissioners should await an answer from that place.[2]

After waiting for some days, until August 13, without hearing from the Indians, the commissioners sent runners to the Miami council, to hasten action on the part of the Indians, and a few days later they received a deputation with a final answer declining to meet the commissioners at any place or to treat with them upon any terms, unless

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[1] The treaty of Fort Stanwix (afterwards Fort Schuyler) was made by Sir William Johnson, Nov. 5, 1768. See proceedings of Commissioners of Indian Affairs, by Franklin B. Hough, Vol. 1, page 45. Stone's Life of Sir William Johnson, Vol. 2, page 308.

Extract from a letter of John Askin dated at Detroit, July 9, 1793: "The only news in this quarter is the Indians being assembled near Sandusky to treat with the American Commissioners who have been long since at Niagara and who, I really believe, will not come farther, or if they did that it would not answer any purpose, for what they want, the Indians will never agree to. However, I believe they would consent to a new line if the latter would let them have near ye Miami towns."

[2] The Indians at first told the Commissioners to return to Washington, and tell him that the Ohio must be fixed as the boundary line, but they repented of their hasty action, and told them to wait for further information from their council. American State Papers Vol. 12, page 354.

Extract from a letter of John Askin dated at Detroit, Sept. 20, 1793: "We have had Commissioners from Congress to treat with the Indians for peace, but they have not been able to perform it, so they have returned and we must expect their army this fall for already there are some deserters coming in. I was myself a month at the Indian council at the foot of the Rapids Ottaway (Maumee) river on business for my employers."

the Ohio river as a boundary line was first conceded. The reply of the Indians is quite long, and their side skillfully argued.

They repeat the statement of the commissioners that many settlers are already west and north of the Ohio, and that the United States cannot well remove them and that, in order to have the rights to these lands conceded, the government will pay the Indians, and provide future annuities.

In answer to these points the Indians say, "We hope we may be allowed to point out a mode by which your settlers may be easily removed, and peace thereby obtained. We know that these settlers are poor, or they would never have ventured to live in a country which has been in continual trouble ever since they crossed the Ohio. Divide, therefore, this large sum which you have offered us, among these people; give to each, also, a proportion of what you say you would give to us annually, over and above this very large sum of money, and we are persuaded they would most readily accept of it, in lieu of the lands you sold them. If you add, also, the great sums you must expend in raising and paying armies with a view to force us to yield you our country, you will certainly have more than sufficient for the purposes of repaying these settlers for all their labors and their improvements. You have talked to us about concessions. It appears strange that you should expect any from us, who have only been defending our just rights against your invasions. We want peace. Restore to us our country, and we shall be enemies no longer." [1]

With the Indians in this disposition, it was unprofitable and useless to undertake further negotiations, and the commissioners, feeling that their summer's work was needlessly expended, started on their return to Philadelphia, August 17, 1793. The commissioners held no meeting at Sandusky whatever,—did not even go near that place. They met several delegations from the confederate Indians, but they did not meet the Indians in general convention, nor would the British commandant at Detroit permit them either to visit Detroit itself, or the Indians at Miami.[2]

Having thus followed the commissioners to the unsuccessful termination of their undertaking, we will turn to Gen. Wayne, and follow his footsteps.

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[1] American State Papers, Vol. 12, page 356.

[2] The Commissioners requested Henry Ford, Captain of the Dunmore, to take them to the Miami, but he replied that he could neither take them there nor to Detroit.

In April, 1794, Simcoe had the fort built at Miami, and three companies of troops went there. Am. State Papers, Vol. 12, page 480. War between U. S. and England inevitable, Am. State Papers, Vol. 12, page 480.

The effort of the government was always directed to the establishment of peace, without bloodshed, if possible. With this end in view, the negotiations with the Indians were constantly being carried on, but at the same time preparations were made to collect and discipline an army to be in the field, ready for action, if it should finally be determined that a bloodless peace could not be established.

The formation of Wayne's army was very slow. As it moved along from place to place, through the Indian country, the soldiers were drilled in the system of Indian warfare they expected to encounter. Forts, consisting of block houses and entrenchments, were erected and garrisoned, roads cut and pathways opened for the furnishing of supplies as the army advanced. Leaving Pittsburg some time in November or December, 1792, Wayne was encamped at Legionville on Christmas day.[1] Here he remained until May 8, 1793, and on that day, removed to Hobson's Choice.[2] At this post he remained for some time, receiving new recruits and drilling those under his command; and keeping track, as much as possible, of the movements of the Indians and English as well as of our commissioners.

The next stopping place is indicated in his orderly book as "Head Quarters near Fort Hamilton," and this point was reached October 9, 1793.

Although at all times since leaving Philadelphia, there was danger of an attack from the savages, at this encampment, the first preparations were made for receiving the Indians in force, and directions were accordingly made to prepare the camp for an emergency of this nature. The directions contained in the orderly book, under this date, are as follows: "'Brig. Gen. Wilkinson, will take the command of the right wing of the Legion, composed of the 1st and 4th sub-legions. Brig. Gen. Posey will take the command of the left wing, composed of the 2d and 3d sub-legions. The following will be the standing order of the encampment (viz); 'When the heads of the columns arrive at the ground appointed for the encampment, the sub legionary Quarter master will shew their respective positions. The square is to be immediately formed agreeable to the order of the 25th of August, for receiv-

[1] The orderly books of Gen. Wayne are in manuscript, unpublished. Some are missing, but references will be made to those I have, by date. The army was at Pittsburg, Nov. 17, 1792, and the records are missing from that date till April 11, 1793. See Am. St. Papers vol. 12, page 337. Legionville is 22 miles south of Pittsburg and was named because the army was organized as a Legion. The treaty of Greenville, page 60.

[2] Hobson's Choice was situated on the Ohio river, between the village of Cincinnati and Mill Creek. It was so named because no other suitable location could be found. Howe, Vol. 2, page 28.

ing the enemy front, flank and rear.[1] The artillery officers will immediately trace out bastions and the whole line will cover themselves by throwing up breast works as heretofore practiced. The van and rear guards, flankers and dragoons will face out, from the order in which they marched and must sustain all attacks of the enemy, and cover the Legion whilst employed to fortify the camp. The picquet guard of the line will be immediately formed and furnished with axes and entrenching tools, and proceed under the conduct of the field officers of the day, to throw up four redoubts opposite the extreme angles of the encampment, at three hundred yards distance from those angles, should permit; otherwise, in the most favorable position. As soon as those works are completed, the troops will take post in the rear of their respective lines. The long roll will then beat to call in the light infantry and rifle corps. Those belonging to the front, flanks and rear, will each throw up a redoubt opposite the centre of their respective flanks, front and rear, at 300 yards distance from the lines and central between the extreme angle redoubt. The park of artillery and spare ammunition in the centre of the camp; the hospital and hospital stores in the rear of the van troop of dragoons, and the contractors in the rear of the hospital stores; the baggage in the rear of their respective stores.'"

As the failure of the commissioners to make any satisfactory treaty with the Indians was now known to Gen. Wayne, he had commenced the march that would only terminate upon his meeting the enemy's field. The outline and plan of march, above given, was that now employed in the daily movement of the army. The daily orders issued to govern the troops on their march indicate the serious situation of the country and the dangers that surrounded the army. "The Legion will march at 10 O'clock this morning," is the order for Oct. 9th.; "Should any accident happen, so as to stop any of the waggons, or pack horses, the others are to pass them immediately, so as not to break the line of march, nor shall any openings or intervals be let between the waggons, or pack horses, more than barely sufficient to move those waggons and pack horses to which accidents may have happened, and they must be immediately repaired or replaced, and moved on in front of the rear guard, nor shall any partial halt be made on any pretense whatever. The whole line will halt, when necessary, from the signal,

[1] See Spencer's Narrative; also Collot Travels.

which is the retreat. The non commissioned officers and soldiers must always carry their bayonets fixed, the scabbards and fogs must be thrown away. Any soldier losing his bayonet, shall forfeit one month's pay. * * * At all times every one must be on the guard. The neglect of one might result in the destruction of all."

Every one of the orders indicated the perilous situation of the troops, and the possibility of an attack from an unseen foe at any moment.

On the 14th of October, they reached the southwest branch of the Miami river.[1]

Here the commander complimented Brig. Gen. Posey and the officers in general for their good behavior during the rapid march they had made, and at the same time censured the want of harmony and lack of proper subordination in a few of the Legion; "at this crisis, when they ought to unite as a band of brothers, to give effect to every order and operation tending to the security, honor and reputation of the Army."

The Indians made an attack on the 16th inst., and the soldiers gave way and retreated, led by Daniel Davis, a private. Davis was at once tried by court martial, and ordered to be shot for his cowardice, but was subsequently pardoned by the commander, on condition that the dragoons should retrieve their character on the first opportunity.

On the 17th of October, Lieut. Lowery and Ensign Boyd, with a command of 90 men, and acting as a convoy for 21 wagons of supplies and military stores, were attacked near Fort St. Clair, and the officers above named, with thirteen others, were at once killed.[2]

On the 19th of October, two soldiers, Edward O'Bryan and Matthew Gill were shot to death, having been convicted of sleeping at their posts, when on duty as sentries.

The cold weather was now so far advanced that it was thought best to prepare for winter quarters, and the soldiers were at once set at the work of "hutting" and preparing proper defenses. Grounds were marked off and assigned to each wing and corps, for the purpose of "hutting" and the soldiers were set at work. The huts of noncommis-

[1] There were three rivers in Ohio, bearing the name of Miami; one, now called the Maumee, in the northern part, on which Toledo is built, emptying into Lake Erie; one, east of Cincinnati, and the third, a short distance west of that city, and both flowing into the Ohio. The Miami here referred to was called the Great Miami, and is the third one above enumerated. Wayne's letter to the Secretary of War states that this spot was reached on the 13th, and that he could proceed no further on account of lack of provisions. Am. St. Papers, Vol. 12, page 361.

[2] Burnet's Notes 160. This disaster was very pleasing to the British, when they heard of it, and Dundas wrote that should Wayne's campaign be unsuccessful, he hoped the Americans would open their eyes to the advantage of a final treaty, with the Muskingum as a boundary; see Canadian Archives Q. 280, page 16.

sioned officers and privates were to be fourteen feet in the clear and six to a company. The huts of the soldiers were to be first erected and then the officers should take all help they needed to complete their houses.[1]

On the 11th November Gen. Wilkinson was directed to march on the succeeding Wednesday to Fort Jefferson, with Majors William McMahon and John Mills, and with the companies of Captains William Kelsey, Thomas Pasture, Samuel Andrews, Zebulon Pike, Thomas Lewis, John Cook, Asa Hartshorn, Daniel Bradley, Isaac Guion, Jacob Slough, and William Preston.

Twenty-four privates of the cavalry were directed to stay in camp, and the remainder were ordered to accompany Gen. Wilkinson.[2]

The huts were completed and occupied by the troops on the 16th day of November, and the fort was formally named "Green Ville," on that day. Before the houses for the officers were built the fortifications were completed, consisting of a stockade around the encampment, with loopholes at intervals. The loopholes were so high that they could not be used or seen through from the outside, and within, around the entire stockade was a banquette, or elevation, made of earth, so high that the shortest men could fire through the loopholes with effect, "so as to take an enemy in the centre at twenty yards."[3] Following the completion of this work, the officers' huts were prepared and everything was then ready for winter.

The winter was not spent in idleness. There was a constant drilling of the soldiers and preparing them for the actual conflict to come, and instructing them in the methods of Indian warfare. A road was kept open to bring in supplies for the army, and convoys of food were constantly being brought in. A detachment of troops under Col. John Francis Hamtramck was sent forward to the site of St. Clair's defeat, and there a defense was built which was called Fort Recovery.[4]

After the fortifications here were completed, two companies of soldiers were kept in it and the remainder marched back to Fort Greenville, twenty-three miles.

The general camp was maintained at Fort Greenville, until July 27, 1794, but in the interval troops were being constantly sent forward to Fort Recovery. On the 13th of May, Lieut. Edward D. Turner and

[1] Orderly book, Nov. 6, 1793.
[2] Orderly book, Nov. 11, 1793.
[3] Orderly book, Nov. 26, 1793.
[4] In Mercer Co. on the banks of the Wabash (Howe's Ohio, Vol. 2, page 494.)
John Francis Hamtramck was born *at Quebec* August 16, 1756, and died at Detroit, April 11, 1803. He was the son of Charles David Hamtramck and Marie Ann (Bertin) Hamtramck. (See Centennial Celebration of Evacuation of Detroit, page 126.)

Lieut. Robert Lee, with 15 dragoons acting as an escort, attacked a body of Indians and put them to flight, capturing their packs, blankets, provisions and arms. Corporal ——— Waters was killed. A few days later it became quite certain that the Indians would soon attack the post, and on the 27th of May, the folowing order was issued: "The commander in chief is confident that every officer and soldier will cheerfully exert himself upon this occasion, as from very recent corroborative intelligence, the enemy mean very shortly to afford the Legion an opportunity of trying their prowess in the field. Should they eventually realize that opportunity, the commander in chief fondly flatters himself that the enemy will have no cause to triumph from the interview." [1]

The expected attack of the Indians did not take place, but the men were prepared. Each person was constantly on the out-look for a foe, and was prompted to shoot any Indian, be he a friend or an enemy at sight. Nearly all of the Indians were unfriendly, but some, Choctaws or Chickasaws, were not included in that list, and to distinguish them from other tribes, they each wore a piece of yellow ribbon, tied to the top-knot or tuft of hair, left on the crown of the head by way of ornament, or to serve as a trophy of war.[2] These Indians were not to be disturbed by the soldiers and a warning to that effect was given to the troops by general orders. The troops that remained at Fort Greenville were at work completing the fortifications at that place. On the 29th of June, Major William McMahon was sent forward to take charge of Fort Recovery, in command of the company of Capt. Thomas Lewis, and the residue of[3] the company of Capt. Asa Hartshorn, making a detachment of 95 rifle men and 50 dragoons, acting as a convoy for provisions. As Major McMahon neared Fort Recovery on June 30, he was attacked by a large body of Indians and English.[4] The battle commenced early in the morning, and lasted all day. It was supposed that there were between 1,500 and 2,000 Indians engaged on this occasion. Of the Legion, twenty-two officers and men were killed and thirty were wounded. It was not ascertained how many Indians were disposed of, but probably a much larger number. Major McMahon, Capt. Hartshorn and Lieut. Robert Craig, were among the killed, and Capt. James Taylor and Lieut. William Darke among the wounded.[5]

[1] Orderly book, May 27, 1794.
[2] Orderly book, June 28, 1794.
[3] Orderly book, June 28, 1794.
[4] Howe's Ohio, Vol. 2, page 495. Treaty of Greenville, page 67; Burnet's notes on the Northwest, page 161.
[5] Major McMahon must have been a giant; he was 6 feet, 6 inches tall and was a famous Indian fighter. (Howe, Vol. 2, page 496.)
See letter of General Wayne in 12 Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Biog., 327.
For letters relative to battle of June 30, 1794, see 12 Penn. Mag. page 367.

The British watched every movement of Wayne as eagerly as did the Indians.

The general impression was that war between the United States and England was not far off. Governor Simcoe informed his government that Brant was loyal to him and that the Indians had openly declared themselves willing to obey his instructions. "The union of all of these powerful Indians," Simcoe wrote, "would be productive of the King's best interests." He requested that "the Indians be not now deserted by the British for, if they were, there would be no safety to British interests in America." On June 21 he wrote "General Wayne's army is advancing; I hope, but I am by no means confident, that the Indians will effectually oppose him. I intend to occupy Turtle Island, and to combine all the defenses of land batteries, gun boats and the shipping, to prevent, if possible, Gen. Wayne from obtaining any supplies from Presque Isle or elsewhere by that channel."[1]

A large detachment of mounted Kentucky troops arrived at Fort Greenville. They consisted of two brigades under Generals Todd and Barbee, the whole commanded by Major Gen. Scott, and amounting to more than 1,500 men.[2]

On the 28th of July, Wayne started northward with such portions of his army as could be spared from garrison duty. Brig. General Wilkinson had command of the right wing; Lieut. Col. Commandant Hamtramck had charge of the left wing, of the regular troops. The mounted volunteers under Gen. Scott marched in seven columns in the rear. The first encampment was at Stillwater, twelve miles from Greenville, and the second at "Indian Encampment," near Fort Recovery,[3] and here, the army was increased by all the troops that could be spared from that fort.

The next advance was ten miles, and a halt was made at Beaver Swamp, or Beaver Creek, a tributary of the Wabash. They were now in a country without roads, and the progress was necessarily slow on that account. A bridge seventy yards long had to be built across the swamp, and a road to St. Mary's river twelve miles, was cut and an encampment reached on that river on the 1st of August. The troops were detained here long enough to erect a fortification, called Fort Randolph.[4]

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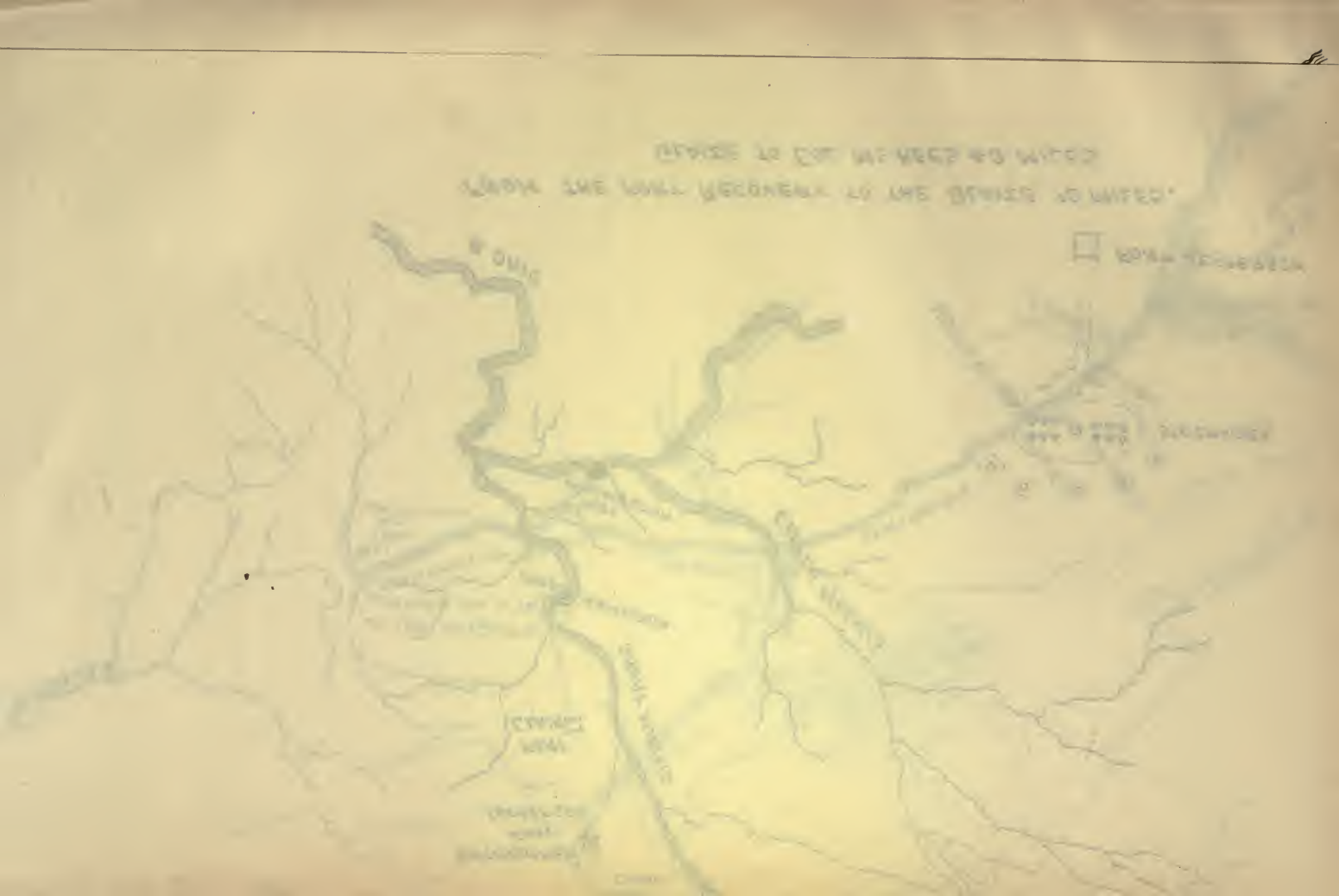
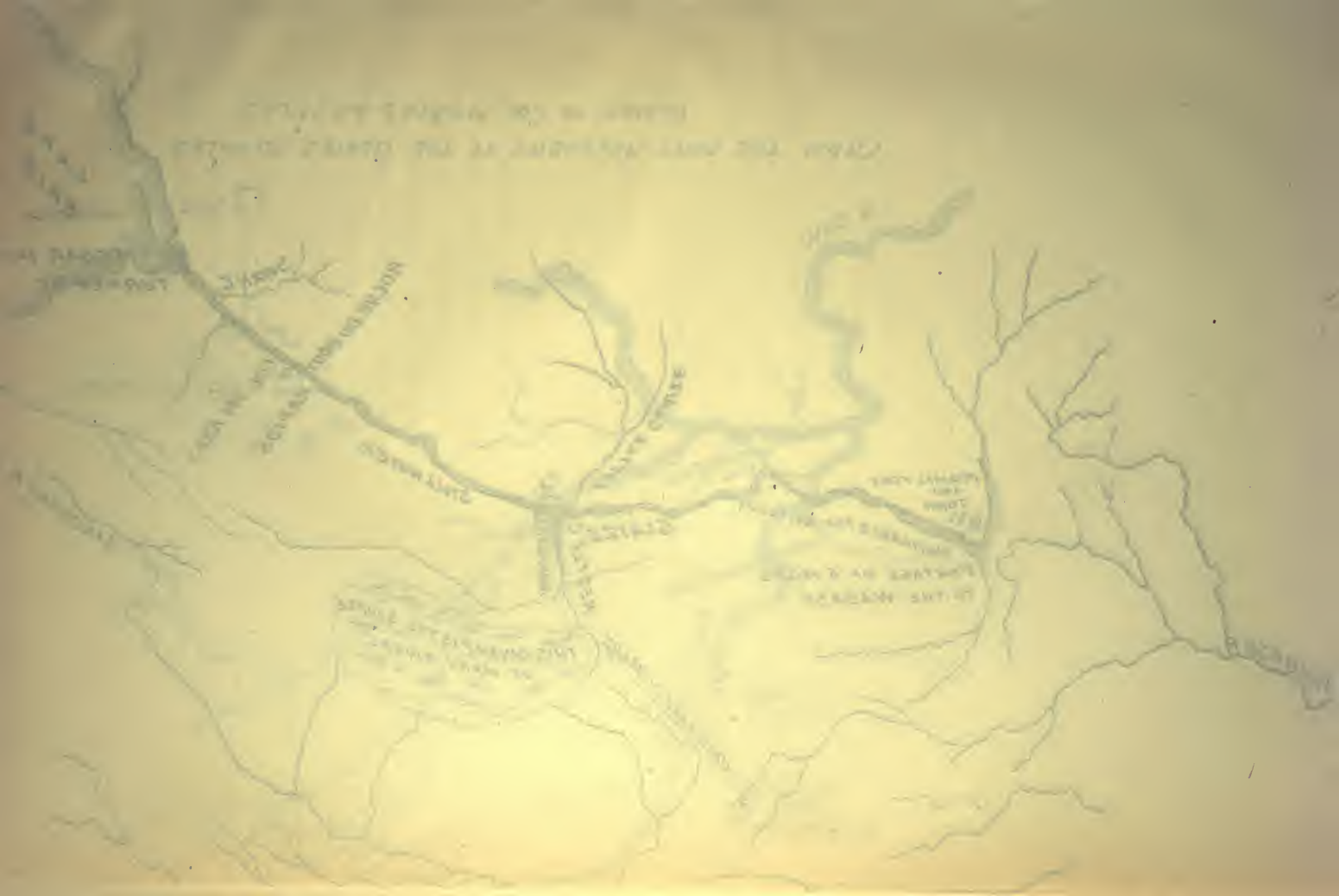
[1] Ms. letter of Gov. Simcoe, extract to be found in Canadian Archives, Q. 280-1, page 178.
[2] Western Adventure, page 181; also Treaty of Greenville, 68.
[3] Journal of Lieut. Boyer, page 1.
[4] See Boyer's journal. This post is called Fort Randolph, in the Orderly books, but on the map is given as Fort St. Mary, and Girty's Town. While at this place, on August 3, a falling tree struck and nearly killed Gen. Wayne. (Boyer, page 4.)





Lieut. James Underhill was left in charge of a garrison of 100 men at Fort Randolph, and the main army proceeded on its way, first passing down the St. Mary's river, one day's journey, and erecting another garrisoned post, which they called Fort Adams. It was the intention of Wayne to confuse the Indians, by making a feint in both the right and left of his advance, so that they could not be prepared to resist him.

When the army had reached Fort Randolph, a soldier named Newman deserted, and sought safety among the Indians on Au Glaize river.[1] Newman told the Indians of Wayne's approach, and they fled from their houses, leaving their fields of corn untouched. From Fort Adams Wayne suddenly turned his course to the northwest, and on the 7th of August reached the upper towns on Au Glaize river, finding them deserted.

The following is a portion of the orders issued on August 8th:

"Head Quarters Grand Glaize, 8 Aug. 1794.

"The commander in chief congratulates the Federal Army upon taking possession of the grand emporium of the hostile Indians of the west. The extensive and highly cultivated fields and gardens on the margin of these beautiful rivers, shew that they were the work of many hands, and afford a pleasing prospect of bountiful supplies of grain on the troops progress towards the lakes."

The pathway of the army was through a beautiful country. Vegetables of all kinds were in abundance. For miles they marched through great fields of corn along the river.[2] If the soldiers were pleased with the prospects, and their surroundings, they were equally surprised at the thrift of the Indians. They hardly contemplated that savages would devote so much time and care to their gardens, as they found here. No Indians remained in any of their villages. All had fled before the intruders, and the army was permitted, unmolested, to take or destroy such portions of these fine fields as might be desired. Wayne feared that the natives were hovering around the pathway of the soldiers ready to shoot or pounce on any one found outside their lines, and his fears were not groundless. The Indians had not abandoned the country for good; they left only to congregate and to make a desperate resistance to maintain their homes.

[1] Treaty of Greenville, page 69. When the news of the advance of Gen. Wayne was brought to Gov. Simcoe, he wrote to Dundas that he hoped the Indians could successfully oppose him. (Canadian Archives, 1891, Q. 280, page 178.)

[2] Boyer, page 5.

At the confluence of the Miami (Maumee), and Au Glaize rivers, on the 9th of August, the commander in chief commenced the erection of a palisade, which was completed in eight days, and was named Fort Defiance.[1] Still bearing in mind that the government desired to obtain a peaceful settlement with the Indians, without further bloodshed, the commandant sent Christopher Miller among the savages, to see if terms of settlement could be arrived at. Miller had lived with the Indians many years, and was familiar with the country that the army was now passing through. He was also acquainted with the Indian language and with the habits of the people. It was a hazardous undertaking to send a white man, and an enemy, among them on such an errand at this time, but Miller undertook the work, and returned on the 16th with the information that if the army would remain ten days longer at Fort Defiance, a definite answer, peace or war, would be given.[2]

Wayne was impatient, and mistrusted the intention of the Indians in asking for delay, and resolved to push on and meet them before they were entirely prepared to receive him. By the time Miller returned, the army had proceeded nineteen miles from Fort Defiance,[3] and that day, August 16, proceeded twelve miles, the next day it marched ten miles, and there, on the banks of the Maumee, on August 19, commenced the erection of a fort, which was called Camp Deposit, intended as a security for the heavy baggage of the troops. It was known that the army was in the midst of hostile Indians, and an attack might be expected at any minute.

From Camp Deposit could be seen the British Fort, Fort Miami, then under command of Major William Campbell of the British army.[4] Undoubtedly the present troubles were augmented by the ammunition and encouragement given by the British to the Indians. The French, or Canadians, were generally on the side of the Indians also, for the two nations were always very friendly, but the material encouragement came entirely from the British. Neither the Indians nor the French could have obtained sufficient arms and ammunition to have resisted the troops without aid from the British authorities.

It is very probable that the Indians expected aid from the British soldiers in the coming conflict, and it is not uncertain that Wayne expected the same thing, and was prepared for it. Early in the morn-

[1] Howe, Vol. 2, page 545. (There was an abundance of apple and peach trees along both rivers at this time.)
[2] Boyer, page 6.
[3] Boyer, page 6.
[4] Major William Campbell was in the 24th Regiment.

ing of August 20, the army started along the banks of the Maumee, in the direction of the British fort. At 11 o'clock, as the soldiers were passing through a space thickly covered with fallen timbers and high grass,[1] an ideal battle ground for Indian tactics, they were attacked by the long looked for foe. The battle soon commenced in earnest. The foremost mounted troops retreated until the main body of the army was reached, and then re-formed and charged upon the unseen and concealed foe. Soon the Indians broke and ran in all directions, and their retreat was marked by their dead bodies. There was no sound of artillery, no cannon's loud roar—but the sharp rifle report and puff of smoke from fallen tree or clump of tall grass, gave evidence of an Indian, Frenchman or American, and the sharp yell of one in pain, evidenced the good aim of the gunner. As the Canadians and Indians turned to run, the Americans followed closely after and pursued them for many miles. The gates of the British fort were shut and the British soldiers watched their allies shot down without offering any assistance or giving them any succor. Thus was fought the Battle of Fallen Timbers, and thus ended the Indian wars of the eighteenth century; the last battle of the American Revolution.

The result was satisfactory to the army, and the enthusiasm of the occasion is expressed in the orders of the day. "The commander in chief takes this opportunity to congratulate the Federal Army upon the brilliant success in the action of the 20th inst. against the whole combined force of the hostile savages, aided by a body of militia of Detroit, and countenanced by the British garrison and post, close in their rear; beyond which the fugitives fled with disorder, precipitation and dismay, leaving their packs, provisions and plunder in their encampment in the rear of that post. The Indians, to all appearances, have totally abandoned their settlements, quite to the mouth of the river, and their villages and corn fields being consumed and destroyed in every direction. Even under the influence of the guns of Fort Miami, facts which must produce a conviction to the minds of the savages that the British have neither the power nor inclination to afford them that protection they have been taught to expect; that, on the contrary, a numerous garrison, well supplied with artillery, have been compelled to remain tacit spectators of the general conflagrations round them, and their flag displayed to the disgrace of the British, and to the honor of the American Arms."[2]

[1] Howe, Vol. 3, page 393.

[2] Orderly book August 23, 1794. The official report of this battle is in American State Papers, Vol. 12, page 492. Thirty-five were killed, ninety-eight wounded on the American side. The number of Indians could not be ascertained.

DETROIT SIXTY YEARS AGO.

BY THOMAS W. PALMER.

To the traveler abroad, it is a matter of interest to remark how, in the course of ages, the levels of cities have changed as well as their topography. Until the last century the Roman Forum was surrounded and covered by debris to the depth of twenty feet.

The Roman warm baths of the city of Bath were hidden until a hundred years ago by material on which buildings had been reared, and their existence was forgotten until accident revealed them. The Cloaca Maxima of Rome retains its old level, but if it retained its existence as a sewer, that was a matter of necessity. The Tiber still carries the same volume of water and its bed is no higher, but the city has changed its level by accumulating layers with the passage of time. Even when works of man are not covered up, it is conceded that the levels of cities are constantly being raised from one cause or another. Public officers are employed to watch excavations in Rome that works of art and antiques may be preserved.

It is however, a matter of wonder that such a modern city as Detroit should, in a span of sixty years change the character of its surface where there were no hills to be dug down and where nature, one would think, had invited the building of a city by presenting a plateau apparently very level and demanding no effort of man to make it habitable for a large population, save the sewerage that all modern cities require. And yet within that time Detroit has undergone changes which no casual observer would suspect.

That the old Indian town of Teuchsa Grondie had its existence here, in preference to other points on the river, arose from the fact that on both sides of the strait at this point the banks were high and the prospect more alluring than elsewhere. This is my inference only, for which no one is responsible but myself, and I never have heard an opinion expressed on the subject. I think any one will regard the deduction reasonable, when he knows the character of the banks as they existed sixty years ago.

The river then, as now, on its north side presented no attractive point for a town other than this, from Gibraltar to Grosse Pointe. Now, as

then, the river banks were low and flat from Lake Erie to Springwells, where the banks were high, to be succeeded by flat shores again. The banks at Springwells were of sand, and, I think, must have been at least forty feet high. I can remember the wonder they excited in me sixty years ago by the innumerable swallow nests which had pierced the abrupt and almost vertical sides. The banks were covered with many Indian mounds, and my teachers used to take me down Saturdays oftentimes to see them dig for Indian skeletons and the curios which had been buried with them. In my playhouse, I had quite a collection of Indian heads which time had prepared for a museum or for jack-o'-lanterns.

Leaving Springwells, the shores again resumed their flatness, until we arrived at May's creek, about Twelfth street, when the banks resumed their boldness up to Third street, where the town of my youth began, and where the banks disappeared to again appear at Cass street. They retained their abrupt appearance, notwithstanding the filling in of the river, up to the old Michigan Exchange, corner of Shelby street and Jefferson avenue. I imagine that before they were graded down the high banks extended to Bates street, and possibly two blocks beyond, constantly growing lower, until at Beaubien street the flat shore commenced again and extended to Grosse Pointe, broken only by the banks opposite Belle Isle. There were quite a number of private residences on the river shore between Beaubien street and Bloody Run, and also between May's creek and Third street.

Jefferson avenue was the principal street for business and residences. A rail fence terminated it at Russell street, and nothing but farms existed beyond. In 1837 the present Detroit & Milwaukee railroad, then the Detroit & Pontiac road, was built and had its depot on Jefferson avenue, then extended to Dequindre street. The railroad ran on the surface, no excavation having been made. The cars were hauled by one horse and the driver sat in a little seat on top and held the reins. Jefferson avenue then, as now, ran into Woodbridge street on the west, which was merged in what was known as the River road, and which still continues its old boundaries. On the front of one of the old farms about Fifteenth street, there were seine fisheries where I have seen drawn at a single haul 5,000 whitefish, at least so they said. At that time you could buy an elegant fish for five cents. I have seen many sturgeon which seemed to me, as I recall them, to have been six feet long, drawn with the whitefish.

The principal business streets were Jefferson avenue from Randolph street to Shelby street, Woodward avenue and Griswold street from

Jefferson avenue to the river, and Woodbridge street. The public markets were in the west end of Cadillac square, the Berthelet market near the Brush street depot, and another at the northeast corner of Larned and Wayne streets and one in Woodward avenue, south of Jefferson.

On the avenue lived Maj. Kearsley, a one-legged veteran of the war of 1812, and a terror to the boys on examination days; Mr. Wm. Brewster, Mr. John Truax, Judge Moran, Judge B. F. H. Witherell, Maj. A. T. McReynolds, Mr. Steele, Mr. Cleland, Mr. James F. Joy, Mr. Bellair, Mr. Alex. Buel; they were on the north side. On the south side were Mr. Alex. Fraser, Judge Sibley, Maj. Frank Larned, Mr. Eurotas P. Hastings, Mr. Robert Stuart, Gen. Hugh Brady, Mr. C. C. Trowbridge. On the south side, on the River road, below Third street, lived Mr. DeGarmo Jones, Maj. Baker, U. S. A., Mr. Augustus S. Porter (at one time senator of the United States), Mr. B. B. Kercheval, Mr. John Mullet, Mr. Wm. Woodbridge (Governor, and senator of the United States), Mr. Robert Abbott, Mr. Peter Godfroy.

Fort street terminated at Cass street in a rail fence. The street was built up about as it is now, save the new public building and the old waterworks on the southeast corner of Wayne street. These waterworks were a primitive structure. They were built of flatted logs, well fitted together and presumably watertight; they had two chambers and over them were shingled roofs pitching either way, which were famous sliding places for us boys. The dirt was banked up around them to the height of about fifteen feet. The head of water, as will be perceived, was not very great. The water was forced into the reservoir by an engine in a little brick house at the foot of Wayne street, on the river. As there were no sewers, although numerous drains, and the people were not as well up on microbes and bacilli as now, no complaint was made about the water. Thomas Palmer and his cousins, John and Mason, lived respectively on the corners of Griswold, Shelby and Wayne. The other residents were Chancellor Farnsworth, Mr. Penny, Mr. Thompson, Dr. Terry, Thomas Sheldon, Shadrach Gillett, Dr. Abbott and Dr. Chapin on the south side; on the north, Mr. John Chester, Col. Henry Whiting, George C. Bates, Theodore Romeyn, Oliver Newberry, Mr. Keene, Judge John McDonnell, and Judge James Abbott, on the corner where the Hammond building now stands, and Mr. Griswold.

Woodward avenue had no stores on it north of Larned street; its business portion was south of Jefferson avenue. I can just remember an old market building, constructed of alternate strips and open air in the middle of Woodward, just south of Jefferson. It was in the front

or rear of it where the old whipping post stood, where malefactors were publicly whipped for minor offenses. Its abandonment was much regretted by many of the old inhabitants, for the delinquent always hied himself to the next town and afterward the town was permanently rid of him. I have been told that men, instead of being sentenced for a definite time, were sold for a season instead.

Jefferson avenue, after it was opened, ran, as now, in a straight line until it joined the River road about Owen park. The famous Pontiac tree stood on one side of the bridge at Bloody Run, and we school boys took delight in firing bullets, buttons and slugs into it with the idea, which was afterwards realized, that relic hunters would pick them out as evidences of the fierce fight that took place nearly one hundred years before between Pontiac and his warriors, and the British troops commanded by Dalzelle. We boys then knew, as many after us did not know, that the fight occurred on the margin of the river, nearly 1,000 feet to the southeast.

Woodward avenue terminated to all intents and purposes as a city street at the Grand Circus, and was known farther north as Witherell street, a name afterwards abandoned, because, as the city grew, two names were confusing for the same street. The Grand Circus was a swale, and in muddy weather, where it was not corduroyed, a veritable slough of despond. Its outlet was to the west, and Saturdays (it was too remote for a week-day attempt), we boys used to put on our skates there and follow the waterway down to May's creek, about Fourteenth street, climbing rail fences as they intervened; thence down May's creek to the river and thence to the Rouge. The Grand Circus was afterward filled in and the beautiful park created. I can well remember the Grand River road, now the avenue of the same name, being cut through heavy timber from a point about Sixth street. There were no houses north of the Grand Circus, save a few story-and-a-half ones, where owners or tenants of the park lots lived.

The primeval forest grew for some distance south of Holden avenue, which took its name from a man whom my father hired to cut the road to a point on the 10,000 acre tract. It is a coincidence that Palmer avenue on the east and Holden avenue on the west nearly meet each other at Woodward, although Palmer avenue was opened, I imagine, fifty years after Holden avenue was known by the name of its builder.

The whip-poor-wills were heard in season down below Canfield avenue.

Bloody Run was once quite a stream as its banks in Elmwood still indicate. It drained a very large district, comprising in part a portion

of the 10,000 acre tract. Sewers, however, have thrown it into disuse, and its banks have been filled with the excavated earth and the waste of the eastern part of the city, so that it needs a very critical eye to determine its ancient bed; and yet I remember well a grist-mill driven by its water near the intersection of Gratiot avenue and Chene street. I do not remember, but others have told me, of a water-mill on May's creek about Howard street, at its intersection with the Michigan Central railroad, which comes into the city in the bed of that ancient watercourse. The mouth of May's creek, filled up only a few years ago, was a famous place for black and rock bass, of which I used to catch my portion.

The River Savoyard took its rise near the corner of Beaubien and Fort streets, and drained a large depression between Bloody Run and that point. It ran across the foot of Cadillac square westward, near Congress street, across Woodward avenue, about one hundred feet south of Congress, thence down westerly to the river through a stone arch on the line of the Jones farm at Third street. The front of the Cass farm had been sold in the flush times of 1836 to a number of gentlemen, of whom Oliver Newberry was the principal capitalist. I think all but Mr. Newberry surrendered their interest to Gen. Cass and made such composition with him as they could, being unable to pay their notes. But Oliver Newberry kept a portion and for many years employed scows to freight sand from Springwells to fill in the front between Third and First streets.

Mr. Newberry was a great shipbuilder and was called the Admiral of the Lakes. Among other vessels, he built the Jena, Marengo, the Lasalle and one or two others, to which he gave French names. Here in the latter part of the forties he built the Napoleon and took her to Lake Superior, where he set up the frame and finished her with the parts taken from here. For many years she plied between different ports on Lake Superior. Mr. Newberry also built the Michigan No. 1, which bought him in much money in the early '30s, then the Illinois, and the Nile; then the Michigan No. 2, then the Illinois No. 2; some of these boats were running as late as '57.

The great immigration took place from '35 to '45. Steamers were crowded with immigrants and many cabin passengers going west, and with southerners coming north. I have seen the cabin floors covered with men who could not get staterooms.

The Argo, the first steam ferry, was built of two large trees scooped out on top and planks between and was about 16 hours going from here to St. Clair. My father had mills there, and once a week the Argo steamed up to that town. My father was a man weighing 250 pounds,

and Capt. Atwood, who ran the Argo, had a large arm chair for him to sit in, and when the boat careened too much, the captain would cry out: 'Palmer, trim ship,' and my father would hurry back to his post. Capt. Atwood told me about twenty years ago when I met him at Middle Bass island, where he was spending his old age, that one day my father was going aft and to do so he had to pass over the wheel house. He broke through and caught one of the buckets of the wheel with his foot. It was then a struggle between my father and the engine, and the result was that he was the stronger, and the engine stopped; the victor extricated his foot, the engine started and the Argo proceeded. Such were the perils of navigation in the '20s. This reminds me of a story Abraham Lincoln used to tell of an engine. He said: 'Whenever the whistle blew the engine stopped.'

Another anecdote of the river steamers of the '30s is as follows: Capt. Clark, who lived just below St. Clair on a farm now occupied by his descendants, was commander of the Andrew Jackson. The captain farmed in the winter and sailed in the summer. He kept a lot of pigs, and being a man of frugal mind, he caused to be saved all the broken pieces from the steamer's table and the amount was considerable, for he gave dinners to his passengers and sometimes supper daily. When the boat passed up the St. Clair river every other day, he would land two or three barrels of very desirable food for the swine. The pigs became accustomed to their bi-daily rations and as a matter of course, anticipated the treat, so that it came to pass that about the time the Jackson usually approached, the pigs became expectant. At that time all the river steamers were high pressure, and their puffs could be heard from two to three miles. The hearing of the pigs was very acute and they could hear the puffs before any one else, and at the first one which reached their ears, they would cock their heads and listen. If the puffs were the Jackson's, they would scamper towards the dock or landing. If not, they would resume their grazing to again cock their heads at the next puff. Finally the Jackson's puff would come and then the whole drove, with the assurance of conviction, would start on a full gallop, making the most unearthly squealing, and arriving at the landing, would stand with their forefeet on the front stringer and then make the air resound with squeals of delight. You can imagine how ludicrous the effect would be, to a person not knowing what they were after, to see thirty or forty pigs in a straight line, their fore feet on the front of the dock, and rending the sky with their shrieks of impatience and expectation.

If any one doubts this story together with many others which I will

tell, let him ask the oldest citizen now residing on the St. Clair river. Capt. Clark lived for many years on the banks of the St. Clair and was highly esteemed by many friends and the people generally throughout the State.

At that time there was no Venice at the Flats, nothing but wild rice, marsh grass, mud hens and ducks. The present channel where the canal is was then used only for boats of light draft. Deep drawing vessels went through the north channel, now mostly disused on account of the greater distance.

From time immemorial Belle Isle has been a point where all kinds of functions have been celebrated. Before the French located on the river, it was undoubtedly a place where the Indians had their councils, celebrated their games and tortured their prisoners. After the French occupation, the games and councils continued, and despite the influence of the French, torturing was practiced whenever the Indians could elude the vigilance of their more civilized co-occupants of the country. In later years, before its purchase by the city for a park, it was used as a picnic and pleasure ground and resort, anticipating the purpose to which it is now dedicated and for which nature designed it.

I do not know what it was called by the Indians, but it was called by the French "Isle au Cochon," Isle of Hogs, from which the transition was easy to Hog Island. That was the poetic English name by which it was known when I was eighteen or nineteen years old, when it was changed not by any statute but by common consent. I hardly think the occasion was a very dignified one, nor was it authorized. I do not think there were more than one or two speakers. I do not think that anyone took any particular interest in it, save the speakers. It was on the Fourth of July in the late '40s; I have forgotten the year. The declaration was made by a Mr. Goodell, that the name was changed or a resolution was offered to that effect and the thing was done. We hurrahed and came back to the city; every one accepted the change of name because it was the right thing to do; no questions were asked, and since then the island has been known by its euphonious name.

Opposite Belle Isle, on the American side, a delta formed by the debouching of Connor's creek, has existed for many generations. It was named by the French the Grand Marais, or Great Marsh. This district would be water were not so much land intermingled, or might be land were it not for the water. This piece of land and water was remarkable for nothing before 1850, save the yearly fires which raged every winter on it, and which were fed by the dense growth of bullrushes, or flags,

for which the marsh was noted. As a boy, I remember likening these fires, to the burning of Moscow; they were a feature in the scene-shifting of the city.

Along about 1840, there were many of the old French windmills on the river from Amherstburg to St. Clair. They gave a very picturesque appearance to the landscape. English tourists then likened its appearance to the Scheldt. Peche island, northeast of Belle Isle, has only one claim to fame as far as I know—one of Pontiac's wives was buried there.

The graveyards (they did not call them cemeteries), which I remember, and the only ones existing in the city, I believe, in the '30s were:

First, the Catholic graveyard about old St. Anne's Church, situated between Larned and Congress streets and Bates and Randolph. Col. Hamtramck's tomb was there among others. The churchyard between the Episcopal church and the Presbyterian session room on Woodward avenue, and the Protestant and Catholic graveyards between Beaubien and Antoine streets in front of St. Mary's hospital. The latter was opened in 1827, and I remember when I was about five years old, say in 1835, riding there in a funeral procession from Jefferson avenue up Beaubien street through a long lane with rail fences on either side. It was disused about 1849.

Gov. Porter was buried in the Protestant side of this cemetery. This graveyard was a great resort for parents and children on Sundays, it being a reward to take the children there in the afternoon, if they went to church and Sunday school in the morning and fore part of the afternoon. These burial grounds I believe are now devoted to the public, the bodies having been removed. The next graveyard was where the House of Correction now is, then as now a most unattractive spot. About 1848 Elmwood cemetery and Mt. Elliott were established, to be followed later on by Woodmere. Among the noted men buried in Elmwood was John Trumbull, the author of "McFingal, the Hudibras of the Revolution."

The first church I remember was the old Methodist church, corner of Gratiot road and Farrar street. This was given up before 1840 and the church building used for a theater. The congregation then moved to their new church on Woodward avenue, corner Congress street. It was a bare, cheerless building inside, heated by stoves and pipes running the whole length of the auditorium. Here the music was by a volunteer choir, with no musical instrument for many years, when Mr. John Owen, the leading man of the church, accompanied the choir on his flute. It is doubtful whether anyone less influential than Mr. Owen could have

effected the innovation. Afterwards a bass viol, or as they call it nowadays, a cello, was added, and thenceforward musical progress was made until it culminated in the Central Methodist church and its great organ. The preaching was varied. Generally cultivated and educated men occupied the pulpit, but once in a while men of great force and stalwart piety but little refinement of manner, like Elder Gilruth and Peter Cartright, held forth.

The First Baptist church, a small wooden building, was on the northwest corner of Fort and Griswold streets. It was soon replaced by a goodly structure which stood for many years.

The Episcopal church stood in the middle of the block on the east side of Woodward avenue, between Congress and Larned streets. On one side (the south) was a small burying ground. Next came the Presbyterian session room—then the Presbyterian church.

The Episcopal church struck my childish fancy as exquisite in its style, which was gothic, and in its interior arrangements and fittings. It was the only church save the Catholic which had an organ at an early date. The altar, with its tasteful garniture; the pulpit projecting from a pillar and reached by a winding stair; the gilded pipes of the organ, and the graceful outlines of its front, tinted in gold or varied colors; the pews, some square and some long, most of them well cushioned; the pillars and vaulted ceilings and the music, all captured my imagination. I never strike those lines of Gray:

> "Where through the long drawn aisle and fretted vault
> The pealing anthem swells the note of praise,"

but my mind reverts to that little church with its stuccoed exterior and tower, like Chester cathedral in miniature. St. Peter's at Rome, or St. Paul's in London did not make so great an impression on me. It disappeared in the early '50s.

Then came the session room attached to the Presbyterian church. It was a brick building one story high. It contained one audience room and possibly two ante-rooms. It was used for prayer meetings and other meetings not demanding as much room as the church could furnish. The young men's society here held their meetings, and the first debates I ever heard were there. All those questions, or rather the better class of them, which debating societies wrestle with, were here discussed. Men who afterwards became famous took part in them, notably Zachariah Chandler, Jacob M. Howard, William A. Howard, Judge James V. Campbell, together with Judge Douglas, U. Tracy Howe, S. A. Barstow,

H. A. Morrow, all of whom are dead, and others. Here we had lectures by home and foreign talent on literature, art and science. As I look back upon the opportunities of sixty years ago, it seems to me that our citizens had a better opportunity for becoming conversant with current topics than we have now—at least the opportunities through that young men's society were more apparent, obtrusive and attractive. Douglas Houghton, the first State geologist, a man devoted to science, used to lecture there on scientific subjects.

The Presbyterian church on the northeast corner of Woodward and Larned street, was an imposing building in the Doric style. The audience room was large, spacious, and besides being used for the denomination, was given up to the Sunday school celebrations on July 4, when orations and dialogues of the children were the chief features, after which they were marched up to some orchard on the river banks and filled with cookies and lemonade.

Of Ste. Anne's I have spoken before. It was a blue stone building in a square on Bates, Larned, Randolph and Congress. On this same lot was a frame building in which the priests, or some of them, lived. All at once the frame building was surrounded by a brick structure, and the report got out among the boys that the reason of the outer structure was that the square had been given to the church to use as long as the frame building should stand—that the frame building was about decaying, and hence the brick support and protection.

The first building I remember used as a council chamber was a little wooden one on the northwest corner of Larned and Bates streets. It was also used as a school for small children, of which I was one. In the '30s a two-story building was erected, the upper story used for a council chamber and the lower for a fire engine room. From there the council moved to the city hall in Cadillac square.

Some time in the '30s a brick building, known for many years as the Seminary, was built on the west side of the Campus Martius, occupying a portion of the site of the present city hall. How or by whom it was built I do not know, nor how the present city hall came to occupy a part of its site.

For a number of years a Young Ladies' Seminary was kept there, the most noted teachers being a Mr. and Mrs. Kirkland—they were accomplished people and acceptable teachers. After they left, the seminary, if I remember rightly, went into decay and finally the building was used for State offices and then city offices, to give way in the end to the present city hall.

Mr. and Mrs. Kirkland moved into the interior of the state and while there Mrs. Kirkland wrote a novel with a title something like this: "A New Home, or Who Will Follow." In this novel the portraitures and incidents were so like the people and circumstances with which she was surrounded that her neighbors took it for a satire or a caricature of themselves and their homes. It was said that this led to a state of affairs that induced Mr. and Mrs. Kirkland to remove and try the more genial atmosphere of the east—where for many years they occupied prominent positions as educators.

A Mrs. Scott for a number of years between 1830 and 1845 kept a young ladies and misses' school, which was patronized by what was called our best people. Then a Mr. Fitch kept a young ladies' school on the corner of Beaubien street and Jefferson avenue. Mr. Fitch afterwards became a chaplain in the army and served during the great civil war.

A Miss Lyons kept a children's school on the corner of Randolph and Congress streets, and there was also a school kept by some of the ladies of the Catholic societies in a building on the corner of Larned and Randolph, which was called the Nunnery.

I do not remember Mr. Edwin Jerome's school, which was famous in its time. A Mr. Crane, who was a great disciplinarian, kept school in what was called the University building near the corner of Bates and Congress streets. I know of but one or two of his pupils who are living. He had a laboratory connected with his school wherein chemical experiments were attempted and probably carried out. Mr. Fitch, spoken of above, afterwards kept here a preparatory school for the university at Ann Arbor.

About '37 a Mr. Eastman kept a school in the old Mechanics Hall, a wooden building on the present site of the Mechanics Block. He was a man of education and refinement and within a year or two he associated himself with an assistant teacher, a Mr. Bissell. Both of them afterwards took orders in the Episcopal church and Mr. Bissell became Bishop of Vermont.

Messrs. Bissell and Eastman were succeeded in the same building respectively by Mr. Doe, Mr. Meany, Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Patrick Higging, who afterwards became police justice. Mr. E. H. Rogers also kept school on the corner of Jefferson avenue and Cass street, about '38 and '39.

The school of the town, however, was Mr. Bacon's. His school house was first located on the site of the present church of SS. Peter and Paul, on the corner of Jefferson avenue and St. Antoine street, afterwards for many years was in a little wooden building in the rear of

his residence on the north side of Jefferson avenue, between Beaubien street and St. Antoine. From there he moved to the corner of Larned street and Russell, where he ended his career as a teacher; during the later years of his teaching, girls were received in his school. Mr. Bacon was the most celebrated of the teachers of Detroit for the past seventy years. If there had been some Irving or Hawthorne to write him up, he would live in the future as animatedly as Ichabod Crane, not on account of his courtships nor his gallantry, but by reason of that school. Its interior was a study, whether the boys studied or not. The most uproarious boys lost their voices and quitted their gyrations as their feet struck the threshold; no eye wandered after one week's attendance. No matter what kind of a boy entered, within a week all were alike as to behavior, as candles six to a pound. No sound was ever heard in that school room except voices in recitation or the voice of Mr. Bacon. He always called his pupils by their surnames no matter how young they might be. It was Garland, Wilkins, Greenwood, Palmer, instead of James, William, Thomas. His rule was most exacting and his method of enforcing it was the ferule. He had one which he seemed to regard with peculiar affection and which he called 'Old Hickory;' it was brightly polished and shone like glass. The boys thought that its luster had been given it by the friction of innumerable blows on their own and their predecessors' hands. He had another which he called 'Old Rattlety Bang,' for the reason that each blow was followed by a rattle caused by a split in the end which struck the hand. The split would open with the blow and catch the tender flesh, causing infinite pain; and yet when boys came up for punishment and were asked which they preferred, 'Old Hickory' or 'Rattlety Bang,' the majority took the latter. I don't know the reason unless the boys felt that the hard, heavy, strong hickory looked more like an instrument of death and 'Rattlety Bang' only as an instrument of torture. The fathers of all the incorrigible boys in town sent their sons to Mr. Bacon, if they could afford it, for his prices were high. Mr. Bacon generally brought them into line. With a bad boy he never knew any other method than the ruler. If they proved tractable, they would soon come into favor, or they would be treated leniently and fairly, but no shirking was allowed. His curriculum was not extensive—reading, writing, arithmetic and geography—mathematics did not extend beyond equations in algebra, but how thoroughly a boy could recite after he had been in school two or three years! I would not say the boy knew what he was talking about but he could repeat the formula. In that the boys were no worse off than many garrulous men who can talk

ad infinitum but can be upset by a single question. On Fridays, we generally had an exhibition in the afternoon. The boys came in roundabouts with big collars laid over their jackets, and black ribbons in their collars. Two or three boys, as the case might be, were called upon in succession before their mothers, sisters and sweethearts, and acquitted themselves as best they could. The favorite pieces were:

Lochiel, Lochiel, beware of that day
When the Lowlands shall meet you in battle array."

or,

"On Linden when the sun was low."

or,

"Venerable men, you come down to us from a former generation."

You can imagine the incongruity of the last when addressed to a lot of ladies, young misses and their playmates; still the exercises served their purpose, I suppose, although none of the boys developed into Henry Clays or Daniel Websters. The blackboard, however, was the capsheaf of these exercises when one young lad was called upon to do the same sum in Adams' arithmetic, whenever we had our exhibition; he had it by heart and always went through with it creditably, but Mr. Bacon would allow no interruptions. I thought that the boy knew it only automatically and I do not think that, if he is now living he could comprehend that sum, although I believe he could go to the blackboard and do it as well as ever.

The boys of Mr. Bacon's school are scattered over the earth, some living, some dead, but I believe the opinion of the majority, could it be obtained, would be that although there was undue severity, favoritism, and partiality in many cases, the teacher did well in his day and generation.

The first hotel I remember was the Steamboat hotel on the corner of Randolph and Woodbridge streets, kept by Mr. Benjamin Woodworth, the brother of Samuel Woodworth, who wrote the "Old Oaken Bucket." It was for many years the popular hotel of the town, and Mr. Woodworth was a fine type of the landlord of two generations ago. Here were held assemblies for the young people, meetings for the mature, and conventions and primaries. The next was the Michigan Exchange, built as early as 1837, and the nucleus of the present Russell house, then called the National; then there were the Eagle tavern and the United States hotel on Woodbridge street, and the Franklin, corner of Larned and Bates. On Woodward avenue there were two noted taverns, Cliff's, which

occupied part of the site of Whitney's block, corner of Woodward and Park; and Field's cottage, corner of Woodward avenue and Larned street —a noted hostelry for country teams and farmers.

The first theater was that on Gratiot street, in the brick building formerly used as a church; then there was a large wooden building north of Gratiot, between the public library and Madison avenue, and here Forrest, Mrs. Dean, mother of Julia Dean Haines, the elder Booth and Charlotte Cushman acted.

The old Metropolitan theater was built in the '40s opposite the Biddle House. Here many stars acted, although from the size of the house and the prices of admission their profits must have been small. Forrest, Booth, Mrs. Farran, Charlotte Cushman, Dan Marble, Julia Dean and many who were stars of evanescent fame acted there.

The old Michigan garden, which in my earliest recollection was located on Bates, between Woodbridge and Atwater, was removed in 1835 after a fire which damaged some of its buildings, to the square on Randolph street, now occupied by Ferry's seed store and the Lyceum theater. Mr. Adair, dead but a few years, was the proprietor, and besides keeping a nursery of choice trees and plants, he gave exhibitions on special days, and particularly on Fourth of July, of fire works. At different times he would have shows of alligators, fat women, wax works, snakes, crocodiles, armadillos, bears, buffalos, deer, etc.

In the '30s Maj. McKinstry had a museum in a brick building on the southeast corner of Jefferson avenue and Griswold street, in which were stuffed birds and those things which one generally sees in museums; in the upper story theatrical performances were given.

The Michigan Central railroad was begun in '36 or '37. Its first depot was a row of wooden sheds on the south side of Michigan avenue, between Griswold and Woodward avenue, and a large part of its shops were located on that portion of the Campus Martius. On the north side of Michigan avenue there were wooden shops and the Central hotel, a tumble-down frame structure.

The first cars were made with compartments like the English, painted in brilliant colors and named after different towns on the line of the road. I can remember only one of them, the 'Leoni.'

The rail was what was called the strap rail and was laid upon stringers and spiked down. The State struggled with it until 1847, having built the road to Kalamazoo, when they sold it to eastern parties. In 1847 there used to be two trains a day, and to give you an idea of the travel I will tell you that on the day express, which arrived at 6 o'clock, my

cousin and myself were the only passengers, and we would not have been aboard, if we had not been going to school at the University at Ann Arbor.

The freight brought in was carted on drays to the dock, for shipment by water, and in muddy weather three barrels of flour was a good load.

Shortly after the purchase by private parties, the road changed its route, coming down the bed of May's creek to the river at Eleventh street, and thence along its bank to Third street, its present depot site. Then the strap rail was changed to a T.

The strap rail gave rise to accidents of a very peculiar character, but though they were much talked of and feared, very few were verified.

When the spike from one cause or another came out of the end of the rail, the tendency would be for the rail to fly up, and when two or three spikes came out the rail would strike above the center of the running wheel, and like lightning come through the floor of the car. Any one sitting in one of the seats was continually in danger of impalement. I never heard of but one serious accident from this cause, and that was where a woman on the Pontiac road had her side badly wounded. These irons coming through the floor of the car were called snake heads, and to timid or imaginative people the possibility of their coming up through the floor was a constant menace.

Boats were built the like of which no one sees today (they were really floating palaces), and passengers going or coming from the east rode over 200 miles on them.

Detroit was the capital of the State until 1847, and people wondered why it was removed. I think I can tell: it was because the citizens here wanted it removed. Whatever can be said about subsequent legislatures, it cannot be denied that they have preserved the semblance of decency, but the orgies held in the old capitol on Capitol square, rivaled in coarseness if not in variety, those of the Palais Royale just before the French revolution. The influence of the members, many of them bright but dissolute men, was such that fathers and mothers prayed that the canker, as they called it, be removed, lest their sons come to believe that to be considered brainy they would have to be known as immoral. Prayer meetings were held seeking the aid of the Almighty toward its removal. I remember no one opposing the removal in the legislature, save the ex-governor of New York, then a resident here, and I got the idea that he opposed it because he thought that the question should be argued on both sides, and not because his heart was in it; that was ex-Governor Throop. The capital went, however, and no talk of bringing it back has ever come to my ears until a few years ago.

The capitol was a pretentious building with a high steeple. One of the chambers had a portrait of Lafayette at the side of the speaker's chair, the other one of Gen. Cass. They are both in the capitol at Lansing, together with the golden eagle which hovered over the speaker's chair. The library was in the southwest corner and had a very attractive collection of books. Any one getting an order from a member could draw books until the order was revoked. It was from that library that I got my taste for fiction. I drew all of Miss Edgeworth's stories, and I remember many of them with delight.

One of the amusements of the small boys was climbing the steeple by a spiral staircase, trimmed with brass candlesticks (one on either side of each step, and used by the members for night sessions), and looking over the city, then about 10,000 or 12,000 in population, and wondering whether there were other cities as large.

In the winter of 1837-38, an attack was made on Windsor, then a hamlet with barracks for soldiers, by a lot of patriots, as they were called. From my father's office window in the Cooper block, on the south side of Jefferson avenue, between Wayne and Shelby streets, I could see the burning buildings and the troops marching to and fro, although I saw no one killed. A man by the name of Sheldon, so the story goes, came into town with a load of produce, sold it, put up his team at the Franklin house, met some boon companions, and was persuaded, after a few drinks, to accompany them across the river on a lark; he was found among the patroit prisoners, tried, sentenced and transported to Van Dieman's land, where he remained 14 years in penal servitude, when he was pardoned and returned. Some one said that on arrival here, he went to the Franklin house for his team to drive to his home in Oakland county, but this may be romance. The patriot war created great disturbance along the border, but our government did its full duty in the matter, patroled the river with a steamer where necessary, took patriotic prisoners and kept them in limbo until the trouble was over.

In 1840, the most lively campaign for president took place of any in the long line of these exciting seasons. The panic of 1837, which ruined almost every one who was in debt, brought great distress upon the country. The wildcat and other banks having failed, it was impossible to collect anything or to sell anything for money save potash and flour, which were exported. The majority of our people attributed all their ills to the policy of the federal government, which had destroyed the Bank of the United States and enacted free trade. State wildcat banking had followed, the world was going on wheels until the collapse came, and

then the catastrophe was fearful. All the panics since, with their attendant results, were as nothing compared to that of 1837. At once the clamor came for a change of administration, and William Henry Harrison, victor in the battle of Tippecanoe, was nominated for president, and John Tyler, of Virginia, for vice-president, by the whigs, and Martin Van Buren, of New York, and Richard M. Johnston, of Kentucky, for president and vice-president, respectively, by the democrats. Log cabins were built, with the attendant "coon" skins and hard cider, in all towns of any size. The dandies of Detroit drove four yoke of oxen to draw in the logs, and used axes, or pretended to, to put a cabin opposite the present Biddle House. Nightly meetings were held, and conventions. At one held in Detroit, many citizens took in whoever came from abroad. As many as forty extra beds were made up in my father's house for delegates, and they were fed at his table. Boys were as much interested as men. I, with nine others, dragged a small cannon all over town on election day. We were dressed in blue roundabouts and white trousers, blue caps with a white cap band, on which was printed, "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." Raccoons were mounted on standards and paraded with us. I remember it rained all day, and by night we bore but a faint resemblance to the boys who started out in the morning. The streets were frightful and our dainty trousers were covered with mud, but that was nothing; we won a famous victory, although we could not vote. Harrison was elected, inaugurated and died within a month. Tyler 'Tylerized,' or betrayed his party, and our hopes were Dead Sea Apples.

The streets sixty years ago were frightful in spring and fall; where they were much traveled, they were bottomless, and where they were not traveled the clay was of that plastic character which would mire a horse or pull a boy's boot off if he happened to strike right. The usual method of getting around in such weather was by two-wheeled carts; the ladies went to church and parties in carts, the children to school in carts, and the people to picnics in carts. Some of the carts were painted green and had a step behind, but the majority were not works of art, and yet, with plenty of hay and a buffalo robe thrown over, they were very comfortable; they could be tipped to dump a load like the modern ones. The box was held in its place by a chain and staple in the front, and the driver sat on one corner of the box. It was said that Gov. Porter's wife was riding in front of the Biddle House, then the American hotel, when the driver rose and stepped on the thill, to fix the harness, the box lost its equilibrium, and the staple not being fastened, the cart tilted up, and there being no end board, the hay, buffalo robe and Mrs. Porter all slid

into a small lake of mud of the consistency of thin hasty pudding. She never moved, the robe did not sink, and a gallant man waded out knee deep, took up Mrs. Porter, who sat there placid and serene, and carried her to the sidewalk without a speck of mud on her clothes.

The only piece of pavement I can remember before 1840 was a small piece in the Berthelet market. Between 1840 and 1850, an attempt was made to pave with octagon pine blocks over a foot in diameter. I well remember a sidewalk made of this material in front of the Methodist Church on Congress Street; this was not a success.

One morning, about 1836, I was with my sisters, who were being driven to a school kept by Miss Lyons, at the corner of Congress and Randolph Streets, when, on arriving at the present site of the monument, we saw the eastern end of Cadillac Square turned into a lake and a man ferrying people across in a canoe. This flood hastened the building of the first sewer, which commenced near the corner of Beaubien and Fort Streets, and, I imagine, ran as nearly as practicable in the bed of Savoyard river to Griswold Street, thence through Julius alley down to Third Street, and thence to the river. What is the fate of this abandoned sewer, I do not know, whether it is abandoned or used as a lateral; it was large enough for a man to go through erect.

The elections in Detroit before the '40s were barbaric; it was difficult and sometimes dangerous for an American to vote. It was about the time of the great foreign immigration, and the immigrants let loose from the restraints of the old world, and intoxicated with their enfranchisement, proposed to do all the voting.

The elections were held at the old City Hall, on the Campus, and a strong railing, enclosing a space about fifty feet square, excluded the crowd, while constables with their staves guarded the three openings, through which the voters were admitted and let out. The struggle around these openings was very great, men's clothes were torn and bloody fights often ensued, but no lives were lost. Afterwards the voting places were held in the different wards, where the fights were just as bloody, the Third ward, known as the Bloody Third, achieving a well-sustained notoriety.

When the State was admitted to the Union, the town was illuminated; and many times thereafter, as occasion demanded, the means being short pieces of candles held in sockets on a little triangular piece of tin, one of the points of which was stuck into the sash of each pane of glass. The effect was very beautiful.

Although we had no men of national political fame, other than Gen. Cass, there were men who did achieve it afterwards, for instance,

Zachariah Chandler and Jacob M. Howard, besides men with more than a State reputation in other lines. Among these were Major Henry Whiting, an officer in the army and given to literature, (one of his poems, I remember, was called "Sanilac"); Henry R. Schoolcraft, famous for his researches among the American Indians, and from whose writings, if I recollect aright, Longfellow drew much of his material for "Hiawatha." Mr. Schoolcraft married an Indian woman and his son attended the Bacon school with me; Dr. Cavali, who had been with Napoleon in Egypt as one of his savants; Fletcher Webster, son of Daniel, the great expounder (Fletcher studied law here); and Anson Burlingame.

There were many men of local repute who might have achieved more than local fame, if the arena had presented itself—such as James A. Van Dyke, Gov. Stevens T. Mason, Halmer H. Emmons, James F. Joy and John Farmer. Mr. Farmer did one of the most remarkable things of any time; besides doing much of the field surveying of the State, he made the map of the whole State, engraved it himself, edited and printed it. It is the standard State map to-day.

Dr. Douglas Houghton, an enthusiast in science, who, if he had not been cut off by an untimely death, might have been one of the greatest geologists of his country, was a citizen. A careful scrutiny of the period would undoubtedly reveal a greater number.

The society of that day was superior. From the foundation of the French post up to 1850, a garrison had always been maintained at this point, either under the French, English or American flags. The officers educated either scientifically, professionally or socially were a nucleus and gave tone and aspiration to the community. Many of the old French had become wealthy by trade or the rise in real estate, and had educated their children who retained with their modern accomplishments that formal courtesy for which the ancient regime has always been distinguished. Gen. Macomb, I believe the first major general of the United States army, was born here. His mother was a Navarre and I think that a very good case has been made out that she was from a collateral branch of the House of Bourbon.

Mrs. Philip Sheridan is one of his descendants. Gen. Grant lived here in 1849. Lieut. Meigs, son of Gov. Meigs, of Ohio, was here before the '40s, and superintended as an officer of the engineers, the building of Fort Wayne. Gen. Meigs was afterwards at the head of the engineer corps at Washington, and left his impress upon many of the public buildings there. I am told that his idea of architecture, that is the basic one, was the hollow square. He left the details to educated architects

like Mr. Mullett, who had the two wings of the capitol in charge during the period of their erection. This section of the capitol, the pension building, the completion of the treasury buildings would seem to bear out the idea of the hollow square.

Capt. Gunison, who gave his name to Gunison's Pass, who was an intrepid explorer, and who with his escort was massacred by the Indians on the plains or in the Rockies, lived here a number of years prior to the '50s. Gen. Brady, who did most of the fighting at Lundy's Lane, was also a permanent resident; added to these were numerous celebrated people in private life, whose children occupy good positions to-day.

Society was a little slower then than now; there did not exist the 'push,' whatever that may be. People then, if they could afford it, gave their children the best masters they could procure in the primaries, in languages, and in music. While men were just as eager to make money as now, the kaleidoscopic changes of modern finance, which make sudden transitions and the Aladdin-like creations of to-day possible, did not stimulate their imaginations and make them lose sleep. There were a greater proportion of educated people in society, as it is called, then than now.

We had no furnaces, hot water heaters nor steam, only some crude stoves, open fireplaces and the Franklin; no gas, only tallow candles and lamps and sperm candles for company, but the ladies dressed just as tastefully, if not as extravagantly then as now, and the men were a little more gallant. The conversation was possibly of a higher grade, good music was as highly appreciated as now and good literature was proportionately more widely diffused, but I imagine that is generally the case throughout the country.

Sixty years is not a long time, still it is enough for two generations to come and go, and in those two generations the city, a little hamlet with a population of 2,200 souls in 1830, has grown to a population of 300,000, and, you might say, all under the eye of a man who does not yet consider himself old, although he may have some doubts of his continued youth.

Detroit, June, 1901.

THE BEGINNINGS OF TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT IN MICHIGAN.

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, AT WASHINGTON, D C.

[Compiled with an introduction, by Charles Moore, Ph. D.]

William Hull, selected by President Jefferson to be the first governor of the New Territory of Michigan, reached the eastern border of his dominion on the first day of July, 1805. As the little schooner that carried him and his fortunes made its way up the island-strewn river toward the century-old town of Detroit, the Governor's expectant gaze was greeted by the sight of a single row of low white farmhouses, with sharply pitched roofs pierced by small gable windows. About the houses were great pear trees raised from seeds brought from France by Cadillac's followers, and orchards of Lombardy apples, whose fame was to spread throughout the country. High fences of round cedar posts guarded the farms from the cattle, and especially from the droves of squealing French ponies that dashed up and down the narrow road leading along the river bank; the picket fences also served as a sort of fortification in case of Indian attacks, and often proved a defense not to be despised. So near together were the houses that neighbors could call from porch to porch; but the farms, although not more than five acres wide, stretched far back into the boundless forest. The neatness of the whitewashed fences and dwellings must have accorded well with the New England ideas of Governor Hull; but his Puritan soul doubtless revolted from the moss-grown crucifixes on barn and gate post and the shrines of the Virgin by the roadside. The points of land that here and there jutted out into the river were adorned as well as made useful by picturesque windmills, whose great sails swung lazily around in the summer wind.

The French farmers living along both banks were, as Governor Hull soon found out, at one with their surroundings. The broad river which flowed past their doors not only furnished a plenteous harvest for their nets and a convenient means of communication with town and church, but it was also to them the world's highway. Its opalescent waters, coming from the rich fur regions of the north, flowed round the high mountain of Montreal, where their market was, and under the cliffs of Quebec, whence the ships sailed to France.

What the Governor expected to see was a compact town, well fortified against incursions of Indians, and surrounded by pleasant fields. He looked to see a joyful people come forth from happy homes to welcome the representative of free government. Instead of this cheerful greeting what his wondering eyes did see was a mass of blackened embers where once a town had been, and a broad common covered with tents and booths. From these improvised dwellings came a crowd of thin-faced, bronze-complexioned, barefooted men, clad in colored shirts and trousers held at the waist by a leather belt. With them came a troop of plump and handsome black-eyed French girls, their short gowns, or habits, falling over long, gaily-figured petticoats, and their faces protected from the July sun by broad-brimmed straw hats of home manufacture. From the days of Cadillac till within the memory of living men there was no change in the style of clothing worn by the French people of Detroit, and a garment was fashionable until it was worn out.

On disembarking with Stanley Griswold, the Territorial Secretary, Governor Hull was met by Judge Woodward, who had arrived from Washington on the previous day, and by Judge Bates, who had been acting as Government Land Commissioner and so was somewhat acquainted with the people. A temporary lodging was found for the new officials, but so crowded were the buildings that it was more than a week before the Governor found quarters for the winter in the small house of a farmer a mile above the ruins.

The origin of the fire which completely destroyed Detroit remains a mystery. Governor Hull wrote to Secretary Madison that common report said the lumber-dealers had burned the town in order to force up the price of their stocks, and color was given to this idea by the unusual fact that contracts had been made at the mills for all the lumber that could be sawed during the season. In truth, the wonder is that Cadillac's town had not burned years before. Its streets were lanes, its wooden houses were crowded together so that they could be surrounded by palisades; and once the fire started, the buildings burned so quickly that the people were able to save a part of their property only by rushing with it into the convenient river and there sinking it.[1]

During the twelve days that elapsed between the burning of Detroit and the arrival of the Governor, the people had mapped out a new town on the pattern of the old one, save only that they had included the common, which they claimed on the ground that the land had been used as a free pasture from the earliest times. With some difficulty

[1] State Department MSS.

the Governor and his associates persuaded the people to give up their plan and accept one to be prepared by the authorities. The fact was that in the fire which had completely wiped out the old Detroit, Judge Woodward saw his opportunity to duplicate in the West the plan of a city with which his good friend Charles L'Enfant had captivated George Washington. L'Enfant's plan for the national capital was adapted from Versailles, and Woodward's was a further variation on the French theme. At the time when President Jefferson took pity on his poverty by giving him a judicial appointment, Augustus B. Woodward was literally the first lawyer in Washington, whither he had removed from his home in Alexandria when the capital city was first platted. Having watched the laying out of the nation's capital, he was now ready to lay out the capital of Michigan Territory. Making Campus Martius a center, Judge Woodward laid off the broad avenues which converge at that point and at the Grand Circus Park. Fortunately for the acceptance of his plat, Judge Woodward retained the street leading along the river, which was then the only thoroughfare of importance, his Roman campus and circus being left for future generations to reclaim from the swamp. The lower part of the town was laid out in a regular manner, and the fact that the government owned Fort Shelby and its adjacent gardens (where the new Federal building now stands) made the plans seem mere things of paper, in so far as their vagaries were concerned. The French, too, were not disposed to object to a design patterned after Versailles; and when Judge Woodward gave his own name to the thoroughfare which, starting at the river, ran straight out across the morasses to the woods, the people accepted for what it was worth his disingenuous explanation that the avenue was so called because it ran woodward. However, the decision which the Judge exhibited in the matter of the new plans showed his colleagues that they had to deal with a man who meant to have his own way, and whose head was full of schemes.

The allotment of lands in the new city was a subject of great contention. Every one wanted a lot fronting on the river; but from the house of John Dodemead to the line of the Askin property there was only 800 feet of building-ground, and this could not well be divided among 200 or more claimants. Judge Woodward, however, followed his plans to Washington; and, as he claimed, by the expenditure of $300 on wine for congressmen, secured the passage of an act by the provisions of which 5,000 square feet of land was assigned, first, to each of the twenty heads of families who were occupying their own homes

when the town was burned; secondly, to the sixteen persons who owned houses but were not heads of families, or who were not residents; thirdly, to the twenty-three heads of families who were not proprietors; fourthly, to sixty-two persons above the age of seventeen years who were residents but neither heads of families nor proprietors. Six British subjects, two free negroes, and three slaves received no lands. Provision was also made for church sites, and to Ste. Anne's was assigned the entire square of ground on Bates street so long occupied by that parish. This extensive holding was in exchange for the valuable property on Jefferson avenue near Griswold street which had been occupied by the fourth Ste. Anne's Church, consecrated in 1755 by Pont de Briand, Bishop of Quebec, and enlarged by Father Richard just previous to the burning of the town.

The farmers along the river bank were less fortunate than the townspeople in securing titles to their lands. In their case there was no one interested to buy wine for congressmen, and Governor Hull's appeals long fell on deaf ears. To Madison he wrote: "I am now removing with my family and all my future prospects to this country. Gloomy indeed are those prospects. Surrounded by a savage foe, in the midst of a people strangers to our language and customs, without legal title to property and no measures adopted by which title can be obtained, and not an acre of land to be offered to new settlers." The discontent of the settlers, the Governor said, was quickly imbibed by their friends the Indians, whose hostility to the Americans was constantly fanned by presents from the British across the river. "An honest and fair adjustment of land matters," continues Governor Hull, "would give more strength to the country than a thousand disciplined soldiers."

No sooner had Governor Hull settled himself to the administration of affairs than delegations of substantial French farmers waited on him with addresses of welcome, so called: the Beaufaits and the Chapotons, the Chenes and the Campaus, the Gouins, Marsacs, and Morans, the Peltiers and St. Aubins, whose ancestors had tilled the soil at Detroit for a hundred years, and many of whose descendants still enjoy fortunes whose foundations were laid under the rule of Cadillac. These hard-headed proprietors were not the ones to be over-enthusiastic at the latest change of government. With due caution they remarked that although they were personally unacquainted with their new ruler, yet, "having the most unbounded confidence in the President, they felt persuaded that he would appoint no gentleman to so high and important an office who did not possess republican principles, and whose interests

would not be inseparable from those of the people whom he was to govern." To these words of welcome and warning the Governor made formal answer in an address which set up the Constitution of the United States in place of the Quebec Act as the charter of the people's liberties; and in order to give the widest publicity to these sentiments, the address was translated into French and read in the churches in the neighborhood.

Indeed, so far as could be seen, the appointment of Governor Hull appeared an ideal one. Among the younger officers of the Revolutionary Army none was more highly esteemed than Colonel Hull. A graduate of Yale, he entered the service in 1775, at the age of twenty-one, as captain in a Connecticut regiment; he witnessed the evacuation of Boston; he was wounded at White Plains; on the day after the battle of Trenton he was promoted by General Washington for bravery; he endured the bitterness of Valley Forge; for conspicuous gallantry at Stony Point he received the particular thanks of General Wayne, of General Washington, and of Congress; "for his judicious arrangements in the plan of operations, and intrepidity and valor in execution" in an attack on the enemy at Morrisania, he had been thanked again in general orders by Washington and also by Congress. After the war he found political favor in the Massachusetts community in which he lived, and at the time Jefferson called him to be Governor of Michigan he was judge of the Court of Common Pleas. At the age of fifty-one, with large experience both of military and of civil life, Governor Hull seemed to be the man of all others wisely to shape the fortunes of the wilderness Territory and to win respect and confidence for the government.

Under the form of government then provided for the territories, the Governor and the three judges acted as the legislature, being limited in their enactments theoretically by the laws already in force in some one of the states, and practically by the extent of the territorial law library, which in the case of Michigan "embraced the statutes of but four states, and those four the ones least applicable to a frontier territory." It so happened that Governor Hull had stopped at Albany to take the oath of office before Vice-President George Clinton, and on his arrival at Detroit had administered the oath to Judge Woodward and Judge Bates. The careful Madison, to whom Governor Hull reported these facts, made indorsement that, the Vice-President not being empowered to administer oaths, all the oaths were informal; but this lack of judicial succession was never again adverted to. The legislature promptly provided for

courts of justice, for a militia, and for raising by lotteries twenty thousand dollars to be expended on the promotion of literature and the improvement of the city of Detroit. All able-bodied male inhabitants between the ages of fifteen and fifty were enrolled in the militia, and each was required "to provide himself with a good musket, or fusee, a sufficient knapsack and bayonet, and two square flints." So strenuous, not to say fussy, was the new Governor on the subject of drills that he laid the foundation of an unpopularity that increased from month to month.

In several matters pertaining to the interests of the territory Governor Hull exercised a wise discretion. When Mr. Granger, a mill-owner on the St. Clair river, made complaint to President Jefferson that his lands were being invaded by both British and American timber thieves, Governor Hull was ordered to issue a proclamation forbidding trespassing on the timber lands along the St. Clair. This he did, but on September 11 he addressed to the State Department a remonstrance, in which he urged that boards had already advanced four or five dollars a thousand, that timber could be obtained only from the British or in the St. Clair country, and that consequently the course of the government was working distress among the poorer people at Detroit who had been sufferers from the fire. Governor Hull also argued very justly that inasmuch as the Indian titles to the timber lands had never been acquired by the government, no person could have a legal right to them, and consequently trespass must be a violation of the laws of the United States and not an offense against private rights. Governor Hull's position was legally a sound one; but for thirty years certain of the St. Clair lands had been under improvement, and for nearly a century sawmills had been in operation in that country.

The remonstrance having met the usual fate of communications sent to Washington, Governor Hull being at the capital during the following December, addressed a brief note to the Secretary of State, asking if, for the reasons before stated, the President did not think it expedient to take action in the timber matter. Madison evidently took this note to a cabinet meeting; for on the bottom of the scrap of paper the same hand that penned the Declaration of Independence wrote these words, extending the aid of the Government to the sufferers by the Detroit fire:

It was our joint opinion that altho' it would not do to lay open the public timber to all persons indiscriminately, yet that the calamity which happened at Detroit rendered it proper that the public should permit the poorer sufferers to get timber from their lands, and that it should be left to the discretion of Governor Hull to grant the special licenses. TH. J.

While Governor Hull was in Washington officers from Fort Malden, the British headquarters at the mouth of the river, attempted to apprehend and take back a deserter from that post. The story, as written to Secretary Madison by the acting governor, Stanley Griswold, relates that on Sunday, December 8, Thomas Nolan, a deputy marshal, while going by boat to the River Rouge, six miles below Detroit, was met on the river by a party of British soldiers, who held him to search his boat for deserters. After some words, the boats went their different ways, and Nolan landed at Weaver's Tavern, on the Rouge, for breakfast. There he found Captain Muir and Lieutenant Lundee, from Fort Malden. While the party were breakfasting, a sentry stationed by the officers reported a canoe in sight. Captain Muir ordered his boat manned, and despatched a soldier to intercept the canoe. During the bustle a man named Morrison arrived at the tavern, was recognized by some of the British as a deserter, and was taken into custody. Now, Captain Muir was a good deal of a bully, and the fashion in which he and his soldiers conducted themselves on American soil aroused the ire of Marshal Nolan, who, calling the citizens of the United States to his assistance, after a pretty severe struggle in which arms were displayed, rescued Morrison and took him to Detroit. The British officers followed not far behind, and on reaching the town went to Fort Shelby with their grievance. There they found Captain Brevoort and Lieutenant Hanks quite ready to give aid in apprehending a deserter, by way of courtesy to fellow officers. The servants of the United States officers, going from house to house through the little town, late in the evening located Morrison in the dwelling of Conrad Leck. Thereupon Captain Muir and Lieutenant Lundee broke into Leck's house and seized the deserter. The people were prepared for them, and a general scuffle ensued. The British officers flourished their swords and pistols, Captain Brevoort stood by and swore at the citizens, and Lieutenant Hanks, with uplifted stick, threatened to strike any man who dared to lay hands on a British officer. Several shots were fired, and Captain Muir shot himself in the leg; but neither the prowess of the British nor the curses and threats of their American allies availed to secure Morrison, who, securely guarded, was removed to the house of Mr. Smyth. There another crowd assembled, and when Lieutenant Hanks threatened to bring a detachment of troops from the fort and Governor Hull's impetuous son menaced the mob with the assurance that he would have the artillery blow the parcel of rascals to perdition, the people promptly gathered in both British and American officers. Next morning the offenders having been brought before the

magistrates charged with a violent breach of the peace, the British officers were held in the sum of one thousand dollars each to appear at the September term of the General Court. The three Americans were also put under bail to appear at the same time. England might search American vessels on the high seas, but her officers should not be allowed to break into American homes. Even Major Campbell, the commandant at Malden, felt himself called upon promptly to disavow the action of his officers, although he insisted that the reports of the affair had been exaggerated. The officers were duly convicted, but the international bearings of the affair having been adjusted by Major Campbell's disavowal, the fines were made trifling in amount. Thus the dignity of the United States was upheld, and at the same time an olive branch was extended to our neighbors.

Equal tact was shown in dealing with an Indian trouble which happened a year later. Michome, or Little Bear, a prominent chief of the Chippewa nation, having murdered a member of his own tribe at Detroit, was promptly arrested and put in prison. He justified his action by saying that, being the head of the nation and by its laws and customs having all power invested in him, he conceived that he had done only his duty in despatching an Indian who had murdered a member of his own tribe, and who had twice tried to poison Michome himself. After killing the Indian, Michome had gone straight to Governor Hull and reported the act, whereupon the Governor, fearing the displeasure of the Huron River and St. Clair Indians, wrote to President Jefferson asking for a pardon in case the chief should be convicted of murder. The pardon was sent, but before it arrived Michome was acquitted.

During the summer of 1806 the people of Detroit dropped their business for a time to prepare for defense against a threatened attack from Canada. Much irritability arose on both sides of the border because of the fact that slaves left their British masters and sought freedom in the Territory of Michigan. When the owners applied to the Government for the apprehension and return of their property, Governor Hull did not consider himself authorized to comply with the request, although he was willing to use all his authority to keep the slaves from coming to the United States. When the British masters applied to the courts, they again met with a refusal to interfere. The excitement over the matter, however, soon died out.

The Michigan officials were early met by the great disparity between their incomes and their expenditures. "In no part of the United States

or Europe where I have resided," writes Governor Hull in his first letter to Secretary Madison, "is the expense of living so great as at this place. It will be for Congress to judge whether it will not be expedient to increase the salaries of their officers. The Secretary is strongly inclined to resign immediately, but I have persuaded him to remain until the next session of Congress." Six months later, Secretary Griswold, then acting as Governor in the absence of General Hull, gives a highly colored picture of Detroit life. "It is reduced to a certainty," he says, "that this government cannot proceed without some additional pecuniary aid from Congress. Its seat is established at a place which combines all the disadvantages of an old and new settlement, without one of the advantages of either. Luxury, the relic of British fortunes formerly squandered here, and of a once flourishing commerce, continues its empire, though I am happy to think it is on the decline. Fashion, ceremony, and expense are great, far beyond the present abilities of the inhabitants. We are in the neighborhood of a proud, rich, and shewy government, which has frequent intercourse with us through characters of wealth and distinction. Our compensations are scanty for the most retired internal situations, where house rent and provisions are cheap, and expensive company is not known, as was the case at the seat of the government of the North Western Territory, in the year 1787, by the ordinance of which date our salaries are regulated. * * * Imagine to yourself a man expending the little savings he had been able to make * * * in fitting out and removing his family a thousand miles, and finding himself compelled to pay for rent and the necessaries of life more than he would be obliged to pay in the most expensive city of the United States, or of the world—with the extraordinary duties and expense of chief magistrate devolved on him for eight months out of twelve; of commander-in-chief of a militia, which is relied on for effective defense; and of Superintendent of Indian Affairs to numerous and powerful nations, whose chiefs are frequently at his house—and imagine this man receiving but $750 per annum!"

These seemingly piteous appeals for larger salaries were treated at Washington as such communications are treated to this day. As a rule the first thing is to get an appointment, and the next is to secure an increase in salary. Yet of the office holders in Michigan Territory, as in other sections of the country, President Jefferson could truthfully say, "Few die and none resign." The opportunities for gain in a new territory, however, were not altogether wanting; and shortly after their advent Governor Hull and Judge Woodward made arrangements with

Russell Sturgis and other Boston capitalists literally to make money, through the organization of a bank of issue. Currency was scarce in this isolated community, and trade was conducted mainly by barter. The advent of the English had driven out the Spanish and French coin, and when the United States came into possession the sources of money supply were the payments made to the garrison, and the meager salaries paid to the Governor, the judges, and the territorial secretary, together with the coin brought in by the traders of the American Fur Company, who were the bankers of the forest. When coin was scarce the company filled the gap with issues of its own due-bills in small denominations. Governor Hull introduced a bill to charter a bank for 30 years, with a capital of $400,000; but to Judge Woodward's expansive mind these figures seemed grossly inadequate, and so he had the time extended to 101 years, and the capital increased to $1,000,000. No bank since established in Michigan has exceeded the capital of this first financial institution, which was intended to provide for the wants of a city of a thousand people and a territory within whose borders there were not more than three thousand inhabitants.

It was necessary for Congress to approve the charter, and in this connection Judge Woodward's letter to Madison throws considerable light on the trade conditions of the country, besides exhibiting some of those wild ideas of finance which in these later days have found many adherents. "From the ocean all the way to these settlements," writes the Judge, "there is a continued line of improvements following without deviation the line of navigation. It is seldom more than forty miles in breadth, but its length is at least fifteen hundred miles. These settlements are pleasant, fertile, and even opulent. They present along the whole line an activity little realized in the United States. The commerce in furs which has been carried on in one channel for two centuries is the cause of this phenomenon. The measures of Bonaparte have just, in a great degree, cut off the English from the Continental market for furs. The Chinese have also laid restrictions on the commerce. At present [1807] there is a shock felt along the whole line which I have described, and which paralyzes even this country. * * * The commerce belongs to another nation. The Americans have never been able to succeed in it, though the most desirable part of it belongs to their own territory and the whole of it passes along their line." The connection between the bank and the fur trade existed only in Judge Woodward's mind; but what the Judge wrote about the trade being in the hands of foreigners was only too true. The Mackinac Company,

composed of British merchants, was at this time in possession of the enormous fur trade, and it was not until 1809, two years subsequent to the date of Judge Woodward's letter, that John Jacob Astor obtained from the legislature of New York a charter for the American Fur Company, with a real capital equal to the nominal capital of the Michigan bank. In 1811 Astor bought out the Mackinac Company, and so obtained control of the American trade.

It was Judge Woodward's expressed opinion that "the quantity of notes and bills would always be regulated by the people according to their needs, so the amount of capital is unimportant." On a paid-up capital of $19,000 in guineas, ten per cent of which was provided by the Territory, five by the citizens, and eighty-five by the Bostonians, the bank began business in an eight thousand dollar building provided with iron doors, and with a cashier brought all the way from Boston. Judge Woodward was president, and on him and Cashier Flannigan devolved the onerous work of signing the bills. When $165,000 in currency had been so signed, the Boston managers departed eastward with it and marketed their crop at a discount of from ten to twenty-five per cent. These issues were repeated until notes to the amount of $400,000 were outstanding. The first five dollar bill presented for payment was refused, and five hundred dollars in notes bought in Albany were also at first declined, but were afterwards paid to save a complete collapse of the bank. Russell Sturgis and his friends had unloaded their stock, and now Governor Hull became completely convinced that the bank was a swindle. But Mr. Dexter, another Boston financier, stepped into the breach and, as proprietor of the bank of Detroit, increased the issues to $1,500,000, all but $12,000 being put upon the Eastern markets, with the result that people who had never before heard of Detroit now learned to their cost that there was such a city.

All this time the bank had been doing business without having had its charter approved by Congress, a matter which led to an investigation. Judge Woodward, with his helper, Judge Griffin, stood by the bank; while Governor Hull and Judge Witherell (who had succeeded Judge Bates when the latter was transferred to Missouri) were opposed to the continuance of so palpable a fraud. During Judge Woodward's absence in Washington, a bill was passed by the Legislative Council to punish the circulation of illegal bank bills, and the Bank of Detroit came to an end. Inasmuch as the institution received no deposits and discounted no bills, the closing worked little harm within the Territory, although

it gave Michigan a bad name in the east. For the next ten years the people got on without a bank.

The passage of the law wiping out the bank was but one of many causes of difference between Governor Hull and Judge Woodward. In the somewhat voluminous correspondence preserved in the State Department at Washington, Governor Hull appears to have kept his personal woes to himself. He even speaks in high terms of the ability of Judge Woodward, and expresses regret that the Judge's salary is so small that he feels he must resign. But Judge Woodward does not so bridle his pen. In a remarkable letter dated November 5, 1806, and addressed to the Legislative Board, the judge charges Governor Hull with lack of tact, energy, and firmness, and complains that the people had thrown off the ties of civilized society to such an extent that the Governor and Government were but feathers blown by the wind. "A public officer," he says, meaning himself, "cannot walk or drive in the streets without being assaulted by the most vulgar and insolent abuse. A gentleman of the first influence in this country has declared in the streets that the first law that should pass that does not suit him, he would kick the Government to perdition." The Judge ascribed the origin of these disturbances to two persons who, "being sons of a British drummer, thought they had an hereditary right to make a noise in the world," and to "an Englishman who came to this country exhibiting a monkey for money, and who, thinking men equally as easy as monkeys to lead, has assumed a sort of dictatorship here."

Stanley Griswold, who was acting Governor at the time when Judge Woodward's letter was delivered, forwarded a copy to Washington, doubtless for the purpose of revenge, he and Judge Woodward being on the worst of terms; but the Territorial Secretary could not stand up against the arbitrary, crafty, and unscrupulous Judge, and he was recalled. From the date of the downfall of the bank, chaos reigned in the Territorial Government. In September, 1810, Judges Woodward and Griffin, taking advantage of Judge Witherell's absence, by one act blotted from the statute books all legislation enacted during the three years previous. The spirit of disorder leaped from the Legislative Council to the courts. Grand juries presented as nuisances certain obnoxious laws; they found indictments now against Governor Hull and again against Chief Justice Woodward, and Judge Woodward took the law into his own hands once by requiring each juryman to answer whether he voted for a certain presentment, and again by fining for contempt of court a citizen who had spoken disrespectfully of him in

the street. It added nothing to the good feeling between the two men that when Governor Hull issued a pardon and the grand jury made a presentment declaring that in so doing the Governor had been guilty of usurpation, Judge Woodward proceeded to enforce his illegal judgment.

Laws are silent in war time. The bickerings and jealousies of seven years were to be forgotten in the preparations for defense. But what confidence could the people have in the leadership of a Governor who had not been able to govern a little community? Not only had his own people found him weak, but the enemy at Fort Malden had drawn him into a correspondence in which he displayed conceit in place of patriotism and a general mental density which must have gratified the astute Englishmen who were keeping the Indians supplied with powder, lead and scalping knives against the day of need. That day was now come. Tecumseh and his twin brother the Prophet had organized a conspiracy similar to that by which Pontiac had endeavored to keep the white men out of the Indian lands. Defeated at Tippecanoe, the Indians were forced to seek a British alliance in order to further their schemes against the Americans; and when war was declared between Great Britain and the United States Tecumseh straightway reported at Fort Malden for duty.

LETTERS AND PAPERS FROM THE TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN.*

1805.....1815.

GOV. HULL TO SECRETARY MADISON.

Honorable James Madison, Esq.,
Secretary of State,
Washington.

Newton. Mass. 11th. April, 1805.

Sir:

I have received your letter of the 22d. of March inclosing my Commission as Governor of the Territory of Michigan. Having determined to accept the Office, I shall make arrangements to be at Detroit before the 30th. of June next.

* See foot-note, page 253.

It would be convenient to me to take the rout of Albany, and the Genesee Country, if it is not necessary to be at Washington for the purpose of having the Oaths administered, and receiving some further instructions, than those contained in the laws and ordinance, previous to the government being carried into operation. On this point, I will thank you for information.

The laws of the United States, those of the several States in the Union, and particularly those of the late Ohio Territory, and of the Indiana Territory, of which this district of Country has been a part, will probably be necessary. I do not know that it will be in my power to procure the whole of them as soon as they will be wanted.—Perhaps, Sir, you will think it expedient to have them procured and forwarded for the use of the Territory.

I am, very respectfully your most
Obedt. Servt.,
William Hull.

Honorable J. Madison, Esq.,
S. State.

[Endorsed]

Michigan Territory.
Govr. 11 April 1805.

Law to be procured

Watertown, M. 12 Apl.
Free.

GOVERNOR HULL TO SECRETARY MADISON.

Detroit, 3d. Aug't. 1805.

Sir:

I arrived at this place on the evening of the 1st, of July, in company with Mr. Griswold, the Secretary of the Territory. Judge Woodward had arrived the day before, and Judge Bates was present. Having taken the Oaths before the Vice-President of the U. S., I administered the same to the two Judges and the Secretary, in the presence of a number of Citizens who assembled on the occasion. The inclosed paper, marked No. 1. is a copy of an address, which I delivered to a numerous

assembly of the People. It has been translated into the French language, read in the churches, and communicated in various other ways. No's. 2. 3. 4. and 5, are mere complimentary addresses, with my answers. I inclose them for the purpose of showing the disposition of the People towards the government.

The destruction of the Town of Detroit has caused great distress to the people, and subjected the officers to great inconvenience. On my arrival every house was crouded, and it was more than a week before I could obtain the least accommodation.

I am now in a small farmers house, about a mile above the ruins, and must satisfy myself to remain in this situation, during the next winter at least. It has not been ascertained how the fire took place, but it is generally believed, it was by design, and by persons interested in the lumber trade. Contracts had been previously made, for all the lumber at the mills, and which could be sawed this season, which was a novel arrangement in the Country. The People are daily recovering from their difficulties, they appear perfectly satisfied with the manner in which their government has commenced, and the most perfect harmony subsists among all the officers.

On my arrival, I found the Citizens of Detroit had laid out a new Town, nearly on a similar plan with the old one, and had included the common, which they pretend to claim in consequence of a grant from the French government, and having used it as a common pasture, since the settlement of the Country. Their title to it, is at least doubtful, and it will probably rest with Congress to determine what disposition shall be made of it. After a conversation with the Judges, it was determined to attempt to convince the proprietors of the impropriety of their proceedings. They observed it had arisen from the necessity of the case; that they are without houses, and their families must suffer, if they did not take measures, to prepare houses for the winter. We assured them we would make it a primary object, and would make the best arrangements in our power for their accommodation. They very readily agreed to relinquish their plan, and wait for our arrangements. We immediately fixed on a plan, and employed the best Surveyor we could find in the Country to lay out the Streets, Squares and lots. If possible the plan shall be transmitted by this conveyance. I hope it will be approved by the Government. The principal part of the grounds embraced by the plan belong to the U. S. without any question. Many of the lots in the old Town are cut up by the Streets, which has reduced us to the necessity of exchanging them for lots on the Domain or Com-

mon,—we have likewise from the necessity of the case, concluded to sell as many lots on the Domain or Common, as will be necessary for the accommodation of those Citizens, who wish to build this Town, and did not own lots in the Town. This rule, however we make, expressly subject to the ratification of Congress. We think, we have great reason to believe, our conduct will be approved; because we obtain two important objects by it; first, a Town or City laid out on a regular plan; secondly the accommodation of those people, who have suffered by the late calamity. And I have no doubt, but a third will be obtained, viz, the value of the lands of the United States, will be greatly increased. I shall detail this subject more fully to the Secretary of the Treasury.

I have received no intimation whether a third Judge has been appointed. If not, I hope it will not be delayed. We have been in constant session in our legislative capacity, since the first of July. We find much embarrassment in the adoption of laws, only the laws of three or four States have arrived. They are not in all cases applicable to our situation. Can there be an objection to an alteration of the law, and giving us the power of legislation, subject to the revision of Congress. On this subject, we shall make a representation to Congress.

In no part of the U. S. or Europe where I have resided, is the expense of living so great as at this place. It will be for Congress to judge whether it will not be expedient and indeed absolutely necessary to increase the salaries of their officers. The Secretary has been strongly inclined to resign immediately. I have persuaded him to remain untill the next session of Congress. I owe it to Judge Woodward to say that I receive great assistance from his talents, his zeal and industry. Judge Bates is a young man of good understanding, great purity of mind, and wants nothing but experience to render him eminently usefull.

I am with very great respect your most

Obedt. Servt.

Wm. Hull.

James Madison, Esq.,
Secretary of State.

P. S. We have adopted temporary seals for the different departments of Government; we wait for permanent ones from your office.

W. H.

[Endorsed]

Michigan.
Govr. 3 Augt. 1805.
Recd. 31 Augt.
Mem. The Oaths are all informal, as the Vice-President was incompetent to administer that to the Govr.
The Seals may be procured in Albany or elsewhere by the Govr. himself.

CONGRATULATORY ADDRESSES.

Copy.

ADDRESS OF THE CITIZENS OF SARGENT TOWNSHIP.

To his Excellency Governor Hull,

Permit us, Sir, to Congratulate you on your appointment to the Chief-Magistracy of our new created territory, and welcome you to our Country, the name and behalf of the Citizens of the township of Sargent; We have not the honor of being generally acquainted with your Excellency, but having the most unbounded Confidence in the President, feel persuaded that he would appoint no gentleman to that high and important office who did not possess republican principles, and whose interest will be inseparable from those of the People whom he is to govern.

Impressed with those ideas, we wish your Excellency health and happiness, that our newly erected territory may flourish under your administration equal to our most Sanguine Wishes and expectations.

(Signed.) { Frs. Navarre, John Anderson, Lewis Bond } Committee.

River Raisins,
Sargent township,
Michigan territory.

[Endorsed]

No 2. Copy
of the address of the Citizens of
Sargent township
to
Governor Hull.

Recd. in Govr. Hulls.
3 Augt. 1805.

Copy.

TO FRS. NAVARRE, JOHN ANDERSON, AND LEWIS BOND—ESQUIRES,

A COMMITTEE OF THE CITIZENS OF THE TOWNSHIP OF SARGENT.

Gentlemen:

For the polite and respectfull manner in which you have presented to me the Congratulations of my Fellow Citizens of the township of Sargent on my appointment to the Chief Magistracy of their new created territory, and their welcome Salutations on my arrival, you will please to accept my sincere thanks.

Their generous Confidence, and the liberal manner in which they have bestowed it in advance, give them a claim to my most faithful services. If in the administration of the Government I should be so fortunate as to answer the expectations of our illustrious President, the end of their wishes will be fulfilled; all I can promise is a devotion of my best talents and exertions to promote the interest and prosperity of the territory.

With assurances of high respect for you, Gentlemen, and my fellow-Citizens of the territory of Sargent I am your most obed. Servt.

(Signed.) William Hull.

Detroit, 9th. July 1805.

[Endorsed]

No. 3. Copy.
of the answer of Governor Hull
to
the citizens of the township of
Sargent.

Recd. in Govr. Hulls.
3rd. Augt. 1805.

GOV. HULL'S REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF DETROIT.

Detroit, 16th. July 1805.

Gentlemen,

The expressions of approbation and generous confidence contained in the address of the Inhabitants of Detroit, are highly gratifying to me, and their value is increased by the polite manner in which they have been communicated by their respectable Committee.

I sensibly feel for the distressed which have resulted from the destruction of their town, and I repeat to them the assurances that every exertion shall be made, consistent with my public duty, to aid in repairing the injury.

That they may realize the great benefits and advantages which they so fondly anticipate from the establishment of their Government, is an object near to my heart, and it is particularly gratefull to hear from them expressions of *Sincere attachment to its principles, assurances of respect for its officers and declarations of a faithfull cooperation in all things which shall be thought necessary and expedient for the public*

good; By a practical adherence to these pledges, they will be highly worthy of the advantages which they anticipate.

With the most sincere wishes for the happiness and prosperity of the Inhabitants of Detroit, I am, Gentlemen, with the highest respect.

Yours most obed. Servt.

(Signed) William Hull.

[Endorsed]

No. 5. Copy
of the answer of Governor Hull
to
the address of the Inhabitants of Detroit.

Recd. in Govr. Hulls.
3 Augt. 1805.

Copy.

ADDRESS OF THE CITIZENS OF DETROIT.

Sir:

In the name and behalf of the Inhabitants of Detroit in the territory of Michigan, we beg leave to return your Excellency our most Sincere and grateful thanks for your obliging Communication delivered on the 8th. instant.

We have the Strongest Sense of the importance of the different subjects therein contained, so consonant with our feelings and wishes, they will be to us a sure pledge of your Excellency's patriotism and paternal regard for the prosperity and happiness of the People of this territory confided to your care.

The distressing calamity that has destroyed this the most important town in the territory, we have reason to expect, will be taken into consideration by the benevolent part of the community in the different parts of the Union, and the loss, which has been sustained will be, we hope, in part, if not altogether remunerated.

On the important subject of Morality and education it is unnecessary for us to Commence; we are flattered however with a belief that they will

be among the first of your cares; the adoption of such laws as will give the means of education to all classes of People must certainly be considered one of the heaven's choicest blessings.

We fondly anticipate the great benefit and advantage that the Inhabitants of this territory will now enjoy over those that we have heretofore been accustomed to, by the Government being brought home to us, and we humbly trust that by a natural and sincere attachment to the general principles of our Government, a perfect and decent respect for its officers, and at all times, and on all occasions, by a faithful cooperation on our part in all things that shall be thought necessary and expedient for the public good to prove ourselves not unworthy of those advantages.

With the best Wishes for your health and happiness,

We have the honor to be

Your most obed. Servts.

(Signed.) James Henry.
Elijah Brush.
George McDougall.
Chabert Joncaire.
George Meldrum.

Detroit, July 15, 1805.

His Excellency,

William Hull

Governor of the Michigan territory.

[Endorsed]

No 4. Copy
of the address of the Inhabitants
of Detroit
to
Governor Hull.

Recd. in Govr. Hulls.
3rd. Augt. 1805.

COPY
OF THE ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR HULL TO THE CITIZENS OF THE TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN.

My fellow-Citizens of the territory of Michigan;

Notwithstanding the Severe Calamity you have recently experienced, in the destruction of your principal town, a town the most *ancient*, populous and respectable in the Western Country; notwithstanding the private distresses, which must necessarily follow from this event, yet on an occasion so interesting to you, as the present, you will please to accept my most Cordial Congratulations. It is sincerely to be hoped that your losses will be remunerated by the generous bounty of your fellow-citizens in the Several States; by the liberal policy which will be pursued by Congress, and by the Judicious and enlarged plan which will be adopted in erecting a City on the desolated ground, the Sight of which is so afflicting at the present moment.

By the laws of Congress, which has publicly been communicated, and by the Commission which has been read, it is announced that the territory is formed into a Government, and the principal officers have been appointed for its administration.

In entering on the duties of the office to which I am appointed, I feel it a duty incumbent on me to implore the benediction of the Supreme Ruler of human events, that the Government may be commenced in wisdom, conducted with virtue, and in its operation promote the happiness and prosperity of the People.

It is a fortunate circumstance for you, my fellow-Citizens, that it is a government of laws, and not of men; that the leading principles of it are established by the ordinance of Congress, and wisely calculated to ensure to the People the blessings of Civil and Religious liberty.

It is expressly provided that no person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner Shall ever be molested on account of his mode of Worship, or Religious Sentiments; here you have secured to you the important priviledge of worshiping your God agreable to the dictates of your own conscience. It is likewise provided that the Inhabitants of the territory shall always be insisted to the benefits of the writ of habeas Corpus, and of the trial by Jury; the one will guard you against the dangers of being deprived of your personal liberty without a Sufficient cause; and the other will prevent you from receiving any injury in your persons, property or Reputation, without a fair and impartial trial by your peers. All persons are entitled to bail, unless for Capitol offences, all fines are to be moderate, and no cruel or unusual punish-

ment shall ever be inflicted; no man indeed can be deprived of his liberty, or property, but by the Judgment of his peers, or of the law of the land, and should the public exigencies make it necessary for the Common preservation to take any person's property, or to demand his particular Services, full compensation shall be made for the same; and for the just preservation of your rights and property, it is understood and declared that no law ought ever to be made or have force in the territory that shall in any manner whatever interfere with or affect private contracts, or engagements, bona fide without fraud previously formed. It is likewise provided that, as Religion, morality and knowledge are necessary to good Government and the happiness of mankind, schools, and the means of education shall forever be encouraged; that the utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and their property shall never be taken from them without their consent, and in their property, rights and liberty they shall never be invaded or disturbed unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall from time to time be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

These, my fellow citizens, are the fundamental principles on which your Government is founded, they are your bill of rights, the magic charter of your freedom; no power exists in the administration to deprive you of them; any laws made contrary to them, will be null and void.

They are strong barriers erected, which will secure to you the rights of conscience, and the rights of persons and property; they will afford you a remedy against all oppression, they will enlighten the rising generation, and by the wise and humane provisions with respect to your Indian neighbors, will continue to you the blessings of peace with them.

You ought therefore to have them strongly impressed on your minds, and value them according to their real importance, they are indeed your most valuable inheritance.

Although it must be a source of great satisfaction to you that the principles of your Government are so wisely constructed, and so admirably calculated to aid in promoting the great object, for which Government was instituted, viz, the general happiness, yet we must consider that these principles alone cannot effect the objects; the happy fruits will in a great measure depend on the conduct of those who are appointed to administer the Government, and on the People themselves for whose benefit it is instituted. It will therefore be the duty of the administra-

tion to conform the laws to the principles of the ordinance of Congress, and to adopt measures calculated to secure the rights and distribute equal justice to each Individual citizen. It will likewise be essentially necessary there should be a corresponding disposition on the part of the People; It will be their duty to respect the Government and to afford all the aid in their power to those, whose office it is to administer it. To consider there is no perfection in humane things, and at all times to exercise candor, forbearance and moderation in forming an opinion on the measures which may be adopted.

That such may be the conduct both of the officers and the people is the sincere wish of my heart, and my earnest prayer to Almighty God.

This will produce the most happy consequences, mutual confidence, harmony and satisfaction; the benevolent design of Congress, in establishing the territory will be realized, and the wise principles which characterize the Government of the nation will be extended.

On the present occasion I shall not enter into a detail of the measures which the administration will probably think expedient for the general interest of the territory. I cannot however omit, in the presence of so many of my fellow-Citizens, to state to them the vast importance of a well organized and disciplined Militia; considering it essentially necessary to the safety of the territory and the preservation of the Government; it will early claim my attention, and I shall devote my best powers and talents to render it respectable, efficient, and an example to our Country. To aid in this honorable, necessary and important duty, I shall hope for the cooperation of all my fellow-Citizens, and particularly to see the young men of the territory animated with a laudable military Spirit and highly ambitious of excelling in military discipline; Such a Spirit and such conduct will be honorable to them, honorable to the Government, and productive of the most happy consequences.

Our local situation, my fellow-Citizens, is fixed in the neighborhood of a colony connected with one of the most respectable and powerful nations in Europe; the United States and that nation are in peace and friendship, God grant it may forever continue! It will be our duty and our interest to cultivate harmony and friendship with our respectable neighbors; while I have the honor to remain in my present Situation, it will be my undeviating object; and I fondly flatter myself every Individual of my fellow-Citizens will be animated with the same principle; should there however any outrage or improper conduct take place by any of our Citizens, I shall be ready at all times to make all

the Satisfaction which can be required, either by the laws of nations, the duties of friendship, or the rights of civility.

We have every reason to expect from the respectable officers of the Government that the same liberal treatment will be reciprocated; and if at any time any differences should arise, they will be explained and adjusted with a Spirit of mutual candor and justice, honorable to both Governments.

The present moment, my fellow-Citizens, I consider of high importance; we are now laying the foundation and proceeding to the execution of a work, which will be of immense consequence not only to the People who now inhabit the territory, but to those who shall Succeed them to the latest period of time.

The Territory possesses great natural advantages, almost entirely surrounded by navigable waters; furnished with a soil, which by cultivation will become highly productive; blessed with a temperate and healthfull climate, there are few places on the face of the earth more inviting for the residence of man.

Here, my fellow Citizens, were we to unveil futurity, what a delightful and animating picture might be presented; the Sciences and all the arts usefull in life have long been traveling from the rising to the setting of the sun; the eyes of a great part of the world, and particularly of our own country are looking with longing desires to this Western hemisphere; should the Civil inhabitants be in any degree comparable to the advantages which the God of Nature has furnished, the most sanguine imagination could form no conception of the number of humane beings, whose happy destination will here be fixed, or of the useful and magnificent Scenes which will here be displayed.

Let us then have it deeply imprinted on our minds that the principles which are now established, and the arrangements, which are to be made, will have a material effect on the prosperity and happiness of those who Succeed us; our situation then becomes highly responsible; we are not only answerable to the present generation but probably to millions yet unborn. It becomes us then to establish it as a first principle and to inculcate it as a first duty, to feel and manifest in all our conduct a Reverence and our highest respect to that Supreme Being who created the world, who gave us this pleasant country, and on whom we depend for every blessing we enjoy.

In the next place it will be our duty to establish our Government on the broad basis of Justice; let reverence and gratitude then to God, and Justice to each other be the first and uniform principles of the

Government; in all our arrangements let us keep these constantly in view, and we never shall deviate from the line of duty.

Finally, my fellow-Citizens, the end of Government is to promote the happiness of the People; any Government therefore, which does not effect this object, does not promote the original design of the institution; that this desirable object may be promoted, and that the territory may increase in population, and in all the improvements which adorn civilized society, must be the desire of all my fellow-Citizens. To direct us in the course which will produce these happy consequences we have before us the experience of the World from the earliest age to the present moment; time would not permit me to point out the causes which have afforded these blessings to mankind; in our own country however conspicuously exemplified in the character and conduct of our illustrious President; under his wise and patriotic administration our country is blessed with peace; internal order and tranquillity prevail; every Individual is secure in the enjoyment of the right of conscience, of person and of property; in the agriculture, manufactures, and Commerce of the Country rapid improvements are making, and indeed a general state of prosperity and happiness is apparent. To produce those happy consequences in this territory it will be the dictate of sound policy to imitate his example, and to follow the wise maxims he has exhibited.

[Endorsed]

No. 1. Copy
of the address of Governor Hull
to
the Citizens of the territory of Michigan.

Recd. in Govt. Halls.
3rd. Augt. 1805.

Copy.

BY THE GOVERNOR OF THE TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN.
A PROCLAMATION.

William Hull, Governor of the territory of Michigan, to all to whom the present may concern:

WHEREAS, it has been represented to the President of the United States of America that trespasses have been Committed upon lands lying in the territory of Michigan, in the district of Huron, by Citizens of the United States, and Subjects of his Brittannic Majesty, of the province of upper Canada, and that timber has been cut and carried away from those lands, and particularly pine timber, from the vicinity of the river St. Clair.

NOW therefore, Be it known that, by order of the President of the United States of America, I do hereby carefully forewarn every and all person or persons whomsoever from committing such trespasses to suffer the proper legal animadversions.

All officers of the United States of America, and of the territory of Michigan, and all the Citizens of the Towns, are hereby especially required to be vigilant in the apprehension of offenders, and in bringing them to Justice.

The Marshall of the territory of Michigan is hereby particularly charged with the promulgation and execution of this proclamation.

Given under my hand and the Seal of the territory of Michigan, at Detroit, in the territory of Michigan, on this fourth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and five.

(Signed.) William Hull.

By the Governor
(Signed.) Stanley Griswold,
Secretary of the territory
of Michigan.

[Endorsed]

Copy
of a proclamation is-
sued 4th. Sept. 1805.

Recd. in Govt. Halls.
11 Sept. 1805.

GOV. HULL TO SECRETARY MADISON.

Detroit, 11th. Sept. 1805.

Sir:

I have received your letter of the 1st. of August inclosing Mr. Grangers communication to the President of the United States. Inclosed is a copy of the proclamation, I have issued in consequence of it. It has invited much uneasiness, and the best people here are of the opinion it will produce much distress, to those who have suffered by the calamity of the fire. Boards have already risen four or five dollars per thousand, and none can now be obtained excepting from the British side of Lakes and the River St. Claire. It is expected they will still take greater advantages of the situation in which the people are placed by this measure. Constant applications are making to me for relief, but the order from the government being positive, I consider no discretion is left to me on the subject.

I do not learn that British subjects have lately committed trespasses on this property. The people on this side have long been in the habit of procuring timber from this pinery. Our own Citizens have been in the practice of it this summer. The Indian title having never been extinguished, no persons can have a legal title to the land, and consequently it must be a trespass and a violation of the laws of the United States. It is however a fact, that improvements have been made for near thirty years on a part of these lands, and for a long time mills have been erected by private Individuals. They consider themselves entitled to the consideration of the government, in consequence of their Indian title, and their long possession and improvement. A great part of the property in this territory is held by the same title, with this difference, that the property is of a different kind, viz, cultivated farms, and more limited as to quantity. I put out of the question entirely Claims of large tracts under Indian titles, where there has been neither possession or improvement.

The measure which has been adopted by the government seems to have made this impression, that it is their intention, in selling the titles, to observe rigid law, and that no consideration will be made for improvement and long possession.

The subject of Titles not being within my province, I should not

have mentioned it, had it not been to explain one of the causes of the great sensibility which has been excited. Previous to this, everything has been tranquil, and satisfactory, the new Town was progressing in regular form and with great rapidity. I would therefore suggest for the consideration of the government, whether it would not be expedient, to authorize the government of this Territory, to grant permission to the suffering Inhabitants to cut and carry away as much of the timber as will be necessary to relieve their immediate necessities. This however not to be general, but under a particular license in each particular case. This will enable them to enclose their houses, so as to be comfortable, and prevent the unreasonable advantages which will otherwise be taken from the other share. It is painfull to me to make any suggestions against a measure the government have thought proper to adopt. I have done it under a conviction, that had all the circumstances of the case been known, a different arrangement would have been directed.

I am, with very great respect, your
most obedt. Servt.
William Hull.

James Madison, Esq.,
Secretary of State.

[Endorsed]

Govr. Hull 11th. Sept. 1805.
Recd. 8 Octr.

QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY THE SECRETARY OF THE TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN, TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

1. Is it the duty of the secretary of the territory, to attend the Governor and Judges in their legislative capacity, to engross or prepare the manuscript of their laws, previous to signature—or must they prepare them themselves, or by a clerk, and deliver them over to the secretary in a state of completion?

2. Is it the duty of the secretary to attend on the Governor in his executive capacity, to prepare his acts previous to signature, and minute his proceedings—or must the Governor prepare and minute them himself, or by a private secretary, and deliver them over in a state of completion?

3. Must the executive acts, and the laws of the governor and judges, and their proceedings respectively, be transcribed by the secretary of the Territory into *books*, or *volumes*, in order to "keep and preserve them safely"—or is it sufficient, that the *originals* be kept on file, or in rolls, in the secretary's office?

4. Is the secretary of the territory at liberty to procure at this plan, the stationary, etc., necessary for his office, at the public expense —or may he expect to be supplied by government from the city of Washington?

5. To what amount may it be expected that government will authorise expense for *office-rent,* in the present situation of this town, where rent is excessively high and difficult to be procured, in consequence of the fire?—And will an allowance be made for office-rent, in case the papers of the office are kept (safely) in a desk, or case, in a house hired for family use?

6. If it should fall to my lot to be called to execute the duties of *Governor* of the Territory for a considerable length of time, may an extra allowance of salary be expected for such extra service?—Or is it adviseable for me to incur the expences necessary to support the usual stile of Chief Magistrate during that time, depending on something more to reimburse those expenses, than the small and very insufficient salary of Secretary?

7. Do the provisions contained in the act of congress, passed the 8th. day of May, 1792, entitled, "An Act respecting the government of the territories of the United States, Northwest and South of the river Ohio," apply to the Territory of Michigan?

8. Is the secretary of the Territory, who, in case of the death or absence of the Commander in Chief of its militia, must supply his place, liable to be called on to do military duty in any station subordinate to that *nearest* to the Commander in Chief?—To state it in the extreme,—would it be proper for a private soldier to step forward from the ranks, to command General officers, in any case?

[Endorsed]
Recd. in Mr. S. Griswold's
17th. Sept. 1805.
Questions submitted to the Secretary of State.

GOVERNOR HULL TO SECRETARY MADISON.

Detroit, 11th. October 1805.

Sir:

From Letters, I have received from my agent in Boston, I find, my private affairs render my return indispensably necessary. Had these letters arrived in time, I should have stated the fact, and asked this indulgence from the President. I believe however no ill consequences will result from my absence, as every arrangement has been made, which at present will be necessary. Mr. Griswold, the Secretary will perform the duties of Governor in my absence. I have the pleasure to inform you the Territory is perfectly tranquil, and the people satisfied.

It is my intention to be at Washington the beginning of the winter, to propose some measures, which seem indispensably necessary, for the prosperity of the Territory.

I am with very great respect, your
most obednt. Servt.
William Hull.

J. Madison, Esq.,
Secretary of State.

[Endorsed]
Michigan.
Govr. 11 Octr. 1805.
Recd. 19 Novr.

PETER AUDRAIN TO SECRETARY MADISON.

His Excellency James Madison, Esquire,
Secretary of State, &c. &c. &c.

Detroit, 16 October 1805.

Sir:

In compliance with the instructions which I have received from William Hull, Governor of the territory of Michigan, I have the honor to transmit to Your Excellency copies of four acts of the legislature* of the said territory—to wit—An act concerning the Supreme Court—An act concerning the district Court—An act concerning the militia, and An act for the encouragement of litterature, and the improvement of the City of Detroit.

The Governor and the Chief Justice Woodward left their place, on the 11th. inst. for Fort Erie on their way to the Federal City, I hope you will pardon the liberty I take to inclose few lines for each of them.

As the Secretary, now acting as Governor, will no doubt write to you, I leave it to him to acquaint you with the occurences of this place, since the departure of the Governor; Please to accept the tender of my humble Services to the General Government, and to believe me with great respect

Yours Excellency's
very humble and
most obedient Servant,
Peter Audrain,
Secretary of the Legislature.

[Endorsed]

Michigan.
Peter Audrain,
16 Oct. 1805.
Laws of the Territory.

His Excellency,
James Madison, Secretary of State.
Washington, D. C.

*The acts above mentioned are printed in the Territorial Laws of Michigan in Vol. 1, pages 9-15, 17, 47 and 67.

TERRITORIAL SECRETARY GRISWOLD TO SECRETARY MADISON.

Territory of Michigan.

Detroit, 3. December 1805.

James Madison, Esquire,
Secretary of State.

Sir,

It is reduced to a certainty, that this government cannot proceed, without some additional pecuniary aid from Congress. Its seat is established at a place, with combines all the *disadvantages* of an old and of a new settlement, without one of the *advantages* of either. Luxury, the relic of British fortunes formerly squandered here, and of a once flourishing commerce, continues its empire,—tho' I am happy to think it is on the decline. Fashion, ceremony and expense are great, far beyond the present abilities of the inhabitants. We are in the neighborhood of a proud, rich and shewy government, which has frequent intercourse with us through characters of wealth and distinction. Our compensations are scanty for the most retired, internal situations, where house-rent and provisions are cheap, and expensive company is not known—as was the case at the seat of the government of the North Western Territory, in the year 1787, by the Ordinance of which date, our salaries are regulated.

Of all the salaries, that annexed to the office which I sustain, is most scanty and inadequate,—especially considering the circumstances in which I may be called to act, and am now in fact acting, viz, as *Governor* of the Territory. In short, Sir, I have no hesitation to affirm that I am *ruined*, absolutely *ruined*, by the acceptance of this place, unless relief can be afforded. Imagine to yourself a man expending the little savings he had been able to make amidst incessant persecutions for ten years, in fitting out and removing his family a thousand miles, and finding himself at the end of his journey compelled to pay for rent and the necessaries of life, *more* than he would be obliged to pay in the most expensive city of the United States, or of the world—with the extraordinary duties and expence of *Chief Magistrate*, devolved on him for eight months out of twelve; of *Commander in chief* of a militia, which is relied on for

effective defence; and of *Superintendent of Indian affairs* to numerous and powerful nations, whose Chiefs are frequently at his house:—and imagine this man receiving but $750 per annum! What would $750 do to support a *private* gentleman and his family, a year, at Washington, Philadelphia, or New York? Much more a *public* man, who must meet every occurance and receive every company, in a manner becoming the dignity of the government of the United States? With my very narrow and restricted provision, I feel a mortification which I shall not attempt to describe. I cannot refuse to go *beyond* what I know to be warranted by my compensation, relying on the justice and magnanimity of the government under which I serve. If that government should think proper to allow me an adequate provision, I should be thankful. Otherwise, I must retire with my family, in despair, to some sequestered situation, to retrieve, if possible, my affairs, and think no more of public employment.

Governor Hull will be with you the ensuing winter, and will amply confirm the statement given above. I enclose a letter and some papers which I wish you to commit to him; or if any cause should prevent his being at Washington, you will be good enough to make such use of the papers as the nature of their contents requres.

One is a *Petition* to Congress in my own behalf.—Perhaps it will not be necessary to present it, in case the Governor should be there in person. Of this, however, you and he will be judges.

Another of the enclosed papers is a *Bill* of expenses I have been obliged to incur in my office, for the public service. I waited many weeks to receive stationary from, or by the order of Government. None arriving, I was compelled to take up a small quantity for my office, and become responsible. The office-rent is the lowest that a decent or comfortable place can be obtained for in this town, near the centre. The Indian annuities could not be opened in the only surviving public store, which is not large, and extremely crouded. Of course, I was obliged to bring them to my chambers, where they were opened and delivered. This, together with the charge for victualing the Chiefs at my table, while waiting the distribution of the goods, and transacting all the business concerning them, would not have been mentioned, if my salary had been equal to an expense of this weight. But in my present circum-

stances, it appears to be just that these items be allowed. Still, I submit the propriety of retaining them in the bill, to your and Governor Hull's judgment.

I have the honor to subscribe, with great respect,
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
Stanley Griswold.

[Endorsed] Michigan Ter.
Stanley Griswold
Decr. 3d. 1805.

James Madison, Esquire,
Secretary of State,
Washington City.

Dr. United States to Stanley Griswold, Secretary of the Territory of Michigan.

1805.

August—To 1 large folio book for Executive Records	$8.56
¼ Ream writing paper	3.00
Various small stationary for the office	2.90
Rent for an office, one year	50.00
Wood and Candles, estimated	20.00
October.—Transporting $4,500 value of goods, annuities for five Indian Nations, from the public wharf to my house, one mile	5.00
Expense of Indian Chiefs at my table, while delivering the Annuities, estimated at 100 meals	33.33
	$122.79

Attest. Stanley Griswold,
Secretary of the Territory of Michigan, and acting as Governor thereof.

Detroit, 3d. December, 1805.

[Endorsed]

Bill of expenses for
the Public Service,
Incurred by S. Griswold,
Secy. of Michigan Ter.y.

INQUIRY SUBMITTED BY GOVERNOR HULL TO PRESIDENT JEFFERSON.

[Probably written at Washington, D. C., and handed to the President.]

Governor Hull wishes to enquire of the Secretary of State, whether he received his Letter inclosing a Copy of the proclamation, he was directed to issue, and whether for the reasons stated in his Letter the President, thought it expedient, to authorize the Governor, or any other Officer, to grant permissions to cut such quantities of pine timber as was absolutely necessary, under the peculiar circumstances of the people of Detroit.

REPLY OF THE PRESIDENT AND CABINET TO GOVERNOR HULL'S QUESTION.

It was our joint opinion that altho' it would not do to lay open the public timber to all persons indiscriminately, yet that the calamity which happened at Detroit rendered it proper that the public should permit the poorer sufferers to get timber from their lands, and that it should be left to the discretion of Govr. Hull to grant the special licenses.

Th. J.

Washington 10th. December.
1805.

[Endorsed]

Govr. Hull.
10 Decmr. 1805.

ACTING GOVERNOR GRISWOLD TO SECRETARY MADISON.

Detroit, 18 Dec. 1805.

Hon. J. Madison.

Sir,

An unfortunate affair took place in the heart of this city, and of the next settlement below, on the 8th. instant, between some military men from the British shore, and our citizens. I am taking measures to obtain an impartial and authentic statement of the whole transaction, to transmit to your department, as there is reason to apprehend the honor of our country, as well as the peace of our citizens, to be implicated. In this opinion I am supported by the Judge and all the civil magistrates here. It is uncertain whether I can complete the statement, to be forwarded by this mail, which is expected every hour. But I thought it my duty to give you this information, that the ill effects of any partial, or unauthenticated accounts, might be anticipated.

I am respectfully,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Stanley Griswold,

Acting as Governor of the Territory

of Michigan.

[Endorsed]

Michigan

Recd. 10th Decr. 1805.

GRISWOLD TO GRANGER.

Detroit, 20th. Dec. 1805.

Hon. G. Granger.

Sir,

I would thank you to hand to Governor Hull, if he should be at Washington, and if not, to the Secretary of State, the enclosed item, which I omitted in my late account with U. S. enclosed to Mr. Madison. It

was my intention at that time to incur no expence for clerk hire,—but since I have had to sustain the duties of *Governor*, I find it impossible to do all my writing as *Secretary* with my own hand. Perhaps it will not be allowed,—I have however actually paid it.

Respectfully
Your obedt. Servt.
Stanley Griswold.

[Endorsed]

Michigan
Recd. 20 Decr. 1805.

Detroit, Michigan Ter.
Decr. 20th. Free.
Hon. Gideon Granger,
Postmaster General,
Washington City.

Dr. United States to Stanley Griswold.

1805.
Dec. 20. To cash paid for Clerk-hire in his office as Secretary, while he performed the duties of Governor of the Territory of Michigan..... $20.00

Attest.

Stanley Griswold,
Secretary of the Territory of
Michigan, and acting as Governor
thereof.

AN INTERNATIONAL BREACH OF THE PEACE.

ACTING GOVERNOR GRISWOLD TO SECRETARY MADISON.

Territory of Michigan, Detroit, 21. Dec. 1805.

Honorable James Madison,

Secretary of State.

Sir,

A more particular and authenticated statement of the aggression, committed by some British officers and soldiers in this vicinity and town, on the 8th. instant, I have now obtained, and am under the necessity of transmitting for the information of government. I requested our Magistrates, who on the following day had legal cognizance of the transaction, to furnish me with the testimony, as it appeared on oath before them, which they were so obliging as to do, and certified an abstract of the same with their signatures. This is enclosed, and marked No. 1.

On the ground of the facts stated in this testimony, together with certain information communicated to me, about the same time, by our public Interpreter and other citizens, I conceived it my duty to take notice of the affair in a *national* point of view, as the *rights* and the *honor* of our *government* and *country* appeared to be implicated. Of course, I wrote to the British commanding officer of the garrison at Malden, (Amherstburgh) from whence the agressors came;—a copy of which letter is enclosed, marked No. 2.

The information given me by our Interpreter, corroborated by that of other citizens, and some Indians, was, that a number of *Indians* are hired, or enlisted, and kept under pay by the British, to come over occasionally to the Indian villages between this town and the settlements at the southward, to apprehend deserters passing on the great road leading through those villages, and convey them to the British shore. I was informed, that some *Americans* had already met with trouble from those Indians; and some citizens, I am told, are now fearful to pass on that road, particularly strangers. I am also informed, that an *unusual intercourse* has recently been kept up with certain Indians in our territory, by an individual, or individuals, from the British shore, possessing great influence with them.

Our civil magistracy and courts of justice are doubtless sufficient to cause satisfaction to be rendered for the outrage committed on the

private rights and *peace* of the citizens. If the general government should be of opinion, that the affair ought to end here, and that our *national rights, sovereignty* and *honor* have not been infringed, I shall be happy to be corrected of my mistake, and shall receive its orders with pleasure.

I think it my duty to state, that the *insult* upon the government is conceived to be aggravated by the circumstance, that *one* of the British officers, concerned in this outrage, viz. *Lieutenant Lundie*, waited on the legislative board last fall, at this place, to take the opinion of government on this very point, *Whether British deserters might be pursued and forcibly arrested in this Territory?* And after due consultation, *Governor Hull* delivered to him a decided opinion, *that it might not be done, to the disturbance of the peace of our citizens.* He has now come and done it, in a very high-handed manner.

To justify my viewing it as an *act of hostility*, I will summarily describe the facts as they appeared to me from the testimony I have seen. A boat full of armed British soldiers, commanded by officers of no small rank, cross in open day the boundary line of the United States, and entering one of our small rivers, proceed into the heart of a flourishing settlement—on the way hailing and searching the boat of a Deputy Marshal. Arriving in the settlement, they enter the house of a citizen, and place a centinel at the door, with Indians in their employ. A canoe on our river is announced in sight!—immediately they man their boat and pursue, for the purpose of taking by violent means whom they pleased, some being left to guard the house, which was a tavern. A stranger arrives and calls for refreshment—he is forcibly seized—our Deputy Marshal interferes—the stranger is wrested from his protection and abused—the Deputy, by summoning more aid and procuring arms, rescues the stranger and brings him off to Detroit for safety. The two officers, hearing of this, fly to Detroit, where, after visiting the garrison, late in the evening they enter the house of a citizen in the centre of the town, and seize the stranger, presenting pistols at the heads of the family and other citizens, threatening to blow their brains out, if they should offer to interfere! A bustle ensues—pistols are fired—the citizens prevail, and wrest the arms from the assailants:—the Marshal appears and takes the aggressors into custody. For subsequent events, I refer to the enclosed abstract of our magistrates.

Placing all these things together, I have been unable to conceive of the transaction in a less aggravated light than an *open insult* upon the government, and an *act of hostility* on the part of the British con-

cerned therein. Under this impression, I ordered the arms, which fell into the hands of our citizens, to be detained, until the pleasure of the General Government should be known. These arms consist of very elegant pistols and a sword, and were ordered by the Magistrates, previous to my interference, to be kept as evidence of assault *vi et armis*, at the ensuing Supreme Court. They are now in possession of the Marshal of the Territory.

As to those officers of the United States army, or other citizens, named in the enclosed abstract of testimony, no one can feel greater regret than myself for the circumstances of their implication in a part of the transaction; but it is not for me to offer either apology or accusation, having myself interfered only as it respects the members of *another government*. I will only say, that when I observed *their* names to be contained in the abstract, I thought it my duty to transmit a copy of it to the commanding officer of our garrison,—and shall detain this packet a suitable time, to receive any communications they may wish to forward along with these documents.

December 22. I have received from the commanding officer at Malden, (Amherstburgh) a letter in answer to mine of the 16th. instant, and a copy is enclosed, marked No. 3.

If further correspondence should take place, I have prepared a few articles, expressive of *my own* ideas on certain points, in respect to which satisfactory explanation appears to me to be necessary,—subject however to the future orders of government. These are marked No. 4.

The foregoing, with the enclosures, are respectfully submitted by,

Sir,

With great respect,

Your most obedient Servant,

Stanley Griswold,

Acting as Governor of the Territory of Michigan.

[Endorsed] Michigan.

Recd. 21 Decr. 1805.

Breach of the peace by the
British officers from Malden.

Honorable James Madison,

Secy. of State.

STATEMENT OF THE MAGISTRATES.

His Excellency

Stanley Griswold, Acting as Governor of the Territory of Michigan.

Sir,

In compliance with your polite note of to Day, we hasten to lay before your Excellency such Information as we deemed necessary and Expedient to us as Magistrates to enable us to do our duty for the furtherence of Justice, without recurring to that Minutia of testimony that would have been necessary on a trial in a Court of Judicature; at the same time taken as the hurry and bustle of popular rage and Tumult. We therefore state a plain testimony of those facts of the British Insult that have appeared before us while acting in our Official Capacity. Therefore to enable your Excellency to comprehend the Transaction more Easily, we will give you the facts of the depositions, tho' not in the Manner they were taken before us, with respect to the Dates; that is for the sake of connection. On Sunday the Eighth Inst. Thomas Nowlan, (Deputy Marshal) in his boat was going to the River Rouge, Six Miles from Town, when he was met in the River by a Boat full of British Soldiers, who hailed him and Examined his Boat; after some Inquiries they pursued their different courses, and said Nowlan arrived at Weaver's, for Breakfast, on the River Rouge, where he found two British Officers, a Serjeant, Corporal and Guard, together with some Indians in their Employ; when at Breakfast a Sentry gave Information, a canoe with two Men was in sight; the Officers Immediately ordered the Boat manned; but observing the canoe to go rapidly, dispatched a Soldier to Intercept them, should they attempt to gain the land and take to the woods, while they pursued on the River. While this was passing, a Man arrived at the House, Named *Morrison*, one of the two they were in Search of; when the party, left behind, Immediately arrested him, and detained him as a prisoner, for the return of their Officers: When Nowlan, seeing what took place, he called on the Citizens of the United States, to render him assistance (as Deputy Marshal) to afford this man protection; which after some struggle, and after he had obtained arms, he accomplished, and brought to Detroit, as a place of Safety:—that the Officers were a *Capt. Muir* and *Lieut. Lundee*, A Serjeant, and a Corpl. *Golde*. Then follow the Transactions at Detroit, to wit—That on Sunday Evening, the 8th. instant, about Eleven o'clock, Conrad Seck and John Harvey, waited on the Magistracy for a Warrant in the name of the United States, against Capt. Muir

and Lieut. Lundee who had committed a violent Breach of the Peace in the Town of Detroit, which they obtained. And on Monday Morning about 10 o'clock, on the return of the said warrant, it appeared by the Depositions taken before us, That on the Evening previous, about Eight o'clock, Capt. Brevort, Lieut. Hanks and Mr. Suttle, were in the House of Richard Smyth, Esqr. and Lieut. Hanks demanded if he had seen anything of a British Deserter? on his answering in the Negative they Departed;—That about the same time two of the Waiters of the Fort, That is Capt. Dryson's and Lieut. Hanks' were prosecuting the same Injury through the Town. That Immediately on discovering where he Lodged, Two British Officers, that is, Capt. Muir and Lieut. Lundee, accompanied by Capt. Brevort of the United States Army, rushed violently into the House of Conrad Seck, a citizen of the United States, Armed with Swords and Pistols, which they presented to the family, and laid hold of the aforesaid *Morrison*, the British Deserter, and dragged him forcibly out of the House;—That on his endeavoring to resist, Capt. Muir threatened to shoot him, and in Scuffling the pistol was discharged and passed the contents through the Leg of the said Capt. That Immediately after, a pistol was discharged in the hands of Lieut. Lundee in a Scuffle with the said Seck, while Capt. Brevort used the most threatening language against any of the Citizens who should offer to oppose or resist them;—That young Mr. Hull spread the alarm, while Lieut. Hanks stepped forward and afforded them protection, by lifting a Stick, and calling on the Citizens to come on and shew who of them dared to touch them;—That at this period the Citizens having assembled Numerously and taken away the Deserter *Morrison* from them, they were conveyed to the House of Mr. Smyth, where the British Officers were arrested, by our Marshal at the request of Richard Smyth, Esq., and while the Citizens were assembled, and as quiet as the nature of the violent outrage would admit, Lieut. Hanks came out and told them to disperse to their respective Lodgings, or he would bring a Detatchment of the Troops of the Fort and *Drive* them Home;—And that while this was passing out of Doors, Young Mr. Hull observed within Doors, that they (the Citizens) were a parcel of Rascals, and that they ought all to be put in Jail, and Immediately went to the Door, and Informed them, that if they did not Instantly disperse, they would go the Fort, level the artillery on the Houses and blow them all to Hell;—That on having heard this Testimony, we thought it necessary to oblige the Gentlemen to Enter into recognisance for their appearance at our General Court in September 1806, or at an Earlier

Session of said Court, should any be held in the District, to wit, Capt. Muir with a Surety, each 1000 Dollars—Lieut. Lundee the same. Lieut. Hanks and Surety 500 Dollars each. Mr. Hull and Surety 250 Dollars each—and Capt. Brevort is to enter into equal recognisance as Lieut. Hanks. This is a short statement. We hope it will meet your Excellencies Approbation and we Remain with due Consideration,

Your Excellencies
most obedt——5
very Srble. Servts.
James Abbott,
Ws. D. D.
Wm. M" Scott. Fr. D. D.

Detroit, 14th December 1805.

Capt. H. Brevort has entered into Recognisance this Day.
17th. Decr.
J. A.
W. S.

[Endorsed]

No. 1.
Recd. in S. Griswold's
21 Decr. 1805.

ACTING GOVERNOR GRISWOLD TO THE COMMANDING OFFICER AT FORT MALDEN.

(Copy.)

Detroit, 16. Dec. 1805.

Sir,

Having perused the evidence, given under oath, respecting the conduct, of some of your officers and troops, which took place on the River Rouge, and in this town, on the 8th. instant, I am under the painful necessity of informing you, that I consider it, not only as an outrage upon the private rights and peace of our citizens, but as an insult upon our government, and an act of hostility against our nation. I shall therefore loose no time to transmit an authenticated statement of the transaction to our General Government, with whom rest all question of war and peace, agreeably to the constitution of our country.

The arms, which fell into the hands of our citizens on the unhappy occasion, will be held as lawful prize, until the pleasure of the government shall be known.

In the mean time, Sir, you will take what measures you think proper, in relation to the offenders;—and any communications you shall desire to make to the government through my hands, I shall with pleasure forward, with as little delay as possible.

Accept the assurance of my personal respects.

I have the honor to be,
Sir, your most obedient,
and very humble Servant,
Stanley Griswold,
Acting as Governor of the Territory of Michigan.

The Commanding officer of H. M.s
troops at Malden.

[Endorsed]

No. 2.
Recd. in S. Griswold's
21 Decr. 1805.

REPLY OF THE BRITISH COMMANDANT.

(Copy.)

"Amherstburgh" (alias Malden) 19th. Dec. 1805.

"Sir,

"I received your Letter of the 16th. inst. by Captain Dryson, the con-"tents of which surprized me not a little. Whatever impropriety may "have taken place on the American Territory, by any of the troops "under my command, be assured, Sir, was entirely unauthorised by me, "and I shall ever be ready to give up a Delinquent to merited pun-"ishment, whenever he is pointed out. I have however much reason "to believe that the affair you allude to at the River Rouge, has been "greatly misrepresented; a single ignorant *unarmed* soldier, I under-"stand, did seize on a thief and a deserter from this Post, but gave "him up to a party of American citizens, when demanded.

"As to what took place at Detroit, the officers on that occasion also "acted without the least sanction or order from me; and if they have "violated the laws of the United States, to their justice I leave them. "With respect to the arms, (altho' no lawyer) I should conceive, that "when a civil suit has commenced, and the parties bound to appear, "that they should be returned.

"Allow me, Sir, to conclude by assuring you, that so far from its "being my wish to sanction the smallest breach of that good under- "standing which subsists between the United States and Great Britain, "that on the contrary it is my earnest desire to cultivate the most "amicable and friendly intercourse with the inhabitants and govern- "ment of the Territory of Michigan.

"I have the honor to be,
"Sir, your most obedient,
"humble servant,
"Alexr. Campbell,
"Major of H. B. Mity's 41st. Reg't of
Infantry Commanding."

"Stanley Griswold, Esq.,"

[Endorsed]

No. 3.
Received in S. Griswold's
21 Decr. 1805.

MEMORANDUM BY STANLEY GRISWOLD.

1. As Major Campbell assures, that "whatever impropriety may have taken place on the American Territory by any of the troops under his command, was entirely unauthorised by him," it is but reasonable, that those of his officers, who committed (as appears upon testimony) a gross impropriety in our Territory, on the Eighth of December, 1805, should declare *on what authority* they acted, and if on *none*, that they should be dealt with as military characters, by their Commandant, in a manner evincive of that *perfect friendship* and *good understanding*, which we certainly

desire on our part should perpetually subsist between the two countries, and shall ever be ready to evince on a similar occasion, and at all times.

2. It is but reasonable, that *Licutenant Lundee* should give an explanation to *Governor Hull*, for counteracting so grossly and pointedly his Excellency's decision, delivered to him last fall, at his legislative board, when he, the said Lundee, applied for his Excellency's directions, *Whether British deserters might be pursued and arrested by force in this Territory?*
3. Far from desiring to encourage desertion, yet the evil consequences arising from the pursuit and forcible apprehension of deserters, by the subjects or citizens of one government, in the Territories of the other, (as in the late unhappy instance,) render it necessary that the practice be totally abandoned.
4. As it is reported, that *Indians* are hired, or enlisted, by the British, to repair occasionally to the Indian villages in our Territory, to apprehend deserters on our public roads, an explanation might be given on this subject.
5. At the present juncture of our national affairs, *no more than the usual intercourse* must be kept up by any member, or members, of one government, with the Indians in the limits of the other.

[Endorsed]

No. 4.
Recd. in S. Griswold's
21 Decr. 1805.

MEMORANDUM OF MONIES TO BE EMPLOYED IN PURCHASING STATIONERY, ETC., FOR THE TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN.

Stationary from 1st. July 1805 to the 1st. Jany. 1806.....	$175.00
Stationary from 1st. Jany. 1806 to the 1st. Jany. 1807.....	350.00
	$525.00

William Hull Governor of the Territory of Michigan.

GOVERNOR HULL TO SECRETARY MADISON.

Washington 24th. Jany. 1806.

Sir,

I have the honor to enclose you, an estimate, of the expences which have been necessarily incurred the last year in the Territory of Michigan, for which no appropriation has been made.

The Books of Records, which I purchased are of the best kind, and will not be filled for a number of years. I thought them indispensably necessary, in order to begin the government with system.

The office rent for the Secretary, and the hours for the legislative board, and Courts, were rendered necessary by the conflagration. Employing a Clerk or Secretary to write the Commissions, became necessary for the want of a Printer, and from the construction which the Secretary of the Territory gave to the Ordnance, that his duty extended only to the custody of the papers and records, and the transmission of them to the General Government every six months, and not to the making or preparing them, it became necessary to employ some other person to attend the board.

As the people were under the necessity of building immediately, and there being no Surveyors in the Territory in the Service of the U. S. we were under the necessity of employing one of the King of Englands Surveyors as the only one who could be procured. Had not this been done the Town would have been built in a very irregular manner.

Our Commissions are dated on the 1st. day of March 1805, and mine expires in three years from that day. We were at great expence in removing and were under the necessity of beginning our journey long before the 1st. of July. I presume it will be thought reasonable, either to defray our travelling expences, or to allow our sallaries from the date of our Commissions.

The intention of this communication is to enable you to obtain an appropriation for the objects, if you think proper?

Yours &c.,

Wm. Hull.

Secretary of State.

[Endorsed]

Michigan

Govr. 24. Jany. 1806.

To be immediately attended to.

Secretary of State.

MEMORANDUM OF EXPENSES.

Estimate of expences, incurred in the Territory of Michigan, from the 1st. of July A. D. 1805, to the 1st, of January 1806, for which no appropriation has been made.

Blank books of record, for the Secretary of the Territory, and for the different Clerks of the Courts, and Stationary	$200.00
Office rent for the Secretary of the Territory	40.00
Rent of an house, for the meeting of the Governor and Judges to attend legislative business	75.00
Rent of an house to hold the Supreme Court	25.00
Seals and screw presses for the Territory	120.00
Expence of surveying the new Town of Detroit	
Expence in employing a Secretary, to write the civil and military Commissions of the Territory, and to attend the legislative board	300.00
Expences of the Officers of the Government in removing to the Territory	
Their Salaries from the 1st. of March 1805, to the 1st. of July, 1805	
An Appropriation for Stationary, etc., for the present year	350.00

[Endorsed]

Recd. in Govr. Hulls.
24 Jany. 1806.

GOVERNOR HULL TO SECRETARY MADISON.

Albany 30th. April, 1806.

Sir,

I have been waiting several days for the arrival of a Vessel here from Boston, which has my effects on board, and has been detained by contrary winds. The wind is now fair, and she is every moment expected. I shall then proceed on my journey.

I cannot express to you how much I regret that the Senate have not concurred, in passing the laws respecting the Territory. I refer principally to that which related to land titles. Instead of returning to a greatefull, contented and happy people, I expect to find them uneasy and dispairing. Believing they have no interest in the Country, they will feel little attachment to it. The Indians being their friends, and much under their influence, will imbibe their temper. Placed on the frontiers, separated from the States by a wilderness and by savages, every moment being liable to be assailed by a superior force, among a people who have received little, very little but neglect from the government, the prospects appear gloomy indeed. When I was with them I gave them promises. It was all I could give them. They were satisfied. I cannot again repeat them. An honest and fair adjustment of their claims would have given more strength and security to the Country, than a thousand disciplined troops. I have made great personal sacrifices in changing my situation, in the hope of being usefull. In the full expectations, that arrangements would have been made, for the improvement and increase of the Territory, I am now removing with my family and all my future prospects to the Country—gloomy indeed are those prospects—surrounded by a Savage foe, in the midst of a people, strangers to our language, our customs and manners, without legal titles to property, and no measures adopted by which they can be obtained, and not an acre of land to be offered to new settlers!

Evident marks of uneasiness have been manifested by the Indians since I left the Country. The causes will be now increased. Till the present time, the Canadians have entertained an expectation of receiving titles to their property. I fear it will be impossible to keep that hope alive.

I regret, Sir, the necessity of presenting so unpleasant a picture. I hope we shall not realize the evils, which in the present state of things appear to threaten us. Judge Woodward in his letter to me, intimates

an intention to resign. An event of that kind would be a great public loss. I sincerely hope, he will be induced to continue in his Office. It however can hardly be expected that a man of his talents, will be willing to remove from the World, and barely exist on $800. a year. The other Judges and Secretary, who are all men of talents, must and will abandon their situations.

Unpleasant as my prospects are, I am determined to proceed, and shall exert my best talents, to promote the views of the government,

I am with very great respect your

Most obedt. Servt.

William Hull.

James Madison, Esq.,
Secretary of State.

[Endorsed]

Michigan.
Govr. 30 April. 1806.
James Madison, Esq.,
Secretary of State,
Washington City.

GOVERNOR HULL TO SECRETARY MADISON.

Albany 30th. April, 1806.

Sir,

Finding by the act of appropriation, that nine hundred and ninety Dollars has been appropriated for stationary, and other expences, for the Territory of Michigan, and having received only five hundred and twenty five Dollars, I have drawn on you in favor of Genl. Government, who has advanced me the money, for the balance, which is $365. What has before been advanced, and the necessary articles, which I shall procure here, will require the whole sum. I am your most obedt.

Servt.

I will send the regular vouchers.

William Hull,

James Madison, Esq.,
Secretary of State.

[Endorsed]

Michigan.
Govr. 30 April, 1806.

GOVERNOR HULL TO SECRETARY MADISON.

Newton 20th. March, 1806.

Sir.

I have drawn on you in favor of Joel Barlow, Esq. for five hundred and twenty five Dollars, to defray the expence of stationary, etc., for the Territory of Michigan for six months the last year, and the whole of the present year.

This sum when recd. by Mr. Barlow, I will bill accnt. for according to the enclosed schedule.

The expence for last year, I have advanced, and shall purchase the necessary articles for the present year, and take on with me.

I am very respectfully your most obedt.
Servt.
William Hull.

Secretary of State.

[Endorsed]
Michigan.
Govr. 20 March 1806.
Notice of a draft.

Watertown M. Mich. Free.

James Madison, Esq.,
Secretary of State,
Washington.

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JUDGE WOODWARD TO SECRETARY MADISON.

Washington, May 8, 1806.

I have the honor to communicate to the Secretary of State the constructions which the Governor and the Judges of the Territory of Michigan have been compelled to give to the powers of legislation, in the course of exercising them.

The operative words of the ordinance are *the Governor and the Judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish such laws of the original States, civil and criminal, as may be necessary, and best suited to the circumstances of the district.*

This provision has been deemed to constitute a kind of legislative board, composed of the Governor and the three Judges, any three of whom form a quorum, and of which quorum the votes of any two determine a question.

It has not been unknown that a different construction has obtained in other territories; that the words, *or a majority of them,* have been construed to apply to the *Judges* only; and that without the *presence,* and *concurrence* of the Governor, no law can be passed. In the Territory of Michigan the construction has been *unanimous,* that, in this form of government, the Governor is a component member of the legislative board, and is entitled to be President of it; but that the other members may act without the Governor, and that their vote carry a question against the concurrence of the Governor. On this account the laws are clothed with the signature of all the members of the government, whether unanimously passed or not.

Under the term *laws,* all *parts of laws* have been deemed to be included. Hence it has not been thought necessary to adopt the whole of a law from one State. It has been deemed sufficient that all the parts of any law are sanctioned by the provisions of some of the States.

A doubt arose whether the term *original States* permitted the adoption of laws from States created subsequent to the date of the ordinance.

On this point the construction has been that the term *original,* as applied to the Territory of Michigan, has the same form as if used in the act constituting that territory. The States existing previous to the erection of this Territory have been deemed, with respect to it, *original* States; and the very States which, by their concurrence in this law, *originated* this Territory. Laws have therefore been adopted from States created subsequent to the date of the ordinance, and previous to the crea-

tion of this Territory; though it has been conceived not proper to adopt the laws of any State which may be created subsequent to the establishment of this Territory.

The discretion vested under the term *necessary* has been construed to impart the power of *omitting any part of a law whatever;* and with respect to all geographical descriptions, all expressions of time, and of number, all sums of money, all official and personal descriptions, and some other points of a similar nature, it has been construed indispensibly necessary to change the law adopted, with perfect latitude, in order to render it in any respect *suited to the circumstances of the district.* These terms, have therefore become a *formula,* which may in some measure apologize to the mind of him, who after so many imitations is scarcely able to recognize in the *child* adopted the lineaments of the *parent* which gave it birth.

An express statutory power is given to *repeal laws.* Hence a repealing law becomes a law *made,* and not a law *adopted;* and after any part of a law has been repealed, the repealing law proceeds to render the remainder of the law consistent with itself.

So all legislation exercised under express acts of Congress ceases to be the *adoption,* and becomes the *making* of laws.

Doubts existed whether there was authority to adopt a law which had been passed by a State, and afterwards altered or repealed; and how far the repeal of a law by a State, after its adoption by the Territory, affected its subsequent validity; but no cases occurred which rendered it necessary to decide these questions.

In the body of the laws now passed three alone did not receive entire approbation.

So much of the law establishing the courts as vests the appointment of the clerk of the court in the *judicial,* and not in the *executive* department of the government, met with the dissent of the Governor.

The Governor apprehended that the power given by the ordinance to appoint and commission *Magistrates* and *civil officers* vested this authority in the executive.

The Judges considered that provision as not extending to this subject, and on that account, as well as the exception, *not herein otherwise provided,* resorted to the previous regulation which confides to the judicial department the power given under the common law; most of the corresponding officers in the courts of King's Bench and of Common Pleas, as well as of the counties, in England, being by prescription, filled by the *judicial,* and not by the *executive* department of the government.

The associate Judge dissented to the act empowering aliens to hold lands in the Territory.

The presiding Judge dissented to so much of the act relative to taxes as imposes *poll taxes,* or *taxes on particular professions of life.*

All the other laws have been passed unanimously.

I have the honor to be Sir,
With the greatest respect,
Your obedient servant,
A. B. Woodward.

The hon. James Madison,
Secretary of State.

[Endorsed]
Michigan.
Judge Woodward.
8 May 1806.

The Hon. James Madison,
Secretary of State.

GOVERNOR HULL TO SECRETARY MADISON.

Detroit 31st. July, 1806.

Sir.

I have constantly given information to the Secretary of War, respecting the state of the Territory, in relation to the Indians. Everything is now perfectly pacific, and I hope we shall experience no future alarms. When I arrived, all business was suspended, and all the people were engaged in preparations for defence.

Much sensibility in upper Canada is excited on account of their slaves. Some of them have recently left their Masters, and come into this Territory. Their Masters have applied to me to have them apprehended by authority and sent back. I did not consider myself authorized to comply with this request. They have likewise applied to the judicial power, and received the same answer. I presume it is unnecessary to state the grounds of our opinions; I presume it will be considered as correct. I learn they are about making a statement to the British Minister on the subject. If they state only the above facts, we agree they are true If

they should state in their representation, that the Officers of this government have given any kind of encouragement to the practice, it will be without any foundation. So far from it we have done all we consistently could to prevent it.

If I have misconstrued the treaty, and misconceived my duty, it is an error of the head and not of the heart.

My wishes would be in favor of restoring them to their duty.

I am with very great respect

Your most obedt. Servt.

William Hull.

J. Madison, Esq.,
Secretary of State.

[Endorsed] Michigan.
Govr. 21st. July 1806.
Recd. 30 Augt.

James Madison, Esq.,
Secretary of State,
Washington.

GOVERNOR HULL TO SECRETARY MADISON.

Detroit, 2d. Augt. 1806.

Sir.

Neither Judge Woodward or Griffin have arrived. Their absence has occasioned great inconvenience to the Territory, as we have not been able to form a legislative board, and consequently could not carry into effect the act of Congress respecting the Town of Detroit, etc.

Letters were received from Woodward dated at Philadelphia the 4th. of July. He was then on his way, and expected to be here as soon as the journey could be performed. It is now allmost two months. I fear he is sick, or that some accident has happened to him. From Judge Griffin's letters, we had reason to expect him before this time.

Everything remains perfectly quiet, great activity and industry pre-

vail, and I see no appearance of anything to disturb the public tranquillity.

Nothing seems to be wanting, but a sufficient number of the Officers of the Government to adopt the necessary measures.

The agitation respecting the Slaves in Upper Canada has subsided, and I hope nothing in future will take place to revive the subject.

I am most respectfully,
Your most Obedt.
Servt.
William Hull.

J. Madison, Esq.,
Secretary of State.

[Endorsed] William Hull
20 Augt. 1806.
Recd. 29 Septm.

JUDGE WOODWARD TO THE LEGISLATIVE BOARD.

Copy.

Detroit, November 5, 1806.

I this day withdraw my further attendence on the legislative board,—and I request of you Sir, the favor to acquaint the members thereof therewith.

I have always considered that these territorial establishments, most wretched systems of government, and strongly is it proved by experience that nothing but Union in itself, joined to wisdom and firmness in its conduct, can enable a government of this description to advance the public good. With an executive possessed of Circumspection, firmness and energy, and a judiciary acquainted with American jurisprudence, all uninfluenced by fear or favor, and acting with Cordiality, harmony and concert, it is barely possible, by such system, to govern an infant society until a better can be obtained; but the moment it is assailed by parties without, and divided within, its energy and Utility are utterly gone.

The evil appears to be in the system, and not in the men; for it would

almost be a miracle that a government, in which collissions are radically engrafted, should remain harmonious for ever.

The present Riots are Owing as much to injudicious conduct in government, and its officers, as to the inflamed and turbulent state of mind, of a large number of the town. In physical strength the many must ever be superior to the few; and when the ties of Civilized Society, in a remote Country, are made loose, a Governor and a government are but feathers blown in the wind.

This you know, Sir, is the melancholy and alarming state in which we now stand.

Every measure of any of the constituted authorities of the Country, whither it be of a legislative, executive or judicial nature, whither of the general or local government is attempted to be controuled with violence and passion by persons who are intrusted with no powers to act on the subjects. The Opinions of those on whom the responsibility really rests, are resisted with personal insults. A public Officer is called upon here, not only to do his part of public duty, but to defend himself privately against the low animosities of turbulent, uninformed men for so doing. He cannot walk or turn a corner in the streets, without being assailed by the most vulgar and insolent abuse.

A Gentleman of the first influence of the country has declared in the streets of the town *that the first law that is passed that does not please him, he will kick the government to hell.*

A justice of the peace tells a Citizen *if he builds a house he will set fire to it,* and he remain charged with the custody of the peace.

In this most critical situation of affairs, instead of presenting to it a wise forbearance, the disorderly and riotous disposition is encouraged and stimulated by some of the government.

It has frequently been insinuated to me privately that a great storm is rising, and that it is directed against me.

I stand in a situation to repel with disregard all the efforts of those who have assumed the direction of it; but in consequence of these admonitions I have looked around, I trust with an eye of intrepidity, to discover and meet my enemies. I have found two sons of a British drummer, who think they have a hereditary right to make a noise in the world, and an Englishman who came to this Country in exhibiting a monkey on his back, for money, and who taking it into his head that men are animals equally easy to lead, has assumed a kind of dictatorship here, the most honorable opponents presented me.

I am an American by birth, and I have American feelings; and I feel

too poignant a mortification both for my country and myself, when I find the one lorded over, and the other dictated to by men of this description, I will not notice the intrigues of a Cowardly apostate priest, notorious for malice, and contemptible alike where he came from and here.

I believe, Sir, that my public duty imperiously exacts from me to withhold my attendance. Urgent affairs are tampered and trifled with, and extraneous influence has been too commanding. Two months patient and invariable attention, and even my own concurrence with the views of others, have not been sufficient to restore a Calm. Perhaps my absence may effect it. I leave a quorum at the board likely to continue for some days. In the mean time my care must be directed to my own and my friends defence.

When I believe I can render any public service, I shall resume my Seat in the legislature; and incur my portion of public duty with the same readiness as heretofore.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
with great respect,
your obedient Servant,
A. B. Woodward.

I certify the foregoing to be a true copy from the original filed at the legislative board, at Detroit, the 8th. of November, 1806.

Peter Audrain,
Secretary.

Copied by, Wm. Davidson.

[Endorsed]

Copy of a Letter from
Judge Woodward to the
legislative Board dated
November 5, 1806.

TERRITORIAL SECRETARY GRISWOLD TO SECRETARY MADISON.

Detroit 12. Nov. 1806.

Sir,

As the extraordinary letter enclosed has been made public by the legislative board, I have been requested by several gentlemen to transmit it to your department, in order that the writer and his proceedings may receive a fair consideration at the Seat of Government. I add no more, but that most of the things stated in the letter are without even a semblance of foundation, and the writer is by many seriously considered in a state of unhappy lunacy, or partial derangement.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

Stanley Griswold.

Hon. James Madison.

[Endorsed]

Detroit, 13 November. Free.

Michigan.

Recd. 12 Novr. 1806.

The honorable James Madison,

Secy. of State,

Washington City.

GOVERNOR HULL TO SECRETARY MADISON.

Detroit 13th. Novr. 1806.

Sir,

There has been very considerable sensibility lately excited here on account of our proceedings under the act of Congress, granting donations to the Inhabitants of Detroit.

The Governor and Judges or any three of them are authorized to execute that act. It was some time before any three could agree on any system for its execution. During this disagreement, it being a matter

of interest, much agitation was excited. The donees contended, that it was the intention of Congress that they should have the most valuable lots, and all who had purchased lots from this Government, insisted on those lots being considered as donations.

The Governor and Judges have now agreed on a system, which I believe will give general satisfaction. The storms seem to have abated, and I presume everything will be tranquil.

A very important event took place here a few days ago. Michorice, or the little Bear, the principal Chief of the Chipawa Nation committed an outrageous murder on one of his Nation at this place.

He was immediately arrested by the Marshall and committed to prison. He gives as a reason, that the deceased was a bad man, that he had murdered a number of the Nation, and had last summer given him poison and had lately attempted again to poison him. Being at the head of the Nation, and by their laws and customs having all the powers of government vested in him, he considered that he only did his duty.

As soon as he had committed the act, and before he was arrested, he came to me and informed what he had done.

I have been thus particular, because it is my intention to transmit the Sentence of the Court, to the President, before it is carried into effect, provided he should be condemned.

He is a very powerful Chief, has a very numerous family and connections. Their residence is on the River Huron, of Lake St. Clair, about thirty miles north of this place. They have made some threats, but I think they will not dare to commit any outrage.

I am with very great respect, your

Most obedt. Servt.

William Hull.

James Madison, Esq.,
Secretary of State.

[Endorsed]

Michigan.
Govr. 13 Novr. 1806.

Received 13th. November. Free.

Honorable James Madison,
Secretary of State,
Washington.

GOVERNOR HULL TO SECRETARY MADISON.

Michigan Territory, Detroit, 27. Nov. 1806.

Sir,

As I enclosed to you a copy of an extraordinary communication made by Judge Woodward, of this Territory, to the Legislative Board, on the 5th. inst. I ought perhaps to inform you, that after tarrying from the Board a few days, he again joined it; but am sorry to add, that he still conducts in a very singular manner. I should not trouble you with this information, were it not connected with something more interesting. Among other things, he has lately declared publicly at the Board, in the presence of various citizens, that the office of *Secretary* is unnecessary and ought to be abolished as a useless appendage of the government etc. etc. Very little doubt exists here, that this unhappy man has for some time past been endeavoring by his own strange conduct, to impede *this present system of territorial government,* and make it appear as "wretched a system" as he described it to be in his written communication to the Board of the 5th. inst.—and all with a view to promote a *certain Bill* (drawn, it is believed, by himself) now pending in the Senate of the United States (having passed the House of Representatives, it is said, the last Session), in which alterations are proposed to be introduced into the government of this Territory, peculiarly interesting to the *chief judge,* and ruinous to the *Secretary.* This Bill he committed to the Grand Jurors soon after his return in September last, soliciting their approbation; but it met (in part) their decided and unanimous disapprobation, a copy of whose report I have the honor to enclose.

Nothing, Sir, had been easier than to conduct the affairs of this government in the most harmonious and happy manner, if nothing but common principles and common views had been entertained by all its members. Mysterious things have transpired here since the return of the Gentlemen who visited Washington the last winter. I will mention but one,—a young gentleman came on from Boston the last summer for the *avowed* purpose of filling the office of *Secretary,* and still remains with that expectation. Other young gentlemen have come and are coming, apparently without business, yet not of independent circumstances.

From all these things (with others not mentioned) I think I am justified in apprehending that an effort will be made to deprive me of the *Secretaryship.* Should the *Bill* above alluded to, be sanctioned exactly in its present form, the object would be effected without application to the President. But should it be defeated, or so amended as to prevent

this, I must beg the President to pause on any representations which may be made to him, till I can be heard. I am conscious of nothing which can be alledged, unless it be a strict and undeviating attention to every duty pertaining to my office, or which has at any time devolved on me to perform; and that I am known to be an inflexible friend to the perpetual Union of the States, as well as to republican principles.

I have the honor to be,
Sir, with great respect,
Your most obedt. Servant.
Stanley Griswold.

Hon. Jas. Madison.

[Endorsed]

Michigan.
Secretary 27 Novr. 1806.

Detroit 27 November. Free.

Honorable James Madison,
Secretary of State,
Washington City.

REMONSTRANCE OF THE GRAND JURY AGAINST THE UNITED STATES SENATE BILL RELATING TO INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Copy.

The Grand Jurors of the Territory of Michigan, summoned to attend at the sessions of the Supreme Court, in September last, and again convened by order of Said Court, on the 28th. day of October, 1806, cannot forbear to express more particularly their decided disapprobation of certain provisions in a Bill, called *"a Bill to amend An Act, entitled, An Act to divide the Indian Territory into two separate governments, and for other purposes,"* which they have been given to understand is pend-

ing in the Honble. Senate of the United States, and they feel it their duty to remonstrate against said Bill, in respect to the following particulars, viz.

1. Against the *first* section thereof, so far as it empowers the present government, established over the Territory of Michigan, to *originate* or *make* laws for said Territory,—The Grand Jurors, preferring that so long as the present government continues, it should be restricted to the *adoption* of laws from the original States, according to the ordinance of Congress, of the 13th. July, 1787.

2. Against the *second* section of said Bill, so far as it is proposed, that after the 3d. day of March, 1807, one entire branch of the Territorial Legislature, viz. the *Senate,* shall be composed of the *Judges* of said Territory,—The Grand Jurors, considering it a feature of despotism, and of dangerous tendency, that those who are to *Judge* and *apply* the laws, should *make* the laws:—and they desire that after the 3d. day of March, 1807, (or any other period that shall be thought proper by Congress) both houses of the territorial legislature may be composed of *Citizens* of said territory, to be selected and organized according to the ordinance of 1787 aforesaid:—and that every person qualified by law to be an elector, shall be eligible to either house of the Territorial legislature.

3. Against the *5th.* and *9th.* sections of said bill altogether, The Grand Jurors, viewing it as the consummation of despotism, that all the powers, *legislative, Judicial,* and *Executive,* should be united in the hands of *one man,* even for a day,—much more for so great a part of time as Governors of Territories are liable to be absent from their governments; and they cannot but confess that they should anticipate with great anxiety a period, when any Chief Judge might possess at once those three essentially distinct powers. The Grand Jurors have a decided preference for the Ordinance of the 13th. July 1787,.relative to the supply of occasional vacancies in the Executive department, and to the appointment and duties of the Secretary of the territory.

4. Against the *fourteenth* section of Said Bill, the Grand Jurors considering it but just and proper that the officers of this government should, according to the Ordinance afforesaid, possess a *real estate* in the country over which they are appointed to rule.

Ordered that two copies of the foregoing remonstrance be transmitted

by the foreman to the President of the Senate, and the President of the United States, with a respectful request that the same may be taken into consideration, in case the Bill above mentioned should be called before them for the purpose of being established as a law.

By order,

Jury Room,
Detroit 28th. Oct. 1806.

Signed
James Henry, foreman.

Copied by Wm. Davidson.

[Endorsed]

Recd. in the Secy. of Michigan's 29 Novr. 1806.

Copy of a Report of
the Grand Jurors of
Michigan Territory.

ALLOTMENT OF LANDS AFTER THE DETROIT FIRE OF 1805.

The Committee, to whom were referred Sundry propositions from certain Inhabitants of Detroit, Submit the following report:

The propositions are evidently founded on the idea that the Congress of the United States have undertaken to indemnify the Inhabitants against their sufferings by the fire.

That this Construction is not correct is clear from the letter of the act. To a person of the age of seventeen years, who resided in the town, even if poor, and destitute of all property, and even lost nothing by the fire, five thousand feet of ground is given: to the richest proprietor in the town, who has lost a number of houses, the fruit of the labour of whole life, have been destroyed in one hour, and to whom a suffering family look for support, now that the prime of life is past, there is given no more. If the principle of an obligation to indemnify had been contemplated, some apportionment of the fund to the losses and respective sufferings

of individuals would have been made, and the principle of placing every person old and young, rich and poor, sufferer or no sufferer, on a footing of equality, would not have prevailed.

It is also known to your Committee that the principle of indemnification was uniformly restricted by the federal Government. As well it has been urged are they bound to indemnify the proprietors of Philadelphia if it should be burnt tomorow or of Norfolk to whose merchants a delay of payments of duties was alone granted, as well against other Calamities as that of fire, Yellow fever for instance, or tempest, as they are bound to indemnify the inhabitants of Detroit against the Conflagration. The real motive of giving anything was not the idea of an obligation to indemnify but a wish to accommodate and secure to the American side a few inhabitants who were left too poor to buy at the high prices to which the inhabitants in their Competition had run up the ground, and to whom a foreign Government was holding out temptations to remove. Experience has shewn to your Committee that this object, if it can ever be attained, is attained at a Cost greater than its worth. It is better to suffer persons of this description to depart than to buy their stay at any sacrifice. They are generally turbulent and dissatisfied and become even more rancorous on account of the favor intended to be shewn to them not equalling the exhorbitance of their expectations. All that the government of the United States owes to the inhabitants of this Country is to adjust on some equitable principles the irregular acquisitions of land under the French and english Governments. Everything beyond this is a matter of favor. This object has indeed been too long neglected. It is simply in its nature, and one or two general principles being setled easy to execute. Further acquisitions of land might then be regular. Our government however has spent years in preliminary investigations. It has accumulated the materials of information untill their bulk with lapse of time and distance of place render the task of investigation too laborious and fruitless to be undertaken. Thus as yet not one advance has been made towards this object. This is the only point on which the inhabitants of this Country have a right to Complain of the government of the United States. The british government has been more prompt and more vigorously advances the political progress of the opposite Country. But it will not be long before the federal government will discharge its duties in relation to this subject. And in the mean time it appears to your Committee the indispensible duty of the government here to prevent encroachments on public property, and to reduce the expectations of settlers to reasonable limits; utterly

disregarding the unquallified and low abuse with which they are covered.

It does however by no means follow though the *principle* of *indemnification* should be *resisted,* and though the *discretion* as to the *locality* of the donation is *unlimited,* that they ought to be so made as to render them of no value. It ought to be a *just and reasonable* discretion; meeting as far as possible all the objects contemplated by the act, and rendering to the inhabitants all the benefits that can be reasonable expected.

There appears to be three objects Contemplated by the act. The first and unquestionably the most important is the Satisfaction of the rights acquired under the french and english Governments. Though these acquisitions ought to be investigated with some degree of strictness, yet it is a general expectation as well on the part of the inhabitants, as on the part of the Government of the United States, that all just and equitable claims of this description will be confirmed. Whether it be considered as a prejudice or a rational impression, it is not the less an unquestionable fact that the inhabitants consider the ground along the bank of the river as alone valuable. To remove them even a few yards they regard as an injury and even as an insult. From the house of John Dodemead to the line of Askin given but eight hundred feet of building ground. The space occupied as Navy-yard is not yet fully at the Controul of the local government. How two or three hundred donations are to be made out of this small space, after Satisfying the claims under the ancient government, is a mystery which some clamorous men either cannot or will not see. Even the few lots which remain ought to be applied to another purpose, which may be considered as the next important object of the act.

The second purpose then which is to be answered is the erection of a prison and a Court-house.

Unfortunately Courts and prisons seem to be necessary appendage of the Civilized State. Whether such a state of Society must last forever is no question at present. Certain it is that this is not the Country which can subsist in order and safety without such restraints. Edifices for these purposes however humble and incomplete must Cost something. If the fund is removed by giving away either the ground, or the money, the clamors of a future day will be greater than even those of the present, and the abuse which is so much lavished at present will then be much more merited. So apt is private avidity to extinguish all sense of public good, that some regard this part of the act as so litle intitled to attention as to continue into a violation of the act the disposing of any public ground untill all the donations have been made. They con-

strue the term *claims* to comprehend both the *old rights* and the *gifts*, and regardless of the discretion, as to the locality of the donations, would restrict the public from using any of the ground untill the donations have been satisfied. The moment however that the Governor and the Judges, in the exercise of the discretion vested, determine that a particular space shall not be a donation, it becomes a part of the remainder or surplus, and is liable to be disposed of. To contend that though it is not be a donation yet that it shall not be disposed of untill the last donation is made, which, from the dispersed Situation of the proprietors and claimants, some in Europe, some in America, and some in parts unknown, may not be for many years, is to adhere more to the *bark* than to the *letter*. If a particular spot is not to be a donation the only rational obligation on the Government is to sell it at such *time*, and in such *manner* as will be most to the public advantage, and faithfully to apply the proceeds to the purpose to which it is destined.

The third object of the act is to accommodate with Comfortable situations, as a gratuity, those who were not able to procure them from their own means. As no line of distinction could well be drawn, and as none has been attempted, the *rich* one equally entitled with the *poor*. If however any distinction were made it certainly ought to be in favor of the *poor*, and against the *rich*, the very reverse of the mode which some are now contending for.

As the discretion vested by the act is unfettered, it may be adviseable since it has been requested, to make classifications of the Donees. Instead of those which have been presented which appear to sacrifice the rights of the indigent to the Clamors of the Wealthy, it appears to your Committee more just in itself, more Consonant to the act of Congress, and infinitely more honorable to the Government to substitute the following classifications. Your Committee have prepared a list of the persons comprehended in each Classification, and herewith submit them. The nearest and most valuable ground, after satisfying the old claims, and disposing of six or eight lots of extraordinary value for the public buildings, may with propriety be selected, as certainly it could give no pleasure to the government here to make the donation in so remote a quarter as to render them of no immediate value to the donees, and might justly attach to them the change of an arbitrary and unreasonable Construction of the act. The ground contemplated by the Committee commences in the rear of the bank, and extends paralell to main Street, and adjacent to it, as far as the house of James Dodemead. Here the Sufferers of the first class might select for themselves, in the order of their merit,

as charitable objects of the donation or submit it to a lot as might be agreed. The other classes to follow after the satisfaction of the first, and immediately adjoining.

First class.

Persons being heads of family, that is being or having been married, who resided in the town of Detroit, when it was burnt, and who were proprietors of houses, arranged in the order of their respective merit, as charitable objects of the donations, as nearly as they can be ascertained.

Second class.

Persons who were proprietors of houses and who were not heads of families, or did not reside in the town when it was burnt.

Third class.

Heads of families who were not proprietors

Fourth class.

Persons who resided in the town, and who were neither proprietors of houses, or heads of families.

No propositions have been made on the Subject of the burying Ground.

Your Committee are of opinion that, provided no title exists for it, if any Society of persons, whether religious, or of any other description, will step forward and contract to enclose the burying ground, conformably to the lines of the Streets, and keep it in order, as Such, that it ought to be granted for that purpose. If other more eligible ground is desired, it might be granted with permission to remove any of the bodies interred in this temporary spot into the permanent burying ground, even if it should be at public expence.

If no person have a claim for this ground, and no persons will associate themselves, or undertake, to enclose, and use it as a burying ground, or receive the care of some other spot for a similar purpose, Your Committee are of opinion that the ground ought to be disposed of. If the houses are burnt, as has been threatened, and if the degree of violence should rise so high as to occasion the occlusion of the Courts of Justice, so that the offenders can neither be apprehended or punished, it will

become a question which could never be determined at a more favorable period than the present, when our Country is prosperous and united, and its government firm and energetic, whether this Country, after the blood and treasure, and negotiation which they have used to obtain it, shall belong to that United States, or whether it shall belong to a few violent and turbulent characters Americans neither in birth or in Sentiments, and who have become accustomed to so extreme a licentiousness that they find the most lenient restraints of Civilized Society a burden too heavy to Sustain.

Your Committee are further of opinion that no sale at auction, or Contracts deliberately made with the board be on any account violated or rescinded, the inevitable result of such measures being a total Sacrifice of the objects Contemplated by the act, and tending to relax punctuality so far as essentially to injure the Country. At the same time if the original credit of five years is not considered sufficient, and if the exaction of full interest for the use of the property is considered hard; and if annual payments are thought too prompt, your Committee recommend to extend the term of credit to eight years, to remit one half of the interest, and to require the payments instead of at the end of every year, at the end of every two years: and to accomodate those who are, or say that they are ready to pay without incurring interest, Your Committee recommend a discount of twelve per cent per annum for prompt pay, and to construe, as prompt pay, payments within one hundred days after making the arrangement. When it is considered that the original prices of ground were left to be settled by the *inhabitants themselves,* as expressed by their respective offers and bids, that Securities were not required, that not a cent has yet been called for, that measures have been taken at considerable expense, intirely *private* and *personal,* which render the title acquired *perfectly* unquestionable, and that every foot of old property, however imperfect the title, has been counted and sometimes two feet for one; if, with the addition of the *eight years credit,* the *half interest* for the rent, the biennial payments, and the *twelve* per cent discount, the inhabitants are not Satisfied, it can only be said in plain terms that their views are *dishonest* and *dishonorable,* and ought to be controuled, whatever *Murmurs* and *Contumely* may arise from it.

Your Committee Submit the following resolutions:

RESOLVED that the persons entitled to donation lots in Detroit be distributed into four classes, the first class consisting of residents heads of families proprietors of houses. The second class consisting of pro-

prietors not heads of families, or non resident. The third class consists of heads of families not proprietors, and the fourth class consisting of persons not having families, and not proprietors of lands or houses.

RESOLVED that the ground from and adjoining the bank and extending to the house of James Dodemead, and so extending adjacent to the same, be appropriated to extinguish the donations giving the preference to the Several Classes respectively.

RESOLVED that if any title be produced to the burying ground, which is now not enclosed or taken care of, it ought to be examined, and if proper confirmed, and if no title exists, and any persons will associate to enclose and keep it in order, that it ought to be granted for such purposes; and that if no title exists and no person or persons will undertake the care of it, then it ought to be Sold, and if any violence be used to the purchasers, that it ought to be prosecuted and punished, and the persons acquiring the lawfull title to be protected in the enjoyment of their property by all the force of government.

RESOLVED that no sale at auction, and no contract deliberately made with the board be on any account violated or rescinded, but that the term of credit to purchasers immediately after the fire, that is August 1805 be extended from five years to eight years counting the time elapsed since August 1805, as part of the said eight years, that the instalments instead of being at the end of every year, be at the end of every two years, and that one half of the interest on the whole time be remitted, and those elected to pay promptly, that is, in one hundred days from making the arrangements, be entitled to a discount of twelve per centum per annum.

List of the first Class.

John Dodemead.	John Watson.
Mary Abbott.	Danl. McNeal.
Peter Audrain.	Archibd. Horner.
Augustin Lafoy.	Joseph Thibault.
Conrad Seek.	Louis Lognon.
Charles Curry.	Joseph Voyer.
Mattw. Donovan.	John Conner.
Ann Coates.	Chs. Girardin.
Widow Provencal.	Peter Denoyer.
Widow Coté.	Francois Gobeille.

Second Class.

Robinson & Martin.
James Henry.
Mr. Abbott.
Mr. McCombe.
Joseph Campeau.
Gabriel Godfroy.
Batiste Picquet.
Gabriel Richard.
James May.
James Dodemead.
Mr. Askin.
Mr. Pattinson.
Mr. Forsyth.
Mr. Cook.
Mr. McGill. 2.
Wm. Robertson.

Third Class.

John Harvey.
Wm. Scott.
Joseph Wilkinson.
Solo. Sibley.
Abraham Cook.
Jno. Bentley.
Francois Frerot.
Thos. Welch.
Augustin Longon.
Nancy Cadoret.
Mrs. McNiff.
Mrs. Eberts.
T. Metté.
Henry Hudson.
Mrs. Fearson.
Mr. Delille.
Mr. Monet.
Mr. Valise.
Louis Pettier.
Isidore Pettier.
Mrs. Nowlan.
Jno. Robinson.
Mrs. Hall.

Fourth Class.

Dr. Wm. Brown.
Fredk. Bates.
Henry Hunt.
Geo. Hoffman.
Geo. Smart.
Jno. Williams.
Miss McNiff. 2.
Miss Godfroy.
Miss Dodemead.
Miss Cadoret.
Mr. Lattelliere.
Robt. Smart.
Isaac Jones.
Mr. Griffard.
Bomthram.
Geo. Welch.
Drake.
Fox.
Thos. Mahony.
Robert Munro.
McSherry—dubion.
Mr. Lepage.
Thibautt, junr.
Mr. Gobeille.
Miss Gobeille.
Mr. Gallermo—dubion.
Mr. Provencal.
Miss Provencal.

Miss Fearson.
Joseph Hosford.
Robt. Conn.
Toussaint Campeau
B. S. James McDonald.
Chs. Goüin.
Mr. Penard (Josh.)
Mrs. Town.
Mr. Palmer.
Mr. Glass.
Mr. Anderson—dubion.
M. Chittenden.
Mr. Hankard (dubion).
Miss Roy.
Peter Chartrou.
Dr. McCroskey.
James McCloskey.
Prisgue Coté.
Joseph Coté.
Miss Coté.
Josh. Voyoz, junr.
Antoine Pettier—dubion.
Mr. Baldwin.
Mr. E. Jones—dubion.
Conrad TenEyck.
Mr. Benjamin.
Mr. Rogers—dubion.
Mr. Fitch.
Mr. Wort.
Miss Hall. 2.
John Burnett.
Polly Ball.
Jacob Nordo.
James Henry.

Fifth Class.

—British Subjects.—

John Gentle.
Jno. McGregor.
Adam Gentle.
James McDonald.
Rd. Donovan.
Robt. Forsyth.
to be rejected.

Sixth Class.

—Free Negroes.—

Thomas Parker.
Elizabeth Cooper. &c. &c.
to be rejected.

Seventh Class.

—Slaves.—

Pomp.
Harvey.
Cato &c. &c.
to be rejected.

[Endorsed]

Copy of the Report

of Judge Woodward
and Judge Bates.

on the subject
of Donation Lots.

INDIAN PARDON.

Detroit 2d. Jany. 1807.

Sir.

I have received your letter, inclosing Michonee's pardon. He had before been tried, and acquitted, by the verdict of a Judge. I will however inform him of the leniency of his *great Father* towards him.

I have directed the Secretary, to forward by this mail, a copy of the law, providing for the erection of a bank at this place, and the other laws which have been adopted, this summer, as soon as possible.

I have the honor to be very
respectfully, your most
obedt. Servt.
William Hull.

J. Madison, Esq.,
Secretary of State.

[Endorsed]

Michigan.
Govr. 2 Jany. 1807.

TERRITORIAL SECRETARY GRISWOLD TO SECRETARY MADISON.

Michigan Territory,
Detroit, 5 January 1807.

Sir,

By the mail which conveys this letter, will be forwarded an authenticated transcript of the Acts and proceedings of the Governor of the Territory of Michigan, for the last semi-annual period, to wit, from the first day of July 1806, to the first day of January 1807.

With great respect, I am,
Sir,
Your most obedient
and very humble servt,
Stanley Griswold.
Secy. of Michigan Territory.

Hon. James Madison.

[Endorsed]
Michigan.
Secretary 5 Jany. 1807.

PETER AUDRAIN TO SECRETARY MADISON.

His Excellency
The Secretary of State.

Detroit 11. January 1807.

Sir,

I beg leave to inform you that a copy of our laws, printed at the City of Washington, is very much wanted for the use of our Supreme Court; a Seal and a screw press for the same Court, and also for the Several district Courts of the territory are wanted; the Vol. of laws may be forwarded by the mail, and the Screws and Seals might be sent to

Pergu' isle, with an order to forward us the same by the first Navigation in the Spring.

A Vol. of the laws of Congress of the last Session is also wanted for the use of our Courts.

I have the honor to be with great respect
Sir,
Your very humble
and most obedient Servant.
Peter Audrain.
Clerk of the Supreme
Court.

[Endorsed]
Michigan.
Peter Audrain,
11 Jany. 1807.

JUDGE WOODWARD TO SECRETARY MADISON.

The subject of the donations having been, through some discontented characters here, transferred to the press, I have enclosed what will serve as an explanation of it at the seat of government, and will shew that the source and object of the clamor do not merit serious attention, and that some little firmness is necessary in a government here, or otherwise the laws could not be supported.

A. B. Woodward.
Jan. 31, 1807.

[Endorsed]
Michigan.
Judge Woodward.
31 Jany. 1807.

The hon. James Madison,
Secy. of State.

Hon. Mr. Madison.

The date of the communication to the Senate relative to the merchants proposing to embark in the Fur trade is April 14, 1806.

A. B. W.
Jan. 31. 1807

JUDGE WOODWARD'S MEMORANDUM ON THE FUR TRADE.

Detroit, January 31, 1807.

I have the honor now to transmit to the Secretary of State the map which I promised to procure of, his Britannic Majesty's province of Upper Canada, accompanied by a small pamphlet of statistical information. I made inquiries for it immediately on my return to this country, but having been confined to this side of the river by unceasing public business I did not succeed until yesterday in obtaining it. Not having seen the merchant from whom it was procured I am not yet acquainted with its price; and I have understood a second copy, from another quarter, is on its way to me, which, if received, I shall also transmit.

You will immediately perceive, Sir, that this country is by no means unimportant. A prejudice prevails to the Southward that these northern countries are cold, sterile, and unprofitable. It arises from the attention being turned to Nova Scotia, New Brunswic, and other comparatively barren provinces in the vicinity of the Ocean. I was myself a victim to it until my own observations corrected the error; nor had I the most distant apprehension of the advances it had made. From the Ocean all the way to these settlements there is a continued line of improvements; following, without deviation, the course of the navigation. It is seldom more than forty miles of breadth; but its length is at least fifteen hundred miles. These settlements are fertile, pleasant, and even opulent. They present, along the whole line, a scene of activity little imagined in the United States. The Commerce in Furs, which has been carried on in one channel for two centuries, and which will continue for a considerable period to come, is the cause of this phenomena.

The measures of Bonaparte have just in a great degree cut off the English from their continental market for furs. The Chinese have also laid restrictions on the Commerce. At present there is a shock felt along the whole line I have described; and which paralyses even this country.

The settlements of this vicinity may be considered as having been, while in possession of the English, the extremity of the *firm* and *perfectly civilized* establishments. *To* this point their direction has been westward; and *at* this point the line may be considered as making an angle to the north-west, and at the same time assuming a difference of aspect, from the point of contact with the savages not having hitherto been extended to a greater distance from the ocean. The north-west line

may be considered as extending fifteen hundred miles more. But if another angle is assumed at the Arabasea Lake, it may be considered as divided into two lines, one north, and one west; and then the line of this commerce may be considered as reaching the Pacific and Arctic seas, though with traces very faint at those remote extremities.

This commerce belongs to another nation. The Americans have never been able to succeed in it, though the most valuable part of it belongs to their own Territory, and the whole passes along their line. Since the cession to the Americans the country from which I write has been languishing. American exertion is destitute of the most common and necessary protection. A furious and irrational antipathy to commercial enterprize is supposed to pervade their councils. Without dwelling on the point the triumph of their rivals is complete; and however unimportant any participation whatsoever in the Fur Trade may be to the United States generally to their country it is all-important. Perhaps it cannot be said there is any positive disaffection; but it is a remark, which the experience of mankind too often very fatally verifies, that *small causes sometimes give rise to great events.* For thirteen years the inhabitants of the small section which has fallen to the Americans have lived on *hope;* and hope, according to an expressive proverb sometimes used among their traders is a good breakfast, but a bad supper. *L'Espoir fait un bon dejenne', mais un mauvais soupe.*

It cannot therefore be considered unimportant in American policy to encourage these quarters of their domains in the line of industry to which they have been accustomed, so far as it is usual and proper for government to regulate their concerns.

An application was made here by commercial characters during the last summer to favor the embarkation of a very respectable American Capital in this Commerce. It was notified to the Senate of the United States in anticipation the past winter. They proposed to commence their operations with an institution of primary importance to their enterprize. As this institution has very suddenly been distorted, by those who did not comprehend its object, and has attracted, Sir, a share of *your* attention; instead of *reducing to writing* the observations which I submitted when you did me, Sir, the honor of consulting me on the communication from the Governor of New York, relative to the *islands* along the American and British line, which was what I at first intended; I will confine myself to one or two explanations relative to that institution.

First of all it is necessary to premise that Colonel Burr, his agents, emissaries, or friends, have no possible concern in it; and probably

scarcely know of its existence. A suspicion of this nature appears here the most strange and unjust.

In the next place I remark that if it is thought improper, on general principles, to have a Bank here; I do not intend to occupy either your attention, Sir, or my own, with any arguments on one side or the other of that question.

If it is thought, in that medley of opinion which exists relative to the powers of territorial governments in their present most awkward and imperfect state, that this government has not *a power of adopting laws of this description,* I am also silent.

Assuming the other points; it is alone the *details* of the Bill which I undertake to justify.

On a careful perusal of it I can only discover *two points,* which it appears to me will not be immediately understood elsewhere; and for these I am in a great measure responsible myself, since they were at first advocated very differently by others. These are the *duration,* and *capital* assigned to the institution. They were at first made *thirty years,* and I believe a *hundred thousand dollars.* On my arguments they were changed to a *hundred and one* years, and a *million of dollars.* It is necessary those arguments should be understood.

It was a principle made that incorporating laws are necessary in governments to answer only *two substantial purposes;* one, to enable an association to act as a moral person, to have one will, to be capable of representation in courts of justice and elsewhere as a moral person having a unity of will, and of cause, while it lasts, to have *succession,* that is to say, that whatever *individuals* may successively compose it the *body itself* may remain the same. The other, to exempt those individuals from a liability in their private property for the contents of the body itself. The common law of England, adopted in this country, renders these provisions necessary; otherwise associations might, at any time, act without the necessity of any legislative aid. All the other powers and forms accompanying them are considered as only subsidiary to these purposes.

It was a principle next made, that in no American government ought any privilege to be given to an association, which individuals or other associations did not possess.

The next principle made, and that the most firmly adhered to, is that an act incorporating any institution is, and ought ever to be, like an act of ordinary legislative power, and that in order to remove all ques-

tion on the point every law of that kind ought to contain a clause to that effect.

Expedience may sometimes require a pledge of the public faith against a repeal for a certain time as an indemnification for particular advances. In this case it could only relate to the expence of the edifice, and a few years would have sufficed.

It is therefore well understood that this act is at any time repealible at the pleasure of the legislative power of the United States.

It is further understood that the legislative power of the Territory may at any time request such repeal, if they do not undertake to make it.

It was further contemplated to insert in the act a clause expressly reserving to the legislative power of Michigan, for the time being, a spontaneous right of repeal, even in an imperfect shape applicable, it has been deferred, the Congressional right fully answering the object for the present. At a future day, if not previously anticipated by Congress, it will be the subject of mutual and satisfactory arrangement.

It therefore appears that a constant and spontaneous right of repeal is the basis on which this government tread. The duration therefore was considered more from under the circumstances, and as short periods opened always a door for intrigue and corruption for renewal, and also held out an implication of promise to let the period run out, it was deemed prudent in order to manifest the clearness of the right, and to prevent intrigue, to extend the period beyond the lives of all who might be at present affected.

This much, Sir, on the *right of repeal;* and the consequent *formal duration* assigned.

On the *capital* it is to be considered that this like the others is deemed *form.* Indeed it follows from the other principle; and for the same reason it is extended at once beyond the possible limits it can ever reach.

It may however be remarked, and it is conceived with the utmost justice and propriety, that all attempts on the part of legislative powers to assign limitations to capital, or quantum of medium, are fruitless and unnecessary; and are a mere relic of popular prejudice and mistake.

One or two abstract principles will perhaps immediately shew this.

Coin is valuable to man, in the civilized state, because it is an artificial mode of representing the necessaries and comforts of life. Let coin cease to represent the necessaries and comforts of life, and it ceases to be valuable as such. It is alone because coin is exchangible at pleasure for the necessaries and comforts of life that it has a value. When it

ceases to have that value, it ceases to be coin; and is converted into the raw material.

A bank bill is valuable to a member of the civilized state because it is an artificial mode of representing coin. Let a bank bill cease to represent coin, and it ceases to be valuable. It is alone because a bank bill is exchangible at pleasure for coin that it possesses any value. When a bank bill ceases to be exchangible at pleasure for coin, it ceases to be a bank bill; and is converted into worthless paper.

Popular sagacity and good sense, though perhaps not always competent to express these ideas with precision, yet is always competent to act on them, and always does act on them, and that with the greatest precision. Governments need therefore never attempt to regulate the quantity of coin, or of bank bills in society. The good sense of society always regulate both, without any aid, and much better without aid than with it.

When capital can be employed more profitably in a bank than in other kinds of trade it will flow into that channel, and the effect is beneficial to society.

When capital can be employed more profitably in other kinds of trade it flows into those channels; and the effect is again beneficial to society.

When coin multiplies unnecessarily popular good sense converts it into raw material.

When bank bills multiply unnecessarily popular good sense converts them into coin.

The government *need not* therefore and on correct principles *ought not,* to regulate either. When flagrant and unprincipled abuse are practiced the spontaneous right of repeal is a radical, prompt, effective remedy; as long as legislatures remain virtuous and uncorrupted. When they cease to be so, the pecuniary interests of society are not alone at stake. All the interests of society are in danger.

To turn from principles to plain facts, a bank has been instituted here, supported by merchants of the country and others on the sea-board, concerned in the commerce of Furs. The specie in its vaults is between twenty and thirty thousand dollars. Thirty thousand more are called for on the first day of next July. After that period the increase will be small and gradual. It is in successful operation, has the confidence of the country, has already done much good, and is calculated to do much more. If hastily and unadvisedly extinguished Canadian confidence can never be regained; and one species of national enterprize is for the present effectually sacrificed. I enclose specimens of the medium formerly used here. I enclose also specimens of the present medium.

Shortly after the institution went into operation an application was received here from the Exchange office of Boston for a loan. It was deemed useful and acquiesced with. Its obvious tendency is to commence at once in each extremity of the line, through which the commerce of furs is destined to travel, the operations of the capital which is embarked in it. If any abuse exists, which is not believed here, like all others it will necessarily correct itself. I am not acquainted with facts, and can therefore say nothing; but I trust investigation will be candid, deliberate, and independent.

If, Sir. the subject should be under the attention of a committee of either house, or should otherwise attract attention, I beg you to communicate these remarks, as no objection is conceived to exist to their publicity.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
with the most perfect respect,
your obedient servant.
Augustus B. Woodward.

SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE BANK OF MICHIGAN.

If any legislative measures are thought advisable at present I suggest one of the underwritten:

An act concerning the Bank of Detroit, in the City of Detroit, in the Territory of Michigan.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, &c., that the act of the government of the Territory, of Michigan entitled an act concerning the Bank of Detroit passed on the day of one thousand eight hundred six, be, and the same is hereby made repealible at any time at the pleasure of the legislative power of the United States, or the legislative power of Michigan, for the time being, anything whatsoever to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

Or.

An act concerning incorporations in the Territorial governments.

Be it enacted &c. that all acts passed in any territorial government of the United States, incorporating any institutions whatsoever, shall be and the same are hereby made repealible at any time at the pleasure of the legislative power of the United States, or the legislative power of

the Territory or country for the time being, anything whatsoever to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

Either of these regulations will appear to me to place subjects of this description exactly on the footing they ought to stand.

A. B. Woodward.

[Endorsed]

Judge Woodward.
Recd. March 26. 1807

TERRITORIAL SECRETARY GRISWOLD TO SECRETARY MADISON.

Michigan Territory, Detroit, 21st February 1807.

Sir,

In the ordinance of Congress of the 13th. July 1787, is the following passage describing the duties of the territorial Secretary:

> "It shall be his duty to keep and preserve the acts and laws passed by the "legislature, and the public records of the District, and the proceedings of the "Governor in his executive department."
> U. S. laws, vol. 2. page 560.

Agreeably to the first and the last members of this passage, I have kept and preserved the acts and laws passed by the legislature, and the proceedings of the Governor in his executive departmnt; but have nothing in my keeping other than these, or anything which might be intended by the middle clause, viz. "the public records of the District." If *Deeds* of land, *Wills* &c. be intended, I have to inform, that the legislature have appointed *other depositories* for these. If the *Journals* of the legislature be embraced in any of the above clauses, I beg to be empowered by you to call for them. In short, if the course which has been pursued should in your judgment fall short of the full and exact intent of the passage above quoted from the Ordinance, I shall expect your instructions.

While writing, I will just say, it is reported here, that our legislature have adopted the late patriotic Law of Ohio respecting conspirators against the public safety, tho' with a modification, it is said, of the amount of bail to be required. It is further added, that they ordered their Clerk immediately to make out and transmit a Copy to Government, probably to your office. I have to inform you, that no such Law has been deposited in my office, nor any information transpired from the board to me that such a law exists: I have not seen the original, nor

examined, or compared, or certified, or seen any Copy. If it exist, it is yet a *secret law,* nor am I able to give any information of its provisions *(as adopted)* to the numerous applicants who are in the habit of repairing to my office for knowledge of the territorial laws. The motion at the legislative Board for their Clerk to transmit a copy to government, I am told, came from Judge *Woodward.* I hope this gentleman does not intend (before he has the sanction of Congress) to reduce to practice the idea he uttered publicly in open board last fall, that *the office of territorial Secretary ought to be abolished as an unnecessary appendage to this government, and an useless expence to the public.*

It gives me pain, Sir, to inform you of these things; but I conceive that I should be wanting in duty, not to do it. Nor can I refrain from assuring you, that the people of this Territory are much discouraged, and that some of its most valuable citizens, true friends of the American government and Union, are resolved to leave it, for which they are now making preparations, and they openly and unreservedly *avow* the *cause* of doing so.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,
Sir,
Your most obedient,
and very humble servant,
Stanley Griswold.

Hon. James Madison.

P. S. I was lately informed by Doctor Mitchell of the U. S. Senate, that a committee was appointed to enquire into the causes of failure in the regular returns from the territorial Secretaries, and that I was said to be in arrears. I immediately forwarded to his care an affidavit of my own, together with the certificates of the Postmasters here, which I hope have been received.

S. G.

[Endorsed]

Detroit 21 Feb. '07.
Stanley Griswold.

Detroit 21 February Free.

Honorable James Madison,
Secretary of State,
Washington City.

Records of Michigan Ter. 7.

GOVERNOR HULL TO SECRETARY MADISON AS TO INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Detroit 15th. Sept. 1807.

Sir.

As the enclosed Correspondence has relation to aggressions, committed by the British Agents, I consider it my duty to make the communication to you. In a conversation with Colonel Grant, on Gros Isle, he observed that he had enquired of the Agents respecting the particular changes stated in my Letter, and they deny the truth of them.

I however have the best evidence, which the nature of the case will admit, for their truths.

I observed to him, it was a fact too public to be questioned, that they were in the constant habit of sending for the Indians living in our Country, and making valuable presents to them. That large numbers of them were at that moment at Malden, waiting for the arrival of them, and I enquired for what purpose their presents were made. He then candidly acknowledged it was a *retainer,* to make use of his own expression. I observed to him, that they might as well retain our Citizens, as the Indians who live in our Country, and who by treaty are under our protection.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
With the highest
Respect your Most
Obedient Servant,
William Hull.

To the Honorable
James Madison,
Secretary of State.

[Endorsed]

Govr. Hull 15th. Sept.
Recd. 2d. Novr. 1807.

Indian affairs his Correspondence
with the British Commandant
on that subject. Proclamation.

COPY OF A PROCLAMATION.

William Hull Governor of the Territory of Michigan and Superintendant of Indian Affairs.

To all to whom these presents shall come.

Whereas it has been represented that diverse Person, regardless of the Laws of the United States, have been in the habit of sending Wampum and Speeches to the Indians, and of holding Councils with them, unauthorized by the President of the United States, or any Superintendant or Agent of Indian Affairs.

To prevent a practice so dangerous to the peace and safety of the Country.

All Persons whether Citizens or Foreigners are strictly forbidden to send any Speech or Wampum to any Indian or Indians, or to hold any Council or Talk with them, unless duly authorized, as they will suffer the penalty of the Law.

All officers of the United States of America, and of the Territory of Michigan, and all the Citizens of the same, are required to be vigilant in the apprehension of offenders, and in bringing them to justice.

Given under my and Seal at Detroit this Twentieth day of August, one thousand eight hundred and seven, and in the thirty second year of the Independence of the United States of America.

Signed.
William Hull.

GOVERNOR HULL TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL GRANT.

(Copy.)

Detroit 25th. Augt. 1807.

Lieut. Colonel Grant, Commanding
His Brittannic Majesties Forces at
Amherstburg and its dependencies.

Sir,

The Honorable J. Baby observed to me, that you was desirous of a personal interview for the purpose of an explanation of some communications made to me which you conceived not to be well founded, and that you had proposed Sandwich, as the place of meeting.

For that and for other purposes, an interview would be highly gratifying to me, and I have to regret that considerations, totally different from those of a personal nature, render a compliance on my part improper, so far as relates to the place you have proposed.

Be assured, Sir, you would receive at Detroit, all the Respect which is due, to a Gentleman of high distinction, and to an Officer of the Respectable Nation, you have the honor to serve.

Whatever my own impressions may be, I am bound by considerations of delicacy, not to propose an arrangement, which you would even reluctantly accept.

Strongly desirous that a friendly intercourse may be preserved, between the Governments and People in the extreme parts of our respective Nations, and believing that a candid explanation would have a tendency to promote this object, I take the liberty to propose meeting you at the House of Capt. Earnests, opposite Sandwich, on Thursday morning at Eleven Oclock.

I have the Honor to be
Respectfully your most
Obedient Servant.
Signed. William Hull.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL GRANT TO GOVERNOR HULL.

(Copy.)

Amherstburg. Augt. 26: 1807.

Sir.

I have the honor of receiving your letter of the 25th. Inst.

The Honorable J. Baby payed me a visit of friendship on tuesday week last, and passed that day with me. In the course of the conversation I told him that Mr. Duncan McGilliway had been at my House that Morning, and observed to me he had waited on you at Detroit, and that you expressed a strong wish to see me. I told Mr. Baby I should feel much pleasure in complying with your desire, and observed to him, that I was greatly of opinion a Personal interview, between us would produce the most desirable effects, under the present circumstances of

Affairs, I would be obliged to him to signify to you my Sentiments, If opportunity may offer to him of seeing you. I also told him, I would go to Sandwich for the purpose of meeting you at his House.

I do assure you, Sir, I am most fully satisfied I should meet at Detroit, all the Respect which is due to a Nation, I have the Honor to serve, as also the situation I hold.

My wishes of meeting you at Mr. Babys proceded entirely from my conceiving it equally convenient to you, as to myself, and more particularly as I cannot be long from the Garrison, having reason to expect daily the arrival of Troops which embarked last May at Portsmouth to relieve the 41st. Regt. in this Province.

I regret much I cannot have the honor of meeting you at Capt. Ernests House, as you proposed, and If my time and Circumstances at present could allow me to make the delay, which must necessarily be occasioned by crossing the Water at Sandwich I would not attach to the Inhabitants of Detroit the want of honor, and imputation of illiberality which my meeting you at a private House clandestinely and under appearances of personal considerations must imply.

I am truly desirous of contributing by every means in my power, to what may preserve a friendly intercourse between our Respective Governments, and I sincerely regret that any Local Circumstances should disturb the friendly understanding which subsisted, until of late, between the Inhabitants of your side of the River, and those of this.

The communications you spoke of in your Letter are (believe me) the artful fabrications of low minded, designing People. An interview between us would (I think) enable me to satisfy you of this, and If you are desirous of this interview, I will meet you at the Ferry House opposite Detroit, or at any other place in that neighborhood, at the hour of Twelve Oclock, on whatever day you may find most convenient to you.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
With the highest respect
Your very obedt. Servant.
Signed. J. Grant.

His Excellency,
William Hull.
Governor of the Territory of Michigan.

GOVERNOR HULL TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL GRANT.

(Copy.)

Detroit, 3rd. Sept. 1807.

Sir.

I have delayed answering your Letter of the 26th. of Augt. last in the hope that *time* and *reflection* would have convinced you of some improprieties in it, and from your known candor, I felt satisfied you would have corrected them.

Believing that some advantages might have arisen from a personal interview with you, I was truly desirous of It. It is a source of regret to me, that circumstances have taken place which will probably prevent It. The suggestions of Mr. Baby alone, that you was unwilling to come to Detroit, prevented me from proposing my House, here, as the place of meeting. Altho' I well knew there was not the least foundation for your apprehensions, yet after what you had suggested, it would have been improper for me to have made the proposition. I declined the proposition of meeting you at Sandwish on totally different grounds. Having on all occasions received from the Inhabitants of Upper Canada, all the respect due to the Character of a Gentleman, and all the Honor belonging to my public Station, I know of no Circumstances which should have weakened my confidence in their liberality. It was the duty alone which I owed to my public Station, which prevented me from the compliance with the arrangement you proposed. The Honor of my Country, as well as my own, was interested in the measure. You have again proposed a meeting on the British Shore, and at a Ferry House, for the purpose of the interview.

If Sir, my proposition, to meet you at Ernests House, situated upon the Banks of the River, and which I improsee as a Country House, could be considered as *Clandestine,* I ask you, what construction ought to be placed on the arrangement you have proposed.

If your unwillingness to come to Detroit, as expressed to Mr. Baby, has evidenced your want of Confidence in the honor and liberality of its Inhabitants, it is not my fault, and I have only to lament it.

Be assured, Sir, I shall never consent to a meeting, which even by your own construction, would attach to the Inhabitants of Upper Canada, a want of honor or liberality. It is painful to me to make these remarks. The duty which I owe to my own honor, and my public station has rendered it necessary.

I shall now proceed to make the representations, which it was my intention to have made in a personal conversation. And I do it under the presumption that the Agents of the Indian Department, within the limits of your Command, are under your dictation.

It has been represented to me, and there seems to be strong evidence of the truth of the following facts.

1st. The Agents of the Indian Department about three weeks ago sent for the Chiefs and Warriors of the Ottawa Nation, to come to Amherstburg with their Arms.

2nd. That they lately informed them, that War would probably soon take place between the British and Americans, and that It was expected they would be ready and would assist the British.

3rd. That they were in the constant habit of sending their Speeches and Wampum to the different Nations of Indians residing within the Territories of the United States, Inviting them to their Council-fire at Amherstburg, and then holding both public and secret Councils with them.

4th. That persons were sent from the Kings Vessel, (the Camden,) both in going and returning from St. Josephs, (during her last voyage) into this Territory among the Indians, with Messages, Speeches, and Wampum. That large numbers of them were taken on board the Vessel and proceded with her to Malden.

I entertain the hope that these are unauthorized Acts of the Agents, and that measures will be taken to prevent them in future. On this Subject I have the honor to enclose a Copy of a Proclamation, I have issued.

Great Britain has relinquished all right claim and jurisdiction to this Country. She has no more concern with it, or with the Indians residing in it, than if it had never belonged to her. The third article of the Treaty between his Brittannic Majesty and the United States, being merely commercial, can have no relation to this Subject, and all the rights derived under that Treaty, to the Subjects and Citizens of the respective Nations, are subject to the regulations established for intercourse with the Indians. No reasoning is necessary to shew the impropriety of the Conduct of your Indian Agents.

In my opinion it is as improper to send your Speeches and Wampum to the Indians living in our Country, and who by the most solemn Treaties, have acknowledged themselves under the protection of the U. States, as to send for our Citizens, and advise them with Respect to their political concerns.* I presume it would be thought very extra-

* It is an interference with the concerns of our Government, unjustifiable on every principle. With respect to the Indians of Upper Canada, I have never interfered in their concerns.

ordinary, was I to send my Speeches to them, hold public or private Councils with them, and advise them to measures hostile or even friendly to the Government which protects them. If such conduct would be improper in our Government, It is equally so in yours.

With respect to the Kings Vessel (the Camden) I never for a moment, entertained in idea of interrupting her, on her return from St. Josephs. From anything which took place on our part, you had no reason even for suspicion. That you did apprehend she was in danger is evident from your own acknowledgement, and from measures adopted. Those apprehensions must have arisen from circumstances in which We had no agency. And I know of nothing but a consciousness of the aggressions, committed by the agents of the Indian Department on board of her, which could have excited any alarm on your part.

With respect to my preparations, which have been made here, they are only defensive. They are such as ought to be made at a time, when there was no apprehension of danger. Until the unfortunate conflagration, this Town, was always defended by a Stockade and Block-Houses. Its local situation as a Frontier renders it necessary. All the other means which have been made use of, have originated from the same cause. And particularly the permission which I have given to a small number of Negroes, occasionally to exercise in Arms. This measure, I am informed has excited some sensibility among the Inhabitants living on the British Shore. Be assured, Sir, it is without any foundation, for they only have the use of their Arms, while exercising, and at all other times they are deposited in a situation out of their control.

Under the influence of both inclination and duty, I shall do everything in my power to preserve a friendly intercourse, between the Inhabitants of our respective Countries, and I flatter myself this disposition will be reciprocated by his Majesties Officers.

Lieut. Colonel Hull, one of My Aids-de-Camp and Mr. Baker, the Second Officer of the Troops of the United States at this Post, will have the honor of delivering this Letter, and I have authorized them to make any explanations, which the nature of the business may require.

I have the honor to be respectfully,

Your most obedient Servant,

Signed. William Hull.

To. Lieut. Col. Grant &c. &c.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL GRANT TO GOVERNOR HULL.

Amherstburg. Sept. 8. 1807.

Sir.

I have deferred answering your Letter of the third instant until I could make satisfactory enquiry into those representations which you stated in it.

When I had the Honor of writing to you on the 26th. of last Month, it was very distant from my intention that any part of my Letter should convey a want of the respect which is due to your situation.

Neither time nor reflection has enabled me to discover the smallest impropriety in it, and the regard which I owe to my own feelings must have precluded the necessity of connecting it.

In my Letter to you I assigned my Reason for not going to Detroit, and I conceive after having done so, it does not appear very decoreus in you to impute it to a different Motive.

As you declined meeting me at Mr. Babys, and as I supposed the Ferry-place, being immediately opposite your own House, would be the most convenient to you, I proposed seeing you there, but in case this should not meet your wishes, I added, I would meet you at any other place in that neighborhood, and on whatever day you may be pleased to appoint. This, Sir, I do not think carried with it disrespect on my part towards you Personally, or want of deference to your public Situation, and more particularly, when you must have known from my Letter, that immediately after my interview with you, I should have been obliged to return back to Amherstburg, a distance of eighteen Miles, whereas the inconvenience to you, would have been that only of crossing the Ferry.

The situation of a Ferry Place is too public, I conceive, to reflect on your part a doubt of the honor and liberality of the Inhabitants of Upper Canada, nor could your going there be supposed clandestine.

From what Mr. McGillioray told me, the first idea of an interview between us originated in your own wishes, and I felt desirous of acceding to them, believing that some advantages might arise from a personal interview.

If you imagined the Honor of your public Situation was likely to suffer from having an interview with me at the distance of eighteen Miles from the Garrison I Command, and not more than one mile from Detroit where you reside, I may be allowed to ask you how that idea was to act relatively upon mine in the proposal you made me of seeing you at Mr.

Ernests. Did not the wish you expressed to Mr. McGillioray of seeing me, if you intended it should be at Detroit, reflect upon me by the acknowledgement of your own Letter, the same dishonor which you think you would subject yourself to by coming to this side of the River.

Believe me (Sir) I feel infinite pain in making any remarks on your Letter, the general tenor of it requires it of me, but in doing so, I feel all the Respect which is due to your Situation.

I assure you my inclination leads me to do everything in my power to preserve a Friendly intercourse between the Inhabitants of our Respective Countries. The orders which I have received on that head, and which are deposited at this post for the guidance of the Officer Commanding, make it an essential point of Duty in me to do so.

Should you still desire a personal interview with me, and that you think it may be productive of any consequences which would tend to support a friendly understanding between the Inhabitants of our respective sides of the River, I will meet you on Gros Isle on whatever day you may be pleased to appoint. I fix on this place, as not likely to occasion the delays to me which my present situation cannot admit of, and as Gros Isle is tributary to the United States, and subject to the Laws of that Country, there can neither be disrespect or indelicacy in my proposing this place to meet at.

In my reply to the representations you made in your Letter, the Agents of the Indian Department disavow having sent to the Chiefs and Warriors of the Ottawa Nation to come to Amherstburg with their Arms as you state in the first.

The Agents also disavow the 2d. and 3d. and that part of the 3rd. which states that public and private Councils with the Indians have been held at Amherstburg, I assert to be totally unfounded, no Councils have been held at Amherstburg for twelve Months past, but one with the Hurons relative to a Road which runs through some part of their Ground.

With respect to the 4th. I have the authority of Mr. Silby, Secretary to the Indian Department, who was on Board, to say that no Persons were sent from the Kings Vessel (the Camden) on her passage to and from St. Josephs into the Territory of the United States with Messages, Speeches and Wampum among the Indians.

Several Indians came alongside of the Camden on her return. They said they came to see and congratulate Colonel Claus who was placed by their Great Father over them. After the usual Salutation to Colonel Claus they asked permission to come down in the Vessel to apply for

provisions. They were allowed that indulgence, and as soon as they received their provisions they returned home.

With respect to the Circumstances of the Camden which you mention, I have never charged you with an intention of interrupting her, and I assure you, the report of there being any intention at Detroit of that Nature, afforded me more amusement than apprehension.

I sent an Express to the Officer Commanding that Vessel, the purport of which was of a private nature, and my doing so is not questionable to any person by the Officer under whose authority I Command this Post.

The aggressions which you say were committed by the Indian Department on Board of the Camden, I am unconscious of, and I conceive they should have been better established before the accusation was made, for none have been committed.

As to the preparations you have made at Detroit I think it would be highy improper in me to question your motive for doing so, nor have I made comments on it. It would be equally unbecoming me to make remarks on your arming Negroes who have absconded from this side of the River. If I conceived my Professional Situation at this Post could authorize my laying representations before you, I am amply furnished with matter.

Mr. Silby Secretary to the Indian Department informed me that you sent, not long since, Speeches and Messages to the Chippewas residing at the British side of the River St. Clair to come to your Council at Detroit, and that in consequence the Gull (a Chippewa Chief) and several others did go to your Council. Two Chiefs and some other Indians who were encamped near the River Conard, and who have not been invited by the Agents of the Indian Department, came to this Garrison on Saturday last to say, that Lieut. Colonel Hull, your Aid de Camp, and another Gentleman stopped on the morning of that day at their Camp, and asked them if they received provisions here, what was their number, and if there were not a great many Indians kept below the Town of Amherstburg. They also said that Lieut. Colonel Hull desired them repeatedly to follow him without delay to Detroit. How far these circumstances are consistent with various parts of your Letter I submit to you.

My Professional Situation being placed in Command of this Garrison does not admit of such extent as would authorize my entering into Representations or discussions of Public or Indian Affairs. His Excel-

lency Francis Gore, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada is placed by the British Government at the Head of the Indian Department, and all Remonstrances or Representations connected with that Department would be better addressed to him. As I have no authority to communicate on such matters, I beg in future to refer you to him.

No motive, but much Respect for you, and a wish to prevent ilfounded prejudices could lead me to make reply in the present instance.

I am immediately under the orders of the Officer Commanding the Forces in both the Canadas.

The orders I have received require from me that I should cultivate the most friendly understanding with the Officers of the United States, and they admit of no latitude beyond It connected with that Country.

I have the Honor to be
Sir
With the highest Respect
Your most Obedient Servant,
Signed. Jasper Grant.

His Excellency
William Hull
Governor of the Territory
of Michigan
Detroit.

GOVERNOR HULL TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL GRANT.

(Copy.)

Detroit 10th. Sept. 1807.

Sir.

I had the Honor to receive your Letter of the 8th. Inst. by Mr. Fitz-Gerald.

If next Saturday at twelve Oclock will be convenient to you, I will meet you at the House on Gros-Isle which was built by Mr. McComb, and where he formerly resided when on the Island. I do not know the Name of the Man who now lives there.

I have the Honor to be
With the highest Respect
Your most Obedient Servant.
Signed William Hull.

Lieut. Col. Grant.

SOLOMON SIBLEY TO SECRETARY MONROE.

Detroit, Oct. 20, 1815.

To the Honr.
James Monroe,
Secy. of State.
Sir:

Some time about the middle of Sept. last, His Excy. Govr. Cass, handed me a Commission from the President of the United States, appointing me Attorney of the United States, in and for the Michigan Territory. I informed Govr. Cass of my acceptance, presuming that as the Commission passed tho' him, he would have advised the President of the fact. But Govr. Cass has given me to understand that he has made no communication on this subject. I wish therefore Sir, thro you to inform the President of the above circumstances, and that to the best of my ability I will continue to discharge the trust reposed in me. I am respectfully,

Sir,
Your most obed. servt.
Sol. Sibley,

[Endorsed]
Solomon Sibley
Atto. Michigan Territory.
The Hone.
James Monroe,
Secy. of State,
Washington City.

Detroit
28 Oct.

Mr. Bront.

COPIES OF THE ACTS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE OF MICHIGAN TERRITORY FROM THE FIRST DAY OF JANUARY LAST TO THE FIRST DAY OF JULY ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND EIGHT.

1808.
January 16th. By William Hull Governor of the Territory of Michigan &c. &c. &c.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS it has been represented, and is apparent from recent events, that a dangerous faction exists in this Territory headed by unprincipled men, whose object appears to be the prostration of all Government, and the prevention of those salutary measures, ordered by the President of the United States for the safety of this frontier at this critical crisis. That to carry into effect their wicked purposes, they are continually inflaming the minds of the good people by the basest falshoods and existing mutiny and encouraging desertion among the Militia called into actual service by order of the President.

To arrest the progress of such dangerous principles, and to prevent the disgrace and calamities, which must flow from such practices; and to warn those *whose situation in the Government* ought to admonish them of their duties; I have thought proper to Issue this proclamation; And I hereby call on all Officers of the United States, and all Officers both civil and Military of this Territory, and all the good Citizens of the same to discourage by their example such pernicious conduct, and be vigilent in detecting and apprehending all persons thus disturbing the peace and good of this government and violating the laws of the United States.

Done at Detroit this 16th. day of January A. D. 1808.

William Hull.

By the Governor
Stanley Griswold
Secy. of Michigan Territory.

1808. Jany. 12. A Commission similar in tenor and form to that recorded on the thirty fourth page of this book to Jacob Visger mutatis mutandis was Issued on the twelfth day of January one thousand eight hundred and eight to Joseph Watson to be Lieutenant in the detachment under the command of Major Whipple.

General Orders.

27th. Head Quarters at Detroit 27th. Jany. 1808.

Lieutenant Thomas Tremble is removed from his Office of Lieutenant of Captain Forsyths Company of the first Regiment of Militia for conduct unworthy the character of an Officer.

Jean Baptiste Vernier is appointed Lieutenant of said Company, and will be respected accordingly.

30th. A Commission, similar in tenor and form to that recorded on the thirty fourth page of this book to Jacob Visger—mutatis mutandis—was Issued on the thirtieth day of January one thousand eight hundred and eight to Jean Baptiste Vernier to be Lieutenant in the first Regiment of Militia.

[Endorsed]

Acts and Proceedings of the
Executive of the Michigan
Territory.
Recd. 27th. July 1808.

GEORGE HOFFMAN ESQUIRE was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel commandant of the militia in the District of Michilimackinac, on the third day of February one thousand eight hundred and eight; and his commission was similar in tenor and form to that of Augustus B. Woodward, recorded on the twenty seventh page of this Book—mutatis mutandis.

1808.

Febry. 8th. COMMISSION, similar in tenor and form to that recorded on the thirty fourth page of this Book to Jacob Visger mutatis mutandis—were issued on the eighth day of February, one thousand eight hundred and eight to Michael Dousman to be Captain, Samuel Lashly to be Lieutenant and Daniel O. Dunham to be Lieutenant—all in the Militia of the District of Michilimackinac.

March 21. On the twenty first day of March one thousand eight hundred and eight, the following was received from the Governor to wit:

To Stanley Griswold, Esqr.,
Secretary of the Territory
of Michigan.

Sir.

William M. D. Scott, at his own request, is discharged from his Office as Justice of the peace for the district of Huron and Detroit, and you will make a record of it accordingly.

I am your most obedt. Servt.
William Hull.

The following was enclosed in the above.

Dr. Scott respectfully presents his compliments to his Excellency Wm. Hull, and requests his permission to resign his Commission as a Justice of the Peace; and that he will please notify the Secretary of the Territory of his pleasure therein.

April 4. A Commission of Auctioneer for the district of Detroit was issued to George McDougall Esqr. dated the fourth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and eight.

1808.

April 5. A Commission of Auctioneer for the District of Detroit was issued to Robert Abbott Esqr. dated the fifth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and eight.

1808.
May 28. COMMISSION OF HIS EXCELLENCY WILLIAM HULL AS GOVERNOR OF THE TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN.

THOMAS JEFFERSON PRESIDENT of the United States of America.

TO ALL who shall see these presents. Greeting.

KNOW YE that reposing special trust and confidence in the Patriotism, integrity and abilities of WILLIAM HULL of Massachusetts, I have nominated and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate do appoint him GOVERNOR in and over the territory of Michigan; and do authorize and empower him to execute and fulfil the duties of that Office according to law; and to have and hold the said Office with all the powers, privileges, and emoluments to the same of right appertaining for the term of three years from the first day of March last; unless the President of the United States for the time being should be pleased sooner to revoke and determine this Commission.

IN TESTIMONY whereof I have caused these letters to be made patent and the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.

Given under my hand at the City of Washington the first day of April in the year of our lord one thousand eight hundred and eight. And of the Independence of the United States of America the thirty second.

Th. Jefferson.

By the President
James Madison Secretary of State.

Certificate endorsed on the foregoing Commission.

Territory of Michigan
District of Huron and Detroit. } to wit.

Personally appeared before me George McDougall Chief Judge of the Court of the said District and Territory and one of the Justices of the peace for the said district of Detroit William Hull Esquire appointed by the within Commission Governor of the Territory of Michigan and took the Oaths required by the Constitution and the laws of the United States to qualify him to discharge the duties of that office.

In Testimony whereof I have hereto set my hand at Detroit the 27th. May 1808.

Geo. McDougall.

COMMISSION OF REUBEN ATTWATER AS SECRETARY FOR THE TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN.

THOMAS JEFFERSON PRESIDENT of the United States of America.

To all who shall see these presents Greeting.

KNOW YE that reposing special trust and confidence in the integrity diligence and abilities of Reuben Atwater of Vermont I have nominated, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate do appoint him Secretary in and for the Territory of Michigan and do authorize and empower him to execute and fulfil the duties of that Office with all the powers, privileges and Emoluments to the same of right appertaining for the term of four years from the day of the date hereof unless the President of the United States for the time being should be pleased sooner to revoke and determine this Commission.

In Testimony whereof I have caused these letters to be made patent and the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.

L. S. Given under my hand at the City of Washington, the eighteenth day of March in the year of our lord one thousand eight hundred and eight; And of the Independence of the U. States of America the thirty second.

Th. Jefferson.

By the President
James Madison Secretary of State.

Certificate endorsed on the foregoing Commission.

UNITED STATES of America.

Territory of Michigan To wit.

Personally appeared Reuben Attwater Esquire appointed by the within Commission Secretary of the Territory of Michigan and took the Oaths required by the Constitution and the laws of the United States to qualify him to discharge the duties of that office. May 27th. 1808.

William Hull Governor
of the Territory of Michigan.

COMMISSION OF JOHN WHIPPLE LIEUTENANT COLONEL.

WILLIAM HULL GOVERNOR of the Territory of Michigan.

To all who shall see these presents Greeting.

BE IT KNOWN that reposing special trust and confidence in the Patriotism valor, fidelity and abilities of JOHN WHIPPLE I have appointed him Lieutenant Colonel by Brevet, in the Militia of the Territory of Michigan, to take rank as such, he is therefore, carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Lieutenant Colonel by Brevet, by doing and performing all manner of things thereunto belonging. And I do strictly and require all Officers and soldiers under his command to be obedient to his orders as Lieut. Colonel. And he is to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time, as he shall receive from the President of the United States of America, or the Governor of the Territory of Michigan for the time being, or the General, or other superior Officers set over him according to law, and military rule and discipline. This Commission to continue in force during the pleasure of the Governor of the Territory of Michigan for the time being. In Testimony whereof I have caused these letters to be made patent and the seal of the Territory of Michigan to be hereunto affixed.

L. S. Given under my hand at Detroit in the Territory of Michigan the twelfth day of June one thousand eight hundred and eight. And of the Independence of the United States of America the thirty second.

William Hull

By the Governor
Reuben Attwater
Secretary of Michigan Territory.

COMMISSION OF HARRIS H. HICKMAN, AIDE-DE-CAMP.

WILLIAM HULL GOVERNOR of the Territory of Michigan.

To all who shall see these presents Greeting.

BE IT KNOWN that reposing special trust and confidence in the Patriotism valor, fidelity and abilities of Harris H. Hickman Esqr. I have appointed him Aide Camp to the Commander in chief of the Territory of Michigan with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel he is therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Aide Camp by doing and performing all manner of things thereunto belonging. And I do strictly charge and require all Officers and Soldiers under his command to be obedient to his orders as Aide Camp. And he is to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time as he shall receive from the President of the United States of America or the Governor of the Territory of Michigan for the time being, or the General, or other superior Officer set over him according to law and military discipline. This Commission to continue in force during the pleasure of the Governor of Michigan Territory for the time being.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN INDEX.

A. D. C., Aid-de-Camp.
Div. Qr. Mr. (or Mas.), Division Quarter Master.
Ill. Inf., Illinois Infantry.
Ind. Inf., Indiana Infantry.
K. V. M., Kentucky Volunteer Militia.
Mich. Inf., Michigan Infantry.
M. M., Michigan Militia.
Missouri M., Missouri Militia.
Mich. Vol., Michigan Volunteers.
N. Y. Mil., New York Militia.
Qr. Mr., or Qr. Mas., or Q. M., Quarter-master.
Rifle Batt., Rifle Battalion.
Sep. Batt., Separate Battalion.
U. S. A., United States Army.
U. S. I., United States Infantry.
Y. R. C., Ypsilanti Rifle Company.

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